

IOANNES LYDUS

ON POWERS

OR

THE MAGISTRACIES OF
THE ROMAN STATE

ANASTASIUS C. BANDY

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Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Commentary, and Indices

by

Anastasius C. Bandy

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PREFACE

Although this is the fourth edition of Ioannes Lydus' work *Περὶ Ἐξουσιῶν* or, as it is more commonly known, *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας*, it is hoped that it will prove as useful as its predecessors. The present edition has a twofold purpose: to present a new critical edition of the Greek text and to render a faithful English translation of it. It is made on the basis of a rereading of the *Codex Caseolinus* and of a critical evaluation of the various emendations offered by previous editors and others. I have found some of these textual emendations well-taken and have accepted them but have rejected others as unnecessary or even distortions of Lydus' linguistic usage and thought and the result of a misunderstanding of the text. Only where the text is unquestionably in error has an emendation been accepted. In instances of doubt the textual readings have been retained, especially when only a minor alteration restores the text and thus renders perfectly good sense. Emending rarities out of existence has not been indulged in. All these considerations have necessitated an extensive textual and philological commentary. In order that the reader's attention may not be diverted by copious footnotes, the commentary is placed after the text and translation.

The English translation presented in this edition has been in preparation since 1964. It has as its objective not only the literal rendering of Lydus' Greek text but also the retention of his distinctive linguistic flavor. Departure from a strictly literal translation has occurred rarely and then only when literalness would result in confusion of meaning or in great awkwardness, and this has been hardly necessary. Although my original plan was to publish merely a translation, in the course of its preparation it became increasingly evident that a translation not accompanied by the Greek text would have been an imperfect and less useful work.

In such an enormously important task as the preparation of an edition involving a critical text and translation naturally I have had to seek the valuable advice and expertise of several scholars to whom I am greatly indebted. The translation, while still in rough draft, had been

thoroughly gone over by the late Professor Theodoros P. Theodorides of Athens and in its final draft by Professor William C. McDermott of the Department of Classical Studies of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Markellos Th. Mitsos, General Ephor of Antiquities and Director emeritus of the Epigraphical Section of the National Museum at Athens, graciously prepared the *Index Verborum*. I wish also to acknowledge my sincere indebtedness to Mr. Charles Astruc, Conservateur au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, for his singular courtesy in making readily available to me his paleographic expertise and knowledge about the *Codex Caseolinus*; and to Professor Paul Lemerle of the Collège de France for reading this manuscript and offering his valuable suggestions for its improvement. Special gratitude is also due my wife Anastasia not only for typing numerous drafts of the various parts of this work but also for encouraging me throughout the entire time that I was toiling over the preparation of this edition.

Finally, I should like to thank, first, the American Council of Learned Societies for a fellowship in 1971 and a grant-in-aid in 1974, which made possible two trips to Paris to read and to recheck the *Codex Caseolinus* since its condition did not permit microfilming; and, second, the trustees of Harvard University for a visiting fellowship to Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, from February to June 1972. Several intramural research grants from the Committee on Research of the University of California, Riverside, while I was Professor of Classics there until my retirement in June 1981, are likewise no less profoundly appreciated.

Philadelphia

Anastasius C. Bandy

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INTRODUCTION

I. *Life of Lydus*

Because Justinian fostered at Constantinople a highly favorable atmosphere in the area of the liberal arts and sciences, a distinguished array of intellectuals, many of whom were associated with the government or with the court, adorned the age of Justinian. One such intellectual and scholar was *Ioannes Laurentiou Philadelphus Lydos* ("John, son of Laurentius, a Philadelphia Lydian"), who is generally referred to simply as *Lydus*. He is, indeed, the chief representative of antiquarian studies from the fourth to the sixth century A.D.¹ A subsidiary author though Lydus is, he is important because his works, being replete with historical, astronomical, astrological, mythological, religious, and linguistic facts and speculations, as well as information on Roman and Byzantine culture, merit penetrating consideration.

Lydus himself gives his place of birth as Philadelphia in Lydia (*Mens.* 4.2, 4.58; *Ost.* 53; *Mag.* 3.26,58,59); hence the epithets Φιλαδελφεύς and Λυδός. Justinian I speaks of him as Ἰωάννης ὁ λογιώτατος (*Mag.* 3.29), while the praetorian prefect Hephaestus calls him Ἰωάννης ὁ λαμπρότατος (*Mag.* 3.30). The historian Theophylactus Simocatta (vii A.D.) calls him simply ὁ Λυδός (*Hist.* 7.16.12), and Photius (A.D. ca. 820–891) says ἀνεγνώσθησαν Ἰωάννου Λαυρεντίου Φιλαδελφέως τοῦ Λυδοῦ πραγματεῖαι τρεῖς (*Bibl. Cod.* 180). The name *Laurentius*, though it is considered by some scholars as Lydus' second name,² is probably better reckoned as Lydus' father's name. Emperor Leo VI (A.D. 886–911) calls

¹ W. von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur umgearbeitet von Wilhelm Schmid und Otto Stählin* 7 (München: O. Beck, 1924), Zweiter Teil, Zweite Hälfte, p. 1041.

² Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 2 (Paris-Bruxelles-Amsterdam: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949), p. 730, note l; G. Hugo (*Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Römischen Rechts bis auf Justinian*, ed. 11, pp. 13 & 1097) accepts Lydus' second name more precisely as *Laurentii*, namely, son of *Laurentius*, though in the first edition of his work he cites Lydus' name as *Johannes Laurentius*; the *Codex Scorialensis* Φ-III-1 on *De Mens.* 4.79 says ὁ παρὼν συγγραφεύς, ἐστὶ δὲ λαυρέντιος, ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει, thus taking *Laurentius* as Lydus' second name.

Lydus Ἰωάννης ὁ Λυδός (PG 107, 1092), whereas Emperor Constantine VII (A.D. 905–959) speaks of him as Ἰωάννης Φιλαδελφεὺς ὁ καλοῦμενος Λυδός (*Them.* 17.16). The *Suda* lists him as Ἰωάννης Φιλαδελφεὺς Λυδός (*Lex.* s.v.).

Though Lydus says nothing about his parents, it can be reasonably assumed that they were of aristocratic and curial stock. One may conjecture, says Hase,³ that they were wealthy and munificent among their fellow citizens. Lydus states that he went to Constantinople at the age of twenty-one at the time when Secundianus was consul (*Mag.* 3.26). The latter is probably to be identified with Flavius Secundinus, who was consul in the East, while Flavius Felix was consul in the West for the year A.D. 511.⁴ Lydus' date of birth, therefore, can be fixed with certainty at A.D. 490 at the time when Flavius Probus Faustus iunior was consul in the West and Favius Longinus II was consul in the East,⁵ and Zeno was Emperor of the East (474–491).

Lydus went to Constantinople to complete his studies and to enter government service.⁶ After much deliberation on his part he decided to enter the service of the *memoriales* of the court (*Mag.* 3.26), who were *magistriani* ("members of the staff of the *magister officiorum*"), functioning as clerks or secretaries in the bureau of the *magister memoriae*, one of the emperor's chief secretaries. Lydus was unable to get such a position immediately, for a post in the palace ministries was much coveted and difficult to obtain. So as not to waste his time, however, while he was waiting for such a post, probably several months after his arrival in Constantinople, he occupied himself by attending the lectures of Agapius, an Athenian philosopher and noted teacher of the day who had been a student of Proclus, studying philosophy, both Platonic and Aristotelian, under his direction (*Mag.* 3.26).

During Lydus' period of study one of his countrymen, Zoticus, was appointed praetorian prefect by Emperor Anastasius (*Mag.* 3.26), and this circumstance became the cause for the launching of Lydus' career in

³ *Prologus in Librum Joannis Lydi De Magistratibus Romanis, sive Commentarius de Joanne Laurentio Philadelpheno Lydo, eiusque scriptis*, p. iv.

⁴ Petri Relandi *Fasti Consulares*, ad illustrationem Codicis Justiniani ac Theodosiani secundum rationes temporum digesti et auctoritate scriptorum atque lapidum antiquorum confirmati. Ad quos Appendix additur Hadriani Relandi qua Fasti ex codd. MSSis deprompti et consules in Pandectis memorati continentur (Trajecti Batavorum: Ex libraria Gulielmi Broedelet, 1715), p. 679; Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 353.

⁵ Relandi, *op. cit.*, p. 664; Grumel, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

⁶ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 729.

the service of the praetorian prefecture rather than in one of the *sacra scrinia*, for *Zoticus*, upon entering office, enrolled the young Lydus among the prefecture's *exceptores*. In fact, Lydus' father's nephew Ammianus happened at that time to be prominent in the service of the praetorian prefecture (*Mag.* 3.26); he did not necessarily hold an important position among the *exceptores*, as Stein⁷ believes.

Everyone who sought a career in the service of the praetorian prefecture began as an *exceptor*. In earlier times over 1,000 *exceptores* were customarily enrolled yearly (*Mag.* 3.66). Under Justinian the majority of the *exceptores* received one ration allowance (*annona*) and one fodder allowance (*capitum*), the whole being commuted for nine *solidi* annually. An *exceptor* had numerous opportunities for acquiring profit (*Mag.* 3.6). The *exceptores* were assembled into fifteen conventicles or "schools"; those of them who were more learned and capable in their service, after displaying their expertise for their occupation, were advanced, if they so wished, into the body of the *Augustales* (*Mag.* 3.6). The latter constituted a corps of thirty, fifteen of the more mature and experienced of whom were set aside to write up documents for the emperor and were called *deputati* (*Mag.* 3.10). An *Augustalis* was eligible to hold any of the numerous assistantships in the judicial branch of the praetorian prefecture. Each of the two *commentarienses*, who were responsible for the prosecution of criminals, had three *adiutores* (*Mag.* 3.16); three assistants called *chartularii* helped each of the latter. Each of the two *ab actis*, who dealt with the conduct of civil law cases and kept elaborate minutes and records of all transactions, issued and served writs, drew up statements of claims and rebuttals, made copies of court proceedings and executed judgments, had three *adiutores* to help them, and each of the *adiutores* selected for himself three assistants, who were taken from the ranks of the *exceptores* and were called *chartularii* (*Mag.* 3.20). All who obtained these special clerkships paid substantial fees for their positions and received fees for all the services that they rendered. After holding the various assistantships in due order of seniority, the *Augustalis* was eligible to hold the corresponding directorships of departments and ultimately ended up in the office of *cornicularius* (*Mag.* 3.6,9). According to an old law no one was called to become an *adiutor* unless he was from a distinguished family, was educated in the liberal arts, and had served with distinction for nine years as an *exceptor* (*Mag.* 2.18). Not only were all the *adiutores* distinguished for their excellent education but also

⁷ *Ibid.*

strove to cultivate their knowledge of Latin since it was essential for their work (*Mag.* 3.27). The position of *adiutor* not only bestowed upon its holder honor and great power but also brought him an emolument as high as 1,000 *solidi* (*Mag.* 2.18). A *probatoria adiutoris* or letter of appointment as an *adiutor* cost only five *solidi* in days of old but its cost was raised to twenty *solidi* under Justinian (*Mag.* 3.67). There were also other positions to which an *Augustalis* could aspire. These were the two *cancellarii*, who functioned as confidants, assessors, or intermediaries through whom all documents had to be presented to the praetorian prefect for signature and the declaration of facts had to be made known (*Mag.* 3.37); the *instrumentarius*, who was the archivist of the court of justice who signed and filled in the verdicts (*Mag.* 3.19) and made a summary of the transactions of the court for speedy recall (*Mag.* 3.20); the *subadiuva*, who was a deputy assistant (*Mag.* 2.16); and the *matricularius*, who was head of the personnel lists (*Mag.* 3.66).

Those who remained on the docket were ultimately elevated into the office of *primiscrinii* (*Mag.* 3.6,9), the head of the financial branch of the praetorian prefecture, after having served as one of the six *adiutores*, who were present at the bureau of the *primiscrinii* (*Mag.* 3.9), or has held the various positions in the administrative branch such as one of the two *regendarii*, who managed the *cursus publicus* or public post, originally issuing warrants permitting its use (*Mag.* 3.4,21); or the next higher position of *cura epistularum*, who were eight in number, two for each of the four dioceses of Asiana, Oriens, Pontica, and Thracia, being in charge of correspondence regarding public dues (*Mag.* 3.4,21).

During Zoticus' tenure in office, which was slightly more than a year, Lydus temperately made a gain of not less than 1,000 *solidi* (*Mag.* 3.27). To show his gratitude to Zoticus, probably upon the latter's departure from the prefecture, which ended before November 512,⁸ Lydus composed a brief panegyric in his honor (*Mag.* 3.27). This panegyric, which may have been a poem, had it survived, might have shed light on the office of the praetorian prefect and particularly on the person and activities of Zoticus himself. He was so pleased with it that he authorized Lydus to receive from the bank one *solidus* for every line in it (*Mag.* 3.27). This reward hardly came from Zoticus' personal bank account but, in all likelihood, from the prefectural treasury and so at the taxpayers' expense.⁹

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 783.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

Zoticus manifested his interest in Lydus' personal life, too, by procuring a wife for him at the prompting of Lydus' cousin Ammianus. Downey¹⁰ suggests that Lydus may possibly have married his chief's daughter. Lydus says that she brought him a dowry of 100 pounds of gold and was a highly virtuous woman (*Mag.* 3.28). In fact, under Justinian 100 pounds of gold, which was the equivalent of 7,200 *solidi*, was the salary of the prefect of Africa, a considerable sum for a *praefectianus* who was only twenty-two years old.¹¹ Lydus unfortunately gives no further information about his wife, nor does he mention any children of his.

Thus, through Zoticus' patronage and influence, Lydus' career as a *praefectianus* got off to a brilliant start. Since he was expecting far greater things to come his way with the passage of time, he decided to give up his original plans to acquire a post and subsequent advancement in the *sacra scrinia*, and so he directed his total attention and channeled all his energies to what seemed to him at the time an exceptionally promising career on the staff of the praetorian prefecture (*Mag.* 3.28).

Zoticus' favor obtained for Lydus the favor also of the heads of the service¹² to such a degree that the six *adiutores* of the department of the *ab actis* invited him to be first *chartularius* (*Mag.* 3.27). Such an appointment was unprecedented for three reasons. Lydus appears to have been dispensed from the probationary stage which required nine years of service as an *exceptor*; and the *adiutores* not only did not demand a fee, as was the custom (his two fellow *chartularii*, who were already old men, had paid for their positions), but also even set up for him a yearly salary of twenty-four *solidi* (*Mag.* 3.27). Lydus' appointment as first *chartularius* naturally was an honor to him but lucrative as well. He not only did *personalia*, *cottidiana* or *regesta*, and *suggestiones* in the name of the *adiutores* but also served as secretary among the *exceptores* and furthermore assisted others who were *exceptores* in the *Secretum* or Temple of Justice and thence was advanced to the ranks of the *a secretis* of the prefecture (*Mag.* 3.27). In addition to the post of *exceptor* and first *chartularius* to the *adiutores* of the *ab actis*, Lydus states that he held also the following offices: (1) *chartularius* in the bureau of the *commentarienses* (*Mag.* 3.17), probably *ca.* 517 during the prefecture of Sergius¹³; (2) *matricula-*

¹⁰ *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 154.

¹¹ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 730.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 838.

rius (*Mag.* 3.66); and (3) *cornicularius* (*Mag.* 3.25,30). The opinion of Müller-Donaldson,¹⁴ Christ-Schmid-Stählin,¹⁵ and Klotz¹⁶ that Lydus held a military post or was in the service of the army is incorrect because it is based on a misinterpretation of *στρατεία* and *στρατεύεσθαι*, which were used not only in the strictly military sense but were also applied regularly to the purely civil functionaries in the service of the praetorian prefecture, reflecting the latter's original military nature. The statement of Moravcsik¹⁷ that Lydus held high state positions is unlikely because there is no evidence for his opinion either in Lydus' works or in any contemporary source. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) says that Lydus served under the prefects as a *δικολόγος* for forty years beginning at the age of twenty-one. If Photius means "pleader of cases," there is no evidence for this. If, however, he means merely "an expert in matters of the court of justice," a meaning not attested in the lexica, his statement would be acceptable. Photius is correct when he states that Lydus was a *matricularius*.

At some time during his service Lydus went to the island of Cyprus (*cf. Mens.* 4.47). The exact date of this trip is not known, but it can be reasonably assumed that it took place no later than 536, when Cyprus was cut off from the prefecture of the East. Justinian created the prefect of Scythia (*Mag.* 2.28,29), assigning to him the three provinces: Cerastis (Cyprus), entire Caria, and the Ionian islands, and setting up a special forum for this prefect's court of law and an entire staff (*Mag.* 2.29). This administrative change may have been the reason for Lydus' trip and had some connection with his service.¹⁸

Lydus' progress initially seems to have satisfied his high expectations, but a change in his attitude towards the service appears to have occurred sometime after Zoticus' departure from office in 512. Precisely when this happened in point of time is a matter of dispute. That Lydus became disillusioned with the service is evident, for he says that he came to hate it when the old, time-honored procedures of government which his account mentions had been done away with in every respect and learned men were no longer being favored (*Mag.* 3.28) and were no longer entering the prefecture (*Mag.* 3.54). It may be reasonably

¹⁴ *A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* 3 (London: J. W. Parker, 1858), p. 400.

¹⁵ W. von Christ, *ibid.*

¹⁶ *R. E.*, 12 (2), col. 2210.

¹⁷ *Byzantinoturcica* 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), p. 328.

¹⁸ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 838.

assumed that Lydus' dislike for the service started during the prefecture of Marinus. His display of hostility towards Marinus reflects not only his own personal displeasure but also that of the *exceptores*.¹⁹ Lydus considered Marinus wicked (*Mag.* 3.49), one who became wealthy during his prefecture (*Mag.* 3.49), an extortioner (*Mag.* 3.49,51), and a paralyzer of the operation of the time-honored curial councils (*Mag.* 3.49). According to Hase,²⁰

from 518, the year of Emperor Anastasius' death, a change is detected in Lydus' fortune either because of the death or departure from public service of his patrons, or because he offended some influential men, or because under Justinian the entire praetorian prefecture was beset with the confluence of calamities and the evil administration of certain individuals.

According to Stein,²¹ "From 512, Zoticus' retirement from office brought about a change: not only his successor Marinus was not a fellow-countryman of Lydus, but, furthermore, he had been a member of the *scriniarii* of the prefecture, who were not on good terms with the *exceptores*."

The *scriniarii*, who were experts in matters of finance, originally had not been members but were merely civilian employees of the prefectural order; they wore no uniform but civilian dress; and they were not listed in the old register lists (*Mag.* 3.35). Although the *scriniarii* succeeded in obtaining from Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) the right of incorporation into the prefectural staff and of elevation to the ranks of *adiutores*, it was only under Leo I (457-474) that they were regarded as members of the order; and yet down to the time of Justinian they were excluded from processions on ceremonial occasions which attended the praetorian prefect (*Mag.* 3.35).

In the course of time, possibly during the reign of Justin I (518-527), Lydus' reputation as a scholar came to Justinian's attention, who so respected Lydus' scholarly disposition and pursuits that he deemed him worthy of delivering a panegyric on himself at a time when leading men from Rome happened to be present in Constantinople (*Mag.* 3.28). Justinian, undoubtedly impressed with this panegyric, bade Lydus also to

¹⁹ Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 730-731.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. vi.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 730.

write the history of the Persian War which he was then waging (*Mag.* 3.28), probably that of 527–532. Impressed also with Lydus' erudition and knowledge of Latin, which was already waning in the East by the sixth century, Justinian considered him suitable for a professorial post at the imperial school (University) of Constantinople. He issued to the city prefect at the time an imperial rescript in which he acknowledged Lydus' training in learning, his skill in language, his grace among poets, his extensive erudition, and his knowledge of the Latin language; he ordered the praetorian prefect to reward him from the public treasury (Lydus tactfully does not mention the amount), possibly in appreciation for the panegyric and the history which Lydus had composed; he said that he would honor him also with ranks and greater liberalities; and finally he recommended Lydus' appointment to a professorial position at the university (*Mag.* 3.29). Justinian's rescript on Lydus' behalf indicates how highly esteemed literary excellence was in the civil service.²² The prefect of the city at the time accepted Justinian's recommendation and effected Lydus' appointment; Lydus then began his teaching career, while retaining his service in the praetorian prefecture; and he proceeded to be led on to contemplate high-minded matters (*Mag.* 3.29). Haussig²³ is incorrect when he says "John the Lydian . . . at the end of his career was given a chair at the University of Constantinople." An appointment to the university required a religious test and implied Lydus' Orthodox Christianity, nominally at least. Because his *De Mensibus* and *De Ostentis* treat of pagan Roman beliefs, he is thought to be giving taciturn credence to them. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) says that he [Lydus] seems to be given to superstitions, for he respects and honors the beliefs of the Greeks but also honors the Christian beliefs without giving his readers the possibility of very easily concluding whether he respects the Christian beliefs by conviction or as one who is playing a role. Lydus continued to receive ranks and income from the prefecture, but he was passed over in regard to perquisites as if he were not in the service. He did acquire honor and respect from men in positions of authority, and especially pleasing to him was the fact that he passed his life in ease (*Mag.* 3.30). Lydus presumably retained his professorship at least until his retirement from his service in the praetorian prefecture in 551–552.

²² Downey, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

²³ *A History of Byzantine Civilization* (New York-Washington: Praeger, 1971), p. 118.

Lydus considered the praetorian prefecture to be particularly in rapid decline since the reign of Leo I. In fact, Lydus censures Leo for the financial disasters sustained as a result of his war with the Vandals and other ills (*Mag.* 3.43,44). This war necessitated the securing of vast finances, and so there was greater need for finance ministers rather than men of learning to become praetorian prefects. Since the reign of Zeno (476–491), whom Lydus criticizes for his cowardice, for buying off his wars, and for his confiscations and the destruction of men in high office (*Mag.* 3.45), the status of the *scriniarii* increased while that of the rest of the staff decreased, and more and more *scriniarii* were becoming praetorian prefects (*Mag.* 3.36). Lydus gives wars with Persians and countless other conflicts as reasons for men of learning no longer becoming prefects (*Mag.* 3.54). Though Polycarpus (*Mag.* 3.36) and Marinus (*Mag.* 3.36,46) were praetorian prefects under Anastasius who had been former *scriniarii*, Lydus praises Anastasius for appointing the best of trial rhetoricians as praetorian prefects, one of whom was Sergius (*Mag.* 2.21), and for insisting that the prefecture deserves only men of learning (*Mag.* 3.50). From the reign of Justin I the praetorian prefects were even more frequently being appointed from the ranks of the *scriniarii*. Justinian, to try to solve his financial problems, took refuge, among other things, in the frequent change of prefects, who were necessarily also oppressive (*Mag.* 3.56).

A praetorian prefect who was a former *scriniarius* and one whom Lydus particularly detested was John the Cappadocian, born at Caesarea, formerly called Mazaca (*Mag.* 3.57), of a lowly origin. When Justinian became *magister militum praesentalis* in 520, he made the acquaintance of the Cappadocian who was then a *scriniarius* of one of the *magisteria militum praesentalia*.²⁴ Lydus states that the Cappadocian got into the good graces of the emperor and promised to achieve incredible things for the government (*Mag.* 3.57). The Cappadocian was at that time undoubtedly persuasive in disclosing to Justinian his ideas of reformation. This favor with the emperor got him into the services of the prefecture, where he seems to have been head of a financial bureau as a *numerarius*.²⁵ He was advanced to the ranks of an *illustris* by way of sinecure, which was an indication of the exceptional status that he was already enjoying in the eyes of the emperor, and in 531 the emperor

²⁴ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

appointed him praetorian prefect (*Mag.* 3.57),²⁶ undoubtedly because he recognized that the Cappadocian was endowed with sharpness and practicality of mind, with talent and resourcefulness in raising money, and with the prospect of being an outstandingly shrewd administrator. In 538 he became consul (*Fasti Cons.* 56). In 541 he was discharged from office, his fortune was confiscated, he was exiled to Egypt and later was forced to receive sacerdotal orders. After Theodora's death in 548 the Cappadocian tried to return to political office and to approach Justinian but was unsuccessful.

Lydus had many reasons to hate the Cappadocian. The latter indulged in the grossest of vices; he was a drunkard, glutton, and debauchee, engaging in excessive sexual promiscuity not only with females but also males (*Mag.* 2.21, 3.62, 65). In public life he was wicked (*Mag.* 2.20, 3.57, 69, 72) and abominable (*Mag.* 3.38); he kept his subordinates terrorized (*Mag.* 2.21); he even reserved in the prefectural residence a place which he used as a dungeon for the incarceration and torture of any person, regardless of rank or station in life, who was suspect of withholding money, or anyone who had the misfortune of falling into his disfavor (*Mag.* 3.57). He committed innumerable acts of extortion because of his greed for money, which procured for him immense wealth (*Mag.* 3.62); he had countless coadjutors in evil (*Mag.* 3.59); and he associated with the vulgar element of society, appointing men of lowly estate (even cooks!) to high positions (*Mag.* 3.62). Lydus describes in a superbly vivid and masterful manner one such notoriously wicked person, a namesake and fellow-countryman as well as close relative of the Cappadocian, who was a governor of Lydia and a depraved man (*Mag.* 3.58) and tells of some of his infamous activities (*Mag.* 3.59–61). Lydus was infuriated at the ravaging of his native Lydia and was incensed when he had to look on and say nothing while his friends (*Mag.* 3.57) and other respected citizens of his place of birth were humiliated (*Mag.* 3.59) or tortured and killed (*Mag.* 3.60). Although Lydus' horror at the Cappadocian's mode of living is justifiable, his personal hatred of him may tend to diminish his evaluation.²⁷

The Cappadocian instituted measures that Lydus did not like such as the loss of the right of appeal (*cf.* *Mag.* 2.15), a reform which, though unburdening the highest tribunals, did away with not only their dignity but also a considerable amount of fees for the *exceptores* (*cf.* *Mag.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 734.

2.17,18); the cutting down of fees which resulted in the reduction of income and employees (*Mag.* 3.66), as well as in the augmentation of hours of work (*cf. Mag.* 3.15); the simplification of bureaucratic routine; and the restriction of the use of Latin in the prefecture of the East, where until then it was still in considerable use (*cf. Mag.* 3.68).²⁸

Lydus' love and respect for the ancient traditions of the Romans and for the Latin language were so strong that he traced the decline of the praetorian prefecture, among other things, also to the abolition of Latin. Therefore, he held in contempt Cyrus, praetorian prefect of the East (439–441) under Theodosius II (408–450), who, by issuing his decrees in Greek for legal business (*Mag.* 2.12 = 3.42), transgressed the ancient practice and fulfilled, therefore, the ancient oracle which stated that Fortune would abandon the Romans when they forgot their ancestral language (*Mag.* 2.12 = 3.42). This reform of conducting legal business in the Eastern Empire in Greek instead of Latin, which was spoken only by the educated classes, was offensive to Lydus, for he was very proud of his Latin erudition (*Mag.* 3.27), which, in fact, merited him a professorial position in Latin philology at the university.²⁹ If the Cappadocian's knowledge of Greek, since he did not have a liberal education, was hardly of the literary idiom (Lydus [*Mag.* 3.68] calls it "old-womanish and base idiom"), much more highly defective was his knowledge of Latin.³⁰ Lydus states that this reform was made not because the Cappadocian cared about clarity but in order that his subalterns and officials might not have any difficulty in the process of conducting business (*Mag.* 3.68). This implies that Latin was becoming less and less understood even among the officials of government. At any rate, Lydus' respect for the old traditions of the praetorian prefecture made a rude, uneducated prefect such as the Cappadocian who dared to introduce practical innovations, necessary though they were, in the conduct of business, repellent to him.

The Cappadocian, in his attempt to strengthen the central authority, to control the growing power of the great landowners, and to raise money, compelled the subjects to pay taxes of great diversity and number (*Mag.* 3.70). His brutal and outrageous treatment of the citizenry and taxpayers had a disastrous effect upon the population. Many small, provincial taxpayers were ruined with the result that crowds of

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 438–439, 731.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 731.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

impoverished citizens streamed into Constantinople and swelled its population (*Mag.* 3.70). The so-called "Nika" insurrection of January 532 is ascribed by Lydus mainly to the rapacity and maladministration of the Cappadocian, whom Lydus calls the wrecker of the government (*Mag.* 3.69), an insurrection which resulted in the conflagration that destroyed a large part of the city, including the *Hagia Sophia*, and in the disappearance of the Cappadocian (*Mag.* 3.70). In no way does Lydus blame Justinian for all these ills but lays the entire blame and responsibility upon the Cappadocian. Lydus also criticizes the court officials for their flattering attitude towards the Cappadocian (*Mag.* 3.69). To soothe the spirits of the people, Justinian removed the Cappadocian from office and appointed Phocas praetorian prefect in his place. Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* 1.24.17) says that Justinian removed not only the Cappadocian but also Tribunianus, who was his *assessor*, known as *quaestor*, to win the people to his side. About fifty thousand of the rioters were punished by execution (*Mag.* 3.70). The charred rubble, however, was cleared away and a new Constantinople began to emerge (*Mag.* 3.71). Yet Justinian restored the Cappadocian to his former position nine months later.

Lydus silently passed over the fact that the evils for which he held the Cappadocian responsible did not disappear even after the Cappadocian's final departure from office in 541. Although the Cappadocian's reforms in the sphere of internal affairs of the prefectural service were retained, Lydus avoids any censure of his successors, the most celebrated of whom was a former *scriniarius* named Petrus Barsymes, who was praetorian prefect July 16, 543 to May 1, 546; June 1, 555 to December 27, 559, at the time that Lydus was still writing his *De Magistratibus*. Petrus is the last praetorian prefect of whom we have knowledge under Justinian. Lydus must have also detested Petrus, but he prudently avoids censuring him,³¹ undoubtedly because he was still alive. The charge is made against Lydus that he did not understand the immense difficulties which Justinian had to face as compelling reasons for the various changes initiated by the Cappadocian and also his successors. It may not have been the case that Lydus did not understand these difficulties but that he may not have liked the solutions or the manner of their execution. After all, Lydus was by nature an antiquarian and ultra-conservative, and so it was natural for him to extol the grandeur of the past and to regret its loss.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 733.

Lydus embarks upon a lengthy praise of Phocas, whose impeccable character and excellent conduct in office he esteemed (*Mag.* 3.72–76). Furthermore, this praise may well have had as its underlying purpose the vindication of Phocas against the charges of paganism brought against him in 545–546, which resulted in his suicide, and, in turn, brings the Cappadocian and Phocas into contrast. The former was an Orthodox Christian, nominally at least, and yet flagrantly abused and extorted his fellow man, whereas the latter, though not an Orthodox Christian, still by his love of mankind manifested through his deeds both in and outside of his public service proved himself highly pleasing to the Deity. At this time many intellectuals and senators who did not espouse the Orthodox faith of the emperor were subjected to tortures and even death.³² Procopius (*Anecd.* 21.6), who, though he does not have a good word to say either about the administration of the government or about those involved in it, be they prefects, jurists, or Justinian himself, and represents all of them as not merely inefficient or corrupt but outright malevolent, acknowledges that the praetorian prefects Phocas (January to October 532) and Bassus (Spring to mid-September 548) were men of integrity and honesty. Though Lydus does not mention Bassus, he does say that he personally above others was esteemed by Phocas (*Mag.* 3.73), which implies a kindred moral nature and character. Because Lydus was in direct and frequent contact with Phocas, it cannot be concluded that Lydus was a *deputatus* at that time.³³

Lydus' praising and extolling of Justinian's goodness, philanthropy, mildness, literary genius, and his tireless and vigilant effort to restore peace, previously lost territory, as well as conquest, justice and institutions (*cf. Mag.* 1.6; 2.5,8,28,29,30; 3.1,30,35,38,39,42,55,57,61,69) is generally viewed as obsequiousness.³⁴ Quite possibly, however, Justinian's recognition of Lydus' intellectual and literary qualities and his personal interest in the latter may have been basically the underlying reason for such praise. And yet the two statements which Lydus makes about Justinian, *viz.*, "the emperor, being good though slow in requiting the wicked" (*Mag.* 3.69) and "for it was not safe to reject such an emperor's request" (*Mag.* 3.76) can be considered as uncomplimentary to the emperor. Lydus praises also the deceased Empress Theodora for her contributions to the public welfare and for being ready to use her

³² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 838.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 733.

influence for redressing wrongs and for urging an end to the Cappadocian's administration (*Mag.* 3.69). Lydus also speaks in highly complimentary terms of the aristocrat Gabriellus, the prefect of the city (*Mag.* 3.38), and of the *magister officiorum* Petrus the Patrician (*Mag.* 2.25,26). Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) accuses Lydus of great inequality; of being arrogant where he should not be and humble where he ought not to be; and not only of being an unhesitating flatterer of the living but also of heaping blame most coarsely upon those who had died from whom he had no fear of reprisal for his insults.

Lydus states that he reached the top of the grades of service (*Mag.* 3.25,30). He presumably, therefore, attained the office of *cornicularius*. It took Lydus forty years and four months to achieve this office (*Mag.* 3.30,67). The *cornicularius* was responsible for the actual conduct of cases at law (*Mag.* 3.23), being in charge of all the transactions and ratifying all decisions by affixing his signature to them (*Mag.* 3.12). It was a distinguished and revered office, having been continuously in existence since the founding of Rome, which was by Lydus' time over thirteen hundred years (*Mag.* 3.22). It was bestowed upon those who were meritorious and veterans in return for the honorable execution of lower posts. At the time that the prefecture was at its height, the office of *cornicularius* was also very lucrative. Before Justinian scaled down the fees, the *cornicularius* during his year in the post got an income of 1,000 *solidi* from the *completiones*, which were a part of the constituted stipend of the *cornicularius*, and received, additionally, a pound of gold monthly (*Mag.* 3.24) or 864 *solidi* a year from the *princeps* as compensation for various fees which the *princeps* had taken over. However, by the time that Lydus held the office of *cornicularius* he laments the fact that he received not as much as one obol either from the *princeps* or from the *completiones* (*Mag.* 3.25). A *postulatio simplex* (statement of claim) in the prefect's court in past years cost 37 *solidi* but even this fee, Lydus complains, was reduced to a modest copper (*Mag.* 3.25), which, according to Jones,³⁵ seems excessively low. In stating that he laid aside the service after he had devoted forty years to it and had obtained from it nothing but the mere title of its completion (*Mag.* 3.25,67), Lydus implies that he lost just about all the gain of his earlier life in the service. Thus Momigliano's statement that "bribes and perquisites made him a rich man"³⁶ is debatable.

³⁵ *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* 1, pp. 498-499.

³⁶ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 630 s.v. *Lydus, Ioannes Laurentius*.

Lydus does not give the reason for his retirement. While it has been conjectured as compulsory because of his age or years of service, or as a dismissal because of his having fallen into disfavor, it is not unlikely, however, that Lydus retired voluntarily. He describes the ceremony which was held in his honor upon his retirement, stating that he was congratulated by his superior, the praetorian prefect Hephæstus, who personally delivered to him his retirement subsistence allowance (*annona*) and read aloud in the presence of the entire staff of the praetorian prefecture a citation which extolled him for the faithful performance of his duties and his services to literature and learning and assured him of the bestowal of greater benefactions by the emperor (*Mag.* 3.30). Lydus states that upon his retirement from the service he went on to the imperial court to receive the customary title which was conferred by the emperor upon those who completed the service, and, after receiving it, he devoted himself again to his books (*Mag.* 3.30), which implies that he spent the remainder of his life in scholarship and writing.

Lydus, according to custom, would have retired one year after the reception of the office of *cornicularius*.³⁷ Lydus' date of retirement, therefore, can be fixed with some precision, for he states that he retired after he had been in service for forty years and four months and that the praetorian prefect at the time of his retirement was Hephæstus (*Mag.* 3.30), who was in office from the autumn of 551 to the autumn of 552.³⁸ The only question is precisely when did Lydus' retirement occur during Hephæstus' prefecture. The two equally possible dates that can be offered are December 25, 551, and April 1, 552. In Italy the *promotiones officii praetoriani*, including the retirement of the *cornicularius*, occurred at Christmas,³⁹ while under Justinian the *advocatus fisci* in the tribunal of the prefect of the city of Constantinople retired on April 1, the anniversary of Justinian's ascent to the imperial office.⁴⁰ Lydus' age at the time of his retirement was sixty-one or sixty-two.

Upon retirement Lydus received presumably the dignities of *tribunus* and *notarius* without obligations of office and *comes primi ordinis*⁴¹ with

³⁷ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 731.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 786; Stein rejects his former acceptance of the date of Lydus' retirement as occurring in 552/3 and accepts Wünsch's date of 551/2 (*cf.* Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 839 & note 9).

³⁹ Cassiodorus *Var.* 11.17.

⁴⁰ *Cod. Just.* 2.7.26.4.

⁴¹ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 731.

the title of λαμπρότατος, or in Latin *clarissimus* (cf. *Mag.* 3.4,30). According to *Cod. Just.* 12.49.12 (Anastasius) the retiring *cornicularius* of the prefecture of Illyricum is named *tribunus et notarius* (without obligation of office) and, furthermore, *comes primi ordinis*; according to every evidence this holds true also for the retiring *cornicularius* of the prefecture of the East. In the Ostrogothic kingdom the retiring *cornicularius* of the praetorian prefecture receives equally the title of *spectabilis* and *tribunus et notarius* but not the *comitiva primi ordinis* [Cassiodorus *Var.* 11.18].⁴²

The precise date of Lydus' death is unknown. The view that Lydus lived up to the beginning of the reign of Justinian's nephew and successor, Justin II (565–578), was first expressed by C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal,⁴³ who conjectured Lydus' words ὅταν κοσμεῖν τὴν τύχην ἐδελήσῃ (Mag. 2.8) as applying to an emperor who was going to assume the consulship because Lydus could scarcely have used the future in connection with Justinian who had already been consul for the fourth time in the year 534 (thus at least eighteen years before Lydus could have written), and so Lydus' statement excellently fits Justin II. Wünsch⁴⁴ correctly rejects von Lingenthal's opinion; pointing out that ὅταν ἐδελήσῃ merely means "whenever [again] he [Justinian] should wish" and not "as soon as he [Justin II] shall wish"; that Lydus expressly does not mention any emperor beyond Justinian or any events subsequent to the latter's reign; and that the *De Magistratibus* was composed between 554 and November 14, 565 (Justinian's date of death). Wünsch⁴⁵ also notes that the mentioning of Justinian's name in topic thirteen under Part II in the table of contents of the *De Magistratibus* indicates that the latter was composed during Justinian's reign. For these reasons it is highly unlikely that Lydus survived Justinian's reign. Sandys,⁴⁶ without furnishing evidence, gives Lydus' date of death as 570.

Ensslin⁴⁷ revived von Lingenthal's theory that Lydus was still alive to see the elevation of Justin II to the imperial office on November 14,

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 731–732, note 6.

⁴³ "Joannes, des Philadelphiens Laurentius Sohn, genannt Lydus," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 12 (1892), Röm. Abt., pp. 79–80.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, Praef., p. vi.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Praef., p. ix.

⁴⁶ *A History of Classical Scholarship* 1, p. 388.

⁴⁷ "Zur Abfassungszeit von des Johannes Lydos περί ἀρχῶν," *Philologische Wochen-schrift* 62 (1942), No. 31/35 (August 8), cols. 452–454.

565, and his assumption of the consulship on January 1, 566.⁴⁸ He accepted von Lingenthal's interpretation of ὅταν κοσμεῖν τὴν τύχην ἐδελήσοι (*Mag.* 2.8) as referring to an emperor who had not yet become consul and argued, furthermore, on the basis of the passage ὅθεν ἐτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς εἰς βασιλείαν προαγομένοις οὐ πρότερον τὰ ταύτης ἐπιτίθεται σύμβολα πρὶν στρεπτὸν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιδέντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τέλει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφήνωσιν (*Mag.* 2.3) that, since Lydus here states that the torque is placed *on the neck* of the person being elevated to emperor, and, since this was done in the case of Justin II, as can be proved from Corippus' poem on Justin II: *armati manibus sacrati circulus auri impositi in collo imperium sublime dicavit* (II.130 sqq.), whereas it was placed *on the head* of previous emperors (*sc.* Justinian I, Justin I, Anastasius I, Leo I), it can be concluded that Justin II is implied. Ensslin states that we might assume that as *Mag.* 2.3 so *Mag.* 2.8 was written at the time after the elevation of Justin II and before his assumption of the consulship which brings us approximately to December 565.

Dölger,⁴⁹ however, rejects Ensslin's thesis for several cogent reasons, stating that, as regards the passage in *Mag.* 2.8, it is improbable that Justin II, if he were meant, would not have been mentioned by name since Lydus cites by name every one of his predecessors from Theodosius II on. Corippus in his poem *in laudem Iustini minoris* (II.351 sqq.) lets Justin II announce already at his elevation to emperor that he will again resume the festive undertaking of the office of consul with the distribution of gifts, which had been suspended by Justinian to the great displeasure of the festival enjoying Byzantines. According to Ensslin's interpretation, therefore, Lydus' statement ὅταν . . . ἐδελήσοι becomes totally unintelligible. Corippus (*op. cit.*; IV.10) reports that Justin II had left the palace for the distribution of the customary gifts on the day that he assumed the consulship *trabeatus*, that is, in the garb of a consul. This, however, cannot be used as an affirmative source; it is said that not until later did Justin II put on the garment of which Lydus speaks. Thereby any possibility of Lydus' referring to Justin II vanishes. As regards the passage in *Mag.* 2.3, Dölger points out that the ceremony of crowning by the laying of the torque upon the head is

⁴⁸ Cf. E. Stein, "Post-consulat et αὐτοκρατορία," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 2 (1933-1934), pp. 869-871.

⁴⁹ "Nochmals zur Abfassungszeit von des Johannes Lydos περὶ ἀρχῶν," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 62 (1942), No. 49/52 (December 5), cols. 667-669.

attested for at least seven emperors from Julian up to Justin I in literary testimonies⁵⁰; that the passage in Corippus (*op. cit.*, II.130), in fact, could be interpreted as a torque-coronation if *collum* be understood as a poetic synecdoche or, more probably, it is assumed that the observation governed the poet that the torque, which, indeed, should represent the diadem, as this actually lies upon the neck with its end; and that there is no compelling reason why a ceremony existing since Julian without exception should have been altered with the entrance into the imperial office of Justin II when no source reports anything about such a change. Dölger would not accept Lydus' passage (*Mag.* 2.3) as a serious proof of this change because Lydus, he says, is an antiquity maniac who seeks to point out the continuous existence of old Roman-republican customs. For these reasons Dölger rightly does not accept the thesis that Lydus survived the reign of Justinian.

II. *Works of Lydus*

Lydus' writings may be classified as those which he had written as a young man but have not survived and as those which he composed later in life and have survived to a greater or lesser degree. The former were a panegyric on the Praetorian Prefect Zoticus (*Mag.* 3.27); an encomium on Emperor Justinian (*Mag.* 3.28); a history of the latter's first war against the Persians (*Mag.* 3.28); and poetry (*Mag.* 3.29). Although Lydus' poetic compositions have not survived, two rather harsh opinions have been expressed about them: that of Hase¹ – "We should let Lydus' poetic works, which fortunately have been lost or lie hidden, remain at rest"; and that of Müller and Donaldson² – "The world has not been inconsolable for the loss of Lydus' poems." Lydus' surviving works are *Περὶ Μηνῶν* (*De Mensibus*, "On Months"); *Περὶ Διοσμειῶν* (*De Ostentis*, "On Celestial Signs"); and *Περὶ Ἐξουσιῶν* (*De Potestatibus*, "On Powers"), as is its title in the manuscript at the beginning of the work, or *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας* (*De Magistratibus Rei Publicae*

⁵⁰ Cf. A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der Römischen Kaiser," *Mitt. Deutsch. Archäolog. Inst. Berlin, Röm. Abt.*, 50 (1935), p. 52 sqq.; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), pp. 20 sqq.

¹ *Prologus*, etc., p. ix.

² *A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* 3, p. 401.

Romanae, "On the Magistracies of the Roman State"), as is its title in the manuscript in the margin at the beginning of Part or Book I. Lydus wrote these three works one after the other; they are stuffed with names of authors, both Greek and Latin, whom he cites to display his erudition but often from memory, which in part explains the numerous mistakes which he makes.³ Lydus expected his works to be read by posterity (cf. *Mag.* 2.19). They are replete with references to Roman institutions and affairs and reflect Justinian's new spirit of strongly emphasizing the Roman civilization and of aiming at persuading the world that the Byzantine Empire continued the life, rule, and traditions of the ancient Romans. The learned men during Justinian's reign devoted themselves to the study of Roman antiquity and celebrated with praise whatever came down to the Byzantines from the Romans. Lydus, just as many Byzantine writers did, includes in his writings a certain amount of unsound factual material (even Classical writers are not immune from this), but even this is important as a reflection of the intellectual climate of the sixth century.

Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) cites the order of Lydus' works as *De Ostentis*, *De Mensibus*, *De Magistratibus*, but his citation is from memory and is not on the basis of their chronological composition. Hase⁴ lists their order as *De Mensibus*, *De Magistratibus*, *De Ostentis*. Bekker's edition publishes them according to Hase's order. Wünsch,⁵ however, is probably correct in considering the order of their composition as *De Mensibus*, *De Ostentis*, *De Magistratibus*. The *De Mensibus* is cited twice in the *De Ostentis* (7, 25) and ten times in the *De Magistratibus* (*Int.*, 1.8, 1.9, 2.4, 2.12, 2.13, 2.19 (*bis*), 3.42, 3.61) as having already been written. Lydus' statement περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ λέξῳ συγγραφῇ (*Mens.* 4.79) implies the *De Ostentis*. What is disputable is whether the *De Ostentis* or the *De Magistratibus* was written immediately after the *De Mensibus*.

Precisely when Lydus began to compose these three works is a matter of dispute. According to Wünsch,⁶ it can be inferred from Lydus' own testimony (*Mag.* 3.30) that he began his writing after his retirement in 551–552, but, according to Stein,⁷ it is not certain that Lydus began to write his *De Mensibus* only after his retirement. Stein⁸ says that, if

³ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 732.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. xi–xiii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, pp. v–vi.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. v.

⁷ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 839.

⁸ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 839, note 6.

Wünsch's assumption is correct, and if the *De Magistratibus* was begun in 554, Lydus would have worked three years at most on his *De Mensibus* and *De Ostentis*.

The *De Mensibus* and the *De Ostentis* are a collection or compilation of information originating directly or indirectly from sources and works, now lost, of old Roman writers on similar subjects. In these two works Lydus is only a compiler, often apparently inexact and not always intelligible. The chief value of these two works consists in their use of works otherwise not available elsewhere. The *Suda* (s. v. Ἰωάννης Φιλαδέλφειος Λυδός) mentions only the *De Mensibus* and the *De Ostentis* and that they were dedicated to the Praetorian Prefect Gabriellus. Wachsmuth⁹ interprets Lydus' words πειράσσομαι ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς διελθεῖν (*Ost.* 3) as implying a dedication to two or more individuals, a pair of brothers (which is possible) or spouses, one of whom Hase (*animadv. in librum de ostentis* p. 293) suspects was Gabriellus. Christ-Schmid-Stählin¹⁰ think that it is possible that one person is meant by πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

The *De Mensibus*, of which only two folia of the manuscript have survived, everything else being preserved from excerpts, deals especially with the ancient Roman calendar and its feasts. It presents a history of the various festivals of the entire year, how and for what reason each is celebrated, from the beginning of the Roman government down to the time of Justinian. The *De Mensibus* is divided into four books or parts. Part I, which is highly fragmentary and whose train of thought is often difficult to follow, appears to deal with the oldest calendars in Italy since the time of Saturn, who was reputed to have devised the year, under the influence of the Lydians (Etruscans), Greeks, and especially the institutions of Numa. Part II, entitled Περὶ Ἡμέρας, deals with the origin of the day and the various days of the week. Part III, entitled Περὶ Μηνός, treats of the months of the year. Part IV goes through the individual months from January to the end of December and gives a calendar with astrological, astronomical, and antiquarian notes. In the extant material astrological interests extend beyond the antiquarian. From the disposition of Books II and III a firm framework results which, when compared with Macrobius and Censorinus, can be traced back to Suetonius. Anysius' work Περὶ Μηνῶν (iv/v A.D.), mentioned in the *De Mensibus* (4.25), might also have been the basis of this work of Lydus. Cornelius Labeo also plays a part in it. Because of the corrupt condition

⁹ *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber De Ostentis et Calendaria omnia, Prolegomena*, p. xx.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 1042, note 4.

of the text a continuous text cannot be satisfactorily constructed. The proper arrangement of the pieces of this text that have come down to us from this work is often questionable. Börtzler¹¹ believes that Lydus' text was expanded early (already in the sixth century) by means of annotations and that the preserved excerpts present in themselves double compositions. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) evaluates the *De Mensibus* thus: ἡ περὶ μηνῶν πραγματεία, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἄχρηστον ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος μάθησιν ἐπίχαρὶ τε καὶ λίαν χρειώδες.

The *De Ostentis* treats of the augural teachings of the Etruscans and Romans adapted to Byzantine matters. In short, it deals with the origin and progress of the art of divination. It contains a multitude of superstitions which had not ceased to accumulate up to the fourth century and which Lydus did not hesitate to accept. Omens are deduced from solar and lunar eclipses, appearances of comets, signs from the moon, thunder, and lightning and other meteorological occurrences as well as earthquakes. The preservation of this work is valuable for our knowledge of ancient astrology, for it presents a historical survey of it along with the sources of Lydus' knowledge. Because of this work Lydus can be considered the last astrologer of the old world.

The *De Ostentis* contains the following parts: (1) Introduction (1-8); (2) On Events signified by the sun and the moon (9a-d); (3) On Comets (10a, 10b); (4) Dissertation of Campestris On Comets (11-15); (5) General Observations pertaining to the moon (16); (6) Observations of the ancients pertaining to the moon, distinguished according to the lunar months (17-20); (7) On Thunder (21-22); (8) Treatise on thunder from the teaching of the Egyptians, distinguished according to solar months (23-26); (9) Daily divination from thunder, regional with reference to the moon, according to the Roman Figulus from the writings of Tages by way of verbatim translation (27-38); (10) Divination from thunder from the writings of Fonteius the Roman by way of verbatim translation (39-41); (11) General observation with reference to the moon from the summer solstice from the writings of Labeo by way of verbatim translation (42); (12) On Thunderbolts (43-46); (13) Labeo's *Liber Fulguralis* (47-52); (14) On Earthquakes (53-54); (15) Seismology of Vicellius (55-58); (16) Daily record of the entire year from the writings of Claudius Tuscus by way of verbatim translation (59-71H); and (17) Astrological Ethnology (71). Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180) evaluates

¹¹ *Philologus* 77, N. F. 31 (1921), p. 364.

the *De Ostentis* thus: ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν περὶ διοσημειῶν, ὅσα γε κατ' ἐμὴν κρίσιν καὶ πεῖραν, οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπ' ὀλίγον διενήνοχε μύθων.

The *De Magistratibus*, which is considered the most important of Lydus' writings, has as its purpose to present in detail and in historical sequence, though the latter may not always be strictly observed, the institutions, rights, and fate of the Roman magistracies from the time of Aeneas through the period of the kings and the Republic down to, and including, the reign of Justinian, and the material is set forth in such a way as to show that continuity exists in the magistracies of the older Romans and the Byzantines of the time of Justinian.¹² In this work Lydus presents his image of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, his knowledge of Roman history, and, more importantly, his attitude towards the civil service, which is one of a service-oriented bureaucrat rather than a policy-making personage. The *De Magistratibus* is divided into three Parts or Books. Part I is devoted to the period of the kings and the Republic. Part II treats of the Imperial period and particularly the history of the more elevated offices of the later Empire. Part III, which is slightly longer than Part I (exclusive of the introduction and the table of contents) and Part II combined, deals with the staff of the praetorian prefecture.¹³

The *De Magistratibus* begins with a brief introduction, which undoubtedly was written by Lydus, for in it he mentions his *De Mensibus*. Wünsch¹⁴ believes that this introduction, as it now exists, is not complete and exactly as Lydus had originally written it but is mutilated. He offers two basic arguments for his opinion: (1) Since in the margin at the word ἐτρούσκουσ the copyist has written δωριῶσ ετρα η εθνη (sc. Δωρίως ἔτρα ἢ ἔθνη), these words must be assumed to have existed in Lydus' autograph but were removed from the text by a scribe and placed in the margin and were thus repeated by a succeeding scribe; and (2) Since the *Suda* states that the *De Mensibus* and the *De Ostentis* were dedicated to the Praetorian Prefect Gabriellus, the *De Magistratibus* probably also was dedicated to him, for in it Lydus praises Gabriellus (*Mag.* 3.38). Wünsch's first argument may be correct, but his second is disputable, for the *De Magistratibus* need not also have been dedicated to him. In fact, Lydus' words (*Mag.* 1.15) εὐχαριστήριον ὥσπερ ἀνάθημα προσφιλὲς τοῖς ἐφόροις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρων imply rather

¹² Wünsch, *op. cit.*, *Praef.*, pp. vii-viii.

¹³ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, pp. ix-x.

that he is dedicating this work to all the praetorian prefects under whom he had served as an expression of his gratitude towards them. The introduction, as it exists, certainly appears to be intact and fits perfectly well as a prefatory statement to his work; consequently, there is no compelling reason to deny that this introduction is substantially the same as Lydus had originally composed it.

After the introduction there is a table of contents which sets forth the various topics that are intended to be treated successively. It is divided into only two parts: ΛΟΓΟC ΠΡΩΤΟC consisting of fourteen consecutively enumerated topics and ΛΟΓΟC Β̄ consisting of sixteen consecutively enumerated topics. Wünsch inserts a conjectured heading Λόγος Γ' between topics six and seven of Part II because all the topics from seven to sixteen belong to Part III and because the manuscript at that point in the narrative does contain the heading ΛΟΓΟC ΤΡΙΤΟC. Though Wünsch's conjectured addition is well taken, it is probably better to omit it, as does Fuss. The absence of the heading ΛΟΓΟC Γ̄ in the table of contents and the consecutive enumeration of topics under ΛΟΓΟC Β̄ tend to imply that the material was to have been treated, initially at least, only in two parts and that sometime after Lydus had started to write down his material, particularly while he was in the process of composing Part II, he decided (*cf. Mag.* 2.3,22) to treat the materials beginning with topic seven in his table of contents as ΛΟΓΟC Γ̄ and so he placed the latter heading at the appropriate place in his manuscript but he did not revise his table of contents to reflect this change. Wünsch¹⁵ believes that, because the material grew excessively, Lydus joined to the first two parts a third part specifically dealing with the staff of the praetorian prefect.

After the table of contents begins the *De Magistratibus* proper. While treating of the various magistracies of the Roman state, Lydus often discusses the praetorian prefecture: its origin from the cavalry commander and its great power (*Mag.* 1.14); how it was called at Rome and how in the camp, and why it was called thus (*Mag.* 2.6); the prefect's wearing of a sword from the beginning (*Mag.* 2.9); his insignia (*Mag.* 2.13); how his power was decreased, and what he lost (*Mag.* 2.10 = 3.40); what magistracies were born of the prefecture and what was left to it (*Mag.* 2.11 = 3.41); how the respect originally accorded the praetorian prefect, whose former prerogatives Lydus exalts, was diminished

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. viii.

(*Mag.* 2.17); and that he did not have in the beginning a fixed residence (*Mag.* 2.20), but under whom he acquired such (*Mag.* 2.20,21).

Although the purpose of Part III was to be a special and separate account on the staff of the praetorian prefect (*Mag.* 3.1), Lydus continues his discussion of the office of praetorian prefect and recounts with the deepest regret its decline in power and esteem along with the causes for this, especially during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. In Parts I and II Lydus makes useful references to the period of the Roman Republic and even that of Romulus and the Roman kings. His best and more important historical material, however, covers the period from the fourth to the sixth centuries, and it is an especially valuable primary source of information about the social, economic, and administrative condition during the reigns of Anastasius I, Justin I, and Justinian I. For, having spent forty years and four months in the service of the praetorian prefecture, Lydus had acquired first-hand knowledge of it and its operations (*Mag.* 1.15). He had had also the opportunity to observe at close range the workings of the government. He had come into contact with many important and policy-making persons. He had been an eye-witness to many events that occurred at Constantinople during the reigns of the aforementioned emperors. For these reasons Lydus' personal evaluation and critique on the events of his own lifetime are worthy of note.

Particularly valuable are Lydus' digressions, to which he devotes almost as much space as he does to his historical narrative. These digressions often add philological, historical, and, in general, information of an encyclopedic nature. Though sometimes they do not have a direct connection with what is being discussed and are not always strictly necessary and may be characterized as pedantic, they do relieve the reader of the tedium of a dry narration. He writes as though he were still teaching at the university. For example, while he is discussing the office of *censor*, at the mention of the word "plays," he digresses at length on the subject of tragedy and comedy and its various kinds (*Mag.* 1.40) and various poets (*Mag.* 1.41). At the mention of the word *nepos*, he etymologizes at length and talks about the scorpion (*Mag.* 1.42). At the mention of fish of which John the Cappadocian was fond (*Mag.* 3.62), he discusses the elops (*Mag.* 3.63). At the mention of the flesh-colored garments which the female companions of John the Cappadocian wore, he goes into an extended discussion of the garment called *sandyx* (*Mag.* 3.64). To say with Christ-Schmid-Stählin¹⁶ that Lydus "deviates from

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 1043.

his subject in a very silly way whenever any opportunity appears to be offered him to affix a show-piece from the junkroom of his accumulated notes" is patently hyperbolic.

Of particular importance are Lydus' copious citations of Latin words and terms, most often accompanied by the Greek explanations of them, some of which are not attested in the existing lexica. There is no reason to assume that Lydus had an imperfect knowledge of Latin. Justinian certainly recognized Lydus' philological erudition, both in Greek and in Latin, and this is proved by the fact that he recommended Lydus' appointment as a professor of Latin philology at the University of Constantinople (*Mag.* 3.29). Dölger's statement¹⁷ that "as he [Lydus] had an imperfect acquaintance with Latin, his work [the *De Magistratibus*] contained many serious errors" and that of Stein¹⁸ that "far from being an expert on Latin philology, which he thinks that he is, ignorant of the meanings of certain words, he sometimes gives nonsensical etymologies" can be disputed by a close scrutiny of Lydus' Latin citations.

The *De Magistratibus* exhibits not only imperfections of composition but also several historical inaccuracies and omissions. The former are the following. There is the omission of the heading ΛΟΓΟC Γ̄ in the table of contents between topics six and seven of Part II, as has already been mentioned, and the non-enumeration of topics seven to sixteen as one to ten. The text (*Mag.* 1.2) states that 375 years elapsed from Julius Caesar to Constantine I. Lydus probably had in mind the time span from the assassination of Caesar, which occurred in 44 B.C., to the consecration of Byzantium in A.D. 330, which took place on the fifth day before the Ides of May, i.e., May 11.¹⁹ If this is the time span which Lydus had in mind, then Lydus believes that Caesar's assassination was perpetrated in 45 B.C., as Wünsch²⁰ points out, an error of approximately one year. Next, the text says that 224 years and 4 months elapsed from Constantine I (i.e. from the consecration of Constantinople) to the death of Anastasius I (i.e. April 9, 518). This calculation leads to 554. Wünsch²¹ points out that Lydus could not have committed so serious an error with reference to times when he was alive and so suggests that

¹⁷ *The Cambridge Medieval History* 4, pt. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967), ch. xxvii, p. 228.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 732.

¹⁹ Cf. Th. Preger, "Das Gründungsdatum von Konstantinopel," *Hermes* 36 (1901), p. 336.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. vi.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. vii.

some words dropped out of the text through scribal carelessness and, to correct this computation error, proposes the addition of <πρὴ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔτη> between the words ἔτη and σκαδ', viz. "from the latter [Constantine] to the death of Anastasius the emperor one hundred and eighty-eight years and to this day two hundred and twenty-four years and seven months." The year 554, therefore, is significant and may well have been intended as the year when Lydus was writing the *De Magistratibus*. Klotz,²² however, and Kroll²³ believe that Wünsch's conjecture probably ought not to be inserted because the error is due to carelessness on Lydus' part. Thus the composition of the *De Magistratibus* appears to have been undertaken in November 554, according to Wünsch,²⁴ or in December, according to Stein,²⁵ for in counting seven months beginning with May 11, one arrives at the month of December. Two long passages are repeated with almost identical wording in both Part II (*Mag.* 2.10–12) and Part III (*Mag.* 3.40–42). There is also an instance of an inadequate explanation, for Lydus says (*Mag.* 2.3) that he will speak later about the *Augustales*, but in the place where they are actually mentioned (*Mag.* 3.9–10), he does not give a detailed explanation about them, as one would expect.

A few historical inaccuracies occur. Lydus (*Mag.* 1.51) calls Augustus Caesar's nephew, whereas in actuality he was Caesar's grand-nephew. According to Klotz,²⁶ the use of the wagon in the city which Justinian allowed the *honorati* to use is assigned to antiquity (*Mag.* 1.18); the garment of the *triumphatores* is described according to the garment which Justinian wore at the time of his triumph over Gelimer (*Mag.* 2.2); and the office of *magister sacrorum officiorum* is equated with the office of *magister equitum* (*Mag.* 2.23,24). As regards Klotz's third example it should be noted that Lydus merely points out that, when the office of *magister equitum* was abolished by Augustus and was supplanted by the office of *praefectus praetorio*, and when the latter lost his military character and became the head civil administrator of the state, with the *magistri militum* assuming the latter's former military functions, the *magister officiorum* emerged as the head of the palace forces with greater powers than those of the *magister equitum* (cf. *Mag.* 2.10 [= 3.40],23,24).

²² *Op. cit.*, col. 2211.

²³ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 24 (1904), col. 869.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. vii.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 839, note 8.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, col. 2212.

According to Stein,²⁷ the capture of Antioch by the Persians in June 540 (*Mag.* 3.54, *cf.* 55 sqq.) is presented as if it had occurred during Justinian's first Persian War. These imperfections in composition are probably due to the fact that Lydus died before he had the opportunity to reread his entire manuscript and to revise the materials contained therein.

Some obvious omissions by Lydus are also observed. He does not mention the recapture of parts of Spain (552), the settlement of Italy (554), the earthquake at Constantinople (557), and the second visitation of the plague (558).

The following scribal tamperings and errors are observed. The numerals in the headings of chapters 34 and 36 (Part I) are incorrectly written in the manuscript as ΙΙΕΜΙΙΘΗ and ΕΚΘΗ instead of ΤΕΤΑΡΘΗ and ΙΙΕΜΙΙΘΗ, as they should be if they are to conform to the table of contents. These have been corrected both in the text of the present edition and the translation. After the beginning of chapter 38 (Part I) the manuscript has ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓΗ ΔΥΟ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΙ; this title is incorrectly placed here, for it better fits as the title for chapter 44. The manuscript gives the heading ΔΕΚΑΝΔΡΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΧΙΑ, ΗΝ ΕΚΑΛΟΥΝ ΙΤΑΛΟΙ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΙΡΑΤΟΝ for chapter 45, which should not have been placed here, for it better suits the content of chapter 34. Though these titles are omitted by Wünsch in his edition, it is perhaps better to leave them in the text exactly as they occur in the manuscript, as Fuss does. Between chapters 71 and 72 (Part III) the text has simply ΛΟΓΟΣ without a letter indicating a numeral, possibly intending Δ. If this had originally existed in Lydus' autograph, it would be an indication that Lydus intended a further expansion of his material into a Part IV. Wünsch²⁸ believes that ΛΟΓΟΣ here was incorrectly indicated by the scribe as the beginning of Part or Book IV.

According to Wünsch,²⁹ it can be demonstrated that Part III was completed after 554 since the expedition against the *Franci* is mentioned in *Mag.* 3.56.³⁰ While Stein³¹ agrees with Wünsch that Lydus began his composition of the *De Magistratibus* in 554, he totally disagrees with him that *Mag.* 3.56 refers to the expedition of the Frankish generals

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 734.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 164.17 (*app. crit.*)

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. vi.

³⁰ *Cf.* H. Gelzer in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* 2, p. 934.

³¹ *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur seit Diocletian* (Vienna: Rikola, 1922), p. 28, note 3.

Leutharis and Butilinus but that Lydus has in mind Theodebert, king of the Franks, of the year 539³² rather than the circumstances of 554. Stein³³ argues thus:

De Mag. 3.56 *in.* cannot aid us to date the *De Magistratibus*. This treatise had just been begun in December 554, according to *Mag.* 1.2. It was not completed in the course of the year 555, contrary to what I had held, for *Mag.* 3.55 furnished a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* which remained until now unnoticed. Lydus *Mag.* 3.55 declares that Justinian got the better of Chosroes, overwhelming him the first time with gold, and then, when the Persian king resumed the war, overwhelming him also with iron. Thus, by every evidence, the treaty which Lydus equates thus with the *pax aeterna* is not the peace concluded in the autumn of 561 and by virtue of which the Empire, five years after the cessation of hostilities, became again a tributary of the Persians, but the truce of 557, which, following quite closely the great military successes achieved by the Byzantines in 556, did not impose upon it any pecuniary obligation to the Sassanid kingdom. Consequently, *Mag.* 3.55 was written between 557 and 561 . . . But, as it seems, indeed, that a relatively considerable time elapsed between the drafting of the second book of the *De Magistratibus* and that of the third, I believe that the date of 555 is still valid for the greater part of the first two books of the *De Magistratibus*.

Moravcsik,³⁴ without offering evidence, says that the *De Magistratibus* was composed in 559.

The *De Magistratibus* probably drew from a work written between 548 and 552 by Petrus the Patrician, with whom Lydus used to discuss ancient Roman institutions (*Mag.* 2.26). Petrus' work, of which only fragments have survived,³⁵ dealt with the history and function of the office of *magister officiorum* (*cf.* *Mag.* 2.25). Lydus' work is a primary source for the administrative history of the Late Empire and is the first historical treatise of Roman public law written since the time of

³² Cf. *Proc. Bell. Goth.* 2.25, esp. §§ 19 sqq.

³³ *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 2, pp. 839–840.

³⁴ *Byzantinoturcica* 1, p. 328.

³⁵ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 728.

Emperor Hadrian (117–138), it seems, and it is the only one which antiquity has bequeathed to us.³⁶ Suetonius, Hadrian's private secretary (*magister epistularum*), had written a work, now lost, titled *De Institutione Officiorum*,³⁷ which apparently dealt with state and court offices and their history and was an outcome of his appointment at the imperial court and may have been connected with Hadrian's reorganization of the civil service. The opinion of Heisenberg³⁸ that "much less is learned from Lydus regarding Byzantine offices than from contemporary historians," and that of Haussig³⁹ that "admittedly his work has no lasting value" are patently disputable, for, when the material contained in the *De Magistratibus* is collated with the historical narratives of Procopius, Agathias, and Menander Protector, a well-balanced and full picture of Justinian's reign is obtained. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 180), who says ἡ δὲ περὶ πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα φιλοτιμουμένοις οὐκ ἄκομψον παρέχεται τὴν ἱστορίαν, evaluates the *De Magistratibus* as a not inelegant history on the civil magistracies for those who are especially interested in this subject.

Another important source for the internal history of the Late Empire is the official correspondence of Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, Senator (ca. 490–583), written in his capacity as *quaestor*, *magister officiorum*, and *praefectus praetorio* to the Gothic king Theoderic and his immediate successors in the palace of Ravenna, and published by him in 537 under the title *Variae, sc. Epistulae* ("Miscellaneous Correspondence"). Although the imperial institutions dealt with in the latter work were modified to suit the conditions of the Ostrogothic king, the offices and functions were altered so little that this work is of great value for the administration of Constantinople as well as of Ravenna. Equally indispensable and important sources for the internal history and administrative organization of the Late Empire are also the various enactments of the *Codices* of Emperor Theodosius and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an early fifth century handbook of the chief civil and military offices with their departmental staffs and, in some cases, the spheres of their competence.

Several noteworthy texts of varying length have come down from the middle Byzantine period which afford an important overall picture

³⁶ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 734.

³⁷ A. Reifferscheid (1860), p. 346, *cf.* p. 465.

³⁸ *Byz. Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), p. 221.

³⁹ *A History of Byzantine Civilization*, p. 118.

of administrative organization: (1) the *Uspenskij Taktikon*, which was compiled under Emperor Michael III (842–867) and his mother Theodora sometime around 842–843 and discovered by Theodor Uspenskij; (2) the *Treatise* (or so-called *Cletorologion*) of Philotheus, who describes himself as imperial *protospatharius* and *atriklines*, was compiled, according to its superscription, in September 899 during the reign of Emperor Leo VI (886–911), and describes the rules of precedence observed at court banquets; (3) the *De Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* (“The Book of Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court”), attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959), which is the codification of court ceremonial for the enlightenment and edification of Constantine’s successors, giving the details of the ceremonies prescribed for all possible occasions; (4) some chapters of the *De Administrando Imperio*; (5) the *Taktikon Benešević*, compiled between 934 and 944; (6) the *Taktikon Escorial*,⁴⁰ compiled between 971 and 975 and taking into account the administrative reform undertaken at the time of Byzantium’s territorial expansion of the tenth century. These *taktika* are an epitomized catalog of officials and dignitaries for the purpose of showing their order of precedence and apparently served court ceremonials, perhaps as a handbook for the *atriklinai*. Last, the *De Officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus⁴¹ (so called because it was wrongly ascribed to the *curopalates* Georgius Codinus), consisting of twelve chapters which do not go beyond the beginning of the fifteenth century, is an account of the hierarchy of court and higher ecclesiastical dignities and offices, the dress of these dignitaries and officials, their functions, celebrated feasts in honor of the Lord, and the customs that are therein observed, the different feasts at which the emperor is present when he sojourns in Constantinople, the functions of the army, of the great *domesticus*, the great *drungarius* of the Watch, the coronation of the emperor, the promotion of the *despotes*, the promotion of the *sebastokrator* and the *Caesar*, the promotion of the patriarch, the imperial garments of mourning, the fiancée of the emperor and future empress.

⁴⁰ N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e Siècles*. La Collection “Le Monde Byzantin” 5 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972).

⁴¹ J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des Offices*. La Collection “Le Monde Byzantin” 1 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966).

III. *Manuscripts of Lydus' Works*

a) *Discovery of the Codex Caseolinus*

The text of Lydus' three surviving works has been transmitted, so far as we now know, in only one manuscript, which was discovered by Villoison in 1784 and became known as the *Codex Caseolinus*. When Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817), the ambassador of France to the Sublime Port (1784–1791),¹ embarked on his trip to Constantinople August 4, 1784, he was accompanied by Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison (1753–1805), an avid Hellenist and scholar of Greek codices, along with many others: the poet Jacques Delille, the sketcher Louis-François Cassas, the friend of Choiseul-Gouffier, Alexandre Maurice Blanc d'Hauterive, the astronomer Tondou, and the archaeologist-painter Louis François Sebastien Fauvel, and Kauffer; a year later (1785) the group was joined by the Hellenist Jean-Baptiste Le Chevalier.² Kauffer had accompanied Choiseul-Gouffier to Greece in 1776 and had served as his private secretary for some time.³ Villoison was charged with the mission of searching out ancient manuscripts and inscriptions in Greece and the East. He had been sent by the French government to Venice in 1779 to examine the manuscripts of the Library of St. Mark, where he discovered the Codex Marcianus of Homer and published thereafter the *Aneacdota Graeca*,⁴ as well the text of the discovered manuscript of the *Iliad* with commentary in 1788.⁵ On his trip with Choiseul-Gouffier he was more successful in finding Greek inscriptions than in discovering ancient manuscripts. In spite of extensive searching he succeeded in finding only one precious manuscript, that of

¹ See Didot-Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter 10 (Paris: F. Didot, 1863), cols. 360–362 s.v. *Choiseul-Gouffier*.

² Ch. Joret, *D'Ansse de Villoison et l'Hellénisme en France pendant le dernier tiers du XVIII^e siècle*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études publiée sous les auspices du ministère de l'instruction publique. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, fasc. 182 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910), p. 278; L. Pingaud, *Choiseul-Gouffier: La France en Orient sous Louis XVI* (Paris: A. Picard 1887), p. 138, n. 3.

³ Pingaud, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴ *Aneecdota Graeca e regia Parisiensi et e Veneta S. Marci bibliothecis deprompta*. Venice: Coleti, 1781.

⁵ 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς σὺν τοῖς σχολίοις. *Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita*. Scholia in eam antiquissima ex eodem codice alisque nunc primum edidit cum asteriscis, obeliscis, aliisque signis criticis. Venice: Coleti, 1788.

Lydus, as he indicated in his letter written from Naxos to Hennin, dated October 15, 1785.⁶ He states (in translation) the following:

I am on the verge of acquiring a precious Greek manuscript until now unknown in Europe. It is the work of John Lydus, praised by Photius, on the government, administration, and legislation and the magistracies of the Romans. This unique book . . . is found in the hands of a certain Caradga . . . Postlenik or officer and dependant of Lord Constantine Morusi . . . who had showered honors upon me at Chouroutsisme and had given me excellent letters of recommendation for Mount Athos. I wrote to Prince Constantine to beg him to engage Lord Caradga to sell me the manuscript and I also begged Choiseul-Gouffier, from whom I expect a response, to support my request on the part of the prince. Unhappily, Lord Caradga is an old, rich man, very attached to whatever he possesses but he is very eager to preserve the good graces of Constantine Bey Morusi, who can one day become again Prince of Moldavia . . .

It is evident from this letter that the Lydus manuscript was discovered at Kuru Çeşme (Turk. "dry spring"), a suburb of Constantinople by the sea.⁷ It was in the library at the house of Konstantinos Sloutziarès, a former officer, as well as a relative by marriage of Konstantinos Mourouzes. Mourouzes was an old Byzantine family,⁸ which, after the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, left Constantinople and established itself at Trebizond and its suburb Mourouzi and did not return to Constantinople until the 17th century. Many members of this family held high offices during the Turkish period. Konstantinos Mourouzes (1730–1787), who was learned and knew many foreign languages, held the office of Great Interpreter at the Sublime Porte in 1774 and that of governor of Moldavia from 1777 to 1782.⁹ This

⁶ Fonds Hennin 61 (Correspondance de P. M. Hennin avec Divers), MS 1280, *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*. Pierre Michel Hennin, who was born in 1728 at Magny-en-Vexin, entered the ministry of foreign affairs when he was a young man. In 1763 he was minister of Poland, and in 1765 he was sent to Geneva as a resident, where he remained until 1778 at which time he was sent to Versailles.

⁷ See Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία 15 (Athens, 1931), p. 81 s.v. Κουροῦ-Τσεσμέ (article by N. Moschopoulos); Λεξικὸν Ἱστορίας καὶ Γεωγραφίας (edd. S. I. Boutyras & G. Karydos) 3 (Constantinople, 1881), p. 779 s.v. Κουρου-Τσεσμέ.

⁸ On the Mourouzes family see Λεξικὸν Ἱστορίας καὶ Γεωγραφίας, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Cf. Eudoxiū de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitsare la Istoria Românilor* 13: text grecești . . . culese și publicate . . . de A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Bucarest, 1909), p. 339.

Mourouzes was a descendant (on the maternal side) of Nikolaos (son of Alexandros) Mavrokordatos (himself governor of Moldavia in 1710 and 1712 to 1716, then of Walachia in 1716 and 1719 to 1730). Sloutziare's¹⁰ house had the remnants of the library of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1670–1730), a man of excellent intellect, which he displayed by many writings, and a bibliophile and student of old and rare books. When Mavrokordatos ruled Walachia in the name of the Sultan in 1722, he avidly collected very old books from the many Greek monasteries in the East, especially Thessaly and Mount Athos. In a short time, because of his position in the Turkish Court and also the great esteem that he had among the Greeks, he became the possessor of a great quantity of books, both printed and in manuscript form. Some of these books were copied at the time upon the request of the ambassador of the king, Marchione de Villeneuve, and copies were sent to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, where they are still preserved.¹¹ Greek codices Nos. 2618, 2641, 2642, 2649, and 2668 are of this kind.¹² Shortly after Mavrokordatos' death in 1730, his entire family fell into disfavor and was despoiled.¹³ All the codices that had been amassed at Bucharest with great zeal and under various rulers quickly disappeared with the exception of those that were preserved at the time at the house of Sloutziare's at Kuru Çeşme.¹⁴ Villoison, at the time of his visit at Kuru Çeşme, was convinced that many volumes from the famous library of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos were to be found at Sloutziare's' house. Although Villoison does not say it expressly, one can infer that the Lydus manuscript was formerly in the rich collection of Mavrokordatos. Sloutziare's' father showed Villoison many manuscripts among which was that of Lydus. It seems that Villoison discovered the manuscript in October/November of 1784. He immediately made known his find to Choiseul-Gouffier.¹⁵ The latter was desirous of obtaining the manuscript from its owner, who was reluctant to give it up. However,

¹⁰ Cf. Δεξιὸν Ἱστορίας καὶ Γεωγραφίας 7, p. 720 s.v. Σλουτζιάρης (Γεώργιος).

¹¹ Hase, *Prologus in Librum Joannis Lydi De Magistratibus Romanis, sive Commentarius De Joanne Laurentio Philadelpheno Lydo, eiusque scriptis*, p. lxx.

¹² Cf. *Mémoire historique sur la Bibliothèque du Roi* in Catalog. libr. impress. Biblioth. Reg. Part. I, p. lxxvi.

¹³ Cf. F. J. Sulzer, *Geschichte des Transalpinischen Daciens* 3 (Wien, 1781), p. 37; E. L. J. Legrand, *Généalogie des Maurocordato de Constantinople et autres documents* . . . Paris: A. Lahure, 1886.

¹⁴ Hase, *op. cit.*, pp. lxx–lxxi.

¹⁵ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 3 (Cambridge, 1908), p. 378, incorrectly states that the ms. of Johannes Lydus was identified by Choiseul-Gouffier.

since Sloutziarès was eager to retain the good graces of Mourouzes, he acquiesced to give up the Lydus manuscript to Choiseul-Gouffier as a gift after much effort and intercession on the part of Mourouzes. Villoison's letter to Hennin, dated November 24, 1786,¹⁶ from Lazareth de Marseille, says (in translation)

... I send you the good news that after much difficulty and pains Choiseul-Gouffier arrived at obtaining for me from the greedy and ignorant possessor of a unique Greek manuscript about which I have already had the honor of writing to you. I had the good fortune of discovering it at Constantinople ... He is the Greek author named Lydus who is not known to us except by the Bibliotheca of Photius. He tells us that this work is very useful for the knowledge of government, of laws, and of the administration of the ancient Roman Republic ... The Greeks like Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *et alii*, writing for their compatriots, ... go into much more details and give us much more clarification than the Latins themselves who did not have need to explain to their own people a pile of particulars which were very familiar to them but of which we have no idea. This is what renders the discovery of Lydus more interesting and more precious ...

L. J. J. Dubois¹⁷ states that the Lydus manuscript constituted a part of the great collection which Nikolaos Mavrokordatos had assembled at Bucharest around the year 1722, but his assertion that the Lydus manuscript had been given to Choiseul-Gouffier by Konstantinos Mourouzes does not correspond exactly to Villoison's assertions.

b) *Final Disposition of the Codex Caseolinus*

The Lydus manuscript remained in the possession of Choiseul-Gouffier from the time of its acquisition in 1785 until the time of his death on June 20, 1817. When he fled to Russia in 1793, he took with him only

¹⁶ Fonds Hennin 61 (Correspondance de P. M. Hennin avec Divers), MS 1280, *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*; Cf. Villoison, *Homeri Ilias, Prolegomena*, p. xlvii; Joret, *op. cit.* p. 297; Pingaud, *op. cit.*, p. 151; S. Chardon de la Rochette, *Mélanges de Critique et de Philologie* 3 (Paris: D'Hautel, 1812), pp. 49–50.

¹⁷ *Catalogue d'antiquités ... de feu M. le C^e de Choiseul-Gouffier* (Paris: J.-M. Eberhart, 1818), pp. 98–99, No. 238 (Manuscrit de Lydus).

the Lydus manuscript along with a collection of inscribed stones.¹⁸ After his death the statues and the inscriptions which had been acquired by him were taken to the Royal Museum in Paris, and his manuscripts were deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale, now the Bibliothèque Nationale, in accordance with an agreement on the part of Choiseul-Gouffier's inheritors.¹⁹ The Lydus manuscript was entered in the supplementary catalog of the Greek codices of this library as *Codex Caseolinus Parisinus supplementi graeci* No. 257.²⁰

c) *The Name Codex Caseolinus*

The Lydus manuscript is called *Codex Caseolinus* from the Latin familial name of Choiseul-Gouffier, whose ancestors came from the region of Haute-Marne in France and were known as *comites de Caseolo* (A.D. 1084; *Choisel*, ca. A.D. 1172).²¹ Choiseul is not identical to *Choisel* (according to M. Roblin *choisel* = *barrage*), which is a compound of a person's name from the Latin *Causius* and the Gallic *-ialo* (*clairière, champ*); this same name *Causius* with the suffix *-acum* has given Choisey.²²

d) *Description of the Codex Caseolinus*

The Codex Caseolinus is of parchment, which must have been of good quality; its thinness, however, tended to make it crinkle and it produced wrinkles and perforations. Already at the time of its discovery it was in a greatly damaged and defective condition, having suffered from improper circumstances of preservation to which it must have been subjected for a long time. Not only have a great many folia been lost, but its prolonged exposure to humidity has caused purple-like spots,

¹⁸ Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. vi, n. 1.

¹⁹ Hase, *Joannis Laurentii Lydi De Ostentis quae supersunt, etc., Praef.*, pp. iv-v.

²⁰ H. Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: A. Picard, 1888): *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits du Supplément Grec*, p. 239, No. 257 & *Table Alphabétique* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898), p. 128 s.v. *Lydus* (Joannes Laurentius). Both mention the *De Mensibus* and the *De Ostentis* but not the *De Magistratibus*. Cf. P. Boudreaux, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 8, Part 4: *Codices Parisini* (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1921), p. 77, No. 103.

²¹ A. Dauzat & Ch. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris: Larousse, 1963), p. 189; A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de Famille et prénoms de France* (Paris: Larousse, 1951), p. 128 s.v. *Choiseul*.

²² *Ibid.*

giving the color of wine, which have invaded almost all of the margins and even entire pages, especially at the beginning and at the end, and have seriously damaged the manuscript. Consequently, the text of Lydus' three works is defective. The Codex Caseolinus, which undoubtedly contained originally these works in their entirety,²³ probably sustained this damage in relatively earlier times, for it appears to have existed years before its discovery by Villosion, who notes that "the manuscript is to a great extent so damaged with wine that the shape of the letters can scarcely be distinguished and that it seems, therefore, that the manuscript had been kept in a wine cellar rather than a library."²⁴

In its present state the Codex Caseolinus consists of 100 folia:²⁵ ff 1–35 (*De Ostentis*); ff 36–98 (*De Magistratibus*); and ff 99–100 (*De mensibus*).²⁶ According to Hase²⁷ the Codex Caseolinus has 102 folia. Wünsch²⁸ points out that Hase incorrectly attributed 37 instead of 35 folia to the *De Ostentis*. The beginning of the *De Ostentis* is mutilated. It has two lacunae, three folia having disappeared after f 4^v, after the words γὰρ καταπολεμήσουσι — συγγνώμης αὐτοῖς μεταδοτέον (ed. Wachsmuth pp. 43.7–46.15) and a folio was lost after f 6^v. Folio 36 contains the Preface or Introduction of the *De Magistratibus*; ff. 36–37^v contain the Table of Contents; and ff 37^v–53^v contain Part (or Book) I. The disappearance of two folia after f 52^v is responsible for the lacuna in *Mag.* 1.48. Folia 53^v–66 contain Part (or Book) II. Folia 66–95^{rv} 98^{vr} 96^{rv} 97^{vr} contain Part (or Book) III. After f 97 an indeterminate number of important folia have disappeared. On folio 70^v (lines 25–31) a vigorous scraping of seven lines obliterated the Latin text (*Mag.* 3.12). The lacuna in *Mag.* 3.70–71 is due to the mutilation of the first seven lines of 98^v; that in *Mag.* 3.72–73 is due to the fact that f 98^r is so badly deteriorated that out of the thirty-one lines only a few words and parts of others can be distinguished here and there. Folia 99^{rv} (*De Mens.* 4.147–150, ed. Wünsch pp. 165.17–168.20) and 100^{rv} (*De Mens.* 4.154–156, ed. Wünsch pp. 169.22–173.10) are the only surviving folia from the *De Mensibus*.²⁹

²³ Hase, *Prologus, etc.*, p. lxxv; Wünsch, *Ioannis Lydi De Magistratibus Populi Romani Libri Tres, Praef.*, p. xiii.

²⁴ 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς σὺν τοῖς σχολίοις, *etc.*, *Prolegomena*, p. xlvii.

²⁵ Wünsch, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxvi.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xii, note 1.

²⁹ Wünsch (*Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber De Mensibus, Praef.*, p. lxxxix) shows that the restitutions by Hase of the mutilated passages are sometimes adventurous.

What remains of the Codex Caseolinus is divided into 14 assemblages of folia, all probably quaternions in the beginning except for two folia which were disjoined. Only quaternions 3-7 and 9-13 are intact. An error in binding has kept separated the last folio detached from the body of quaternion 13, which is composed then of ff 89-95^v, to which should be joined f 98, to be read, furthermore, verso-recto. Quaternion 1 is reduced to four folia (two ff are missing before f 1 and two others after f 4^v). Quaternion 2 has six folia (ff 5-10, missing is one folio before f 5 and one folio after f 6^v). Quaternion 8 (ff 51-56^v, missing are two folia after f 52^v). Quaternion 14 has only its first two folia, which are to be read 96^{rv} 97^{vr}.

At the time that Hase described the Codex Caseolinus for the first time, it was not entirely enumerated: only present-day numbered ff 10-97 were enumerated as 1-88; all the rest were detached folia without numbers. Hase³⁰ indicates that only 85 folia were sewn together and numbered, doubtless ff 95-97 being equally separated from the mass of others. He probably did not notice that they were numbered as 86, 87, 88. The time and circumstances responsible for the disjoining and resewing together of the folia are unknown. Hase later undertook to restore the order of the disjoined foila. It is to him that the final order of the codex is owed. Nine folia were placed at the beginning, while the two surviving folia of the *De Mensibus* were put at the end. Hase himself³¹ enumerated the nine folia that were added to the beginning, and he continued the new enumeration up to a point which is difficult to determine, for the figures of Henri Omont, who foliated the end of the work, are not always easily distinguished from Hase's. In any case, Hase's enumeration went certainly up to f 35 (end of the *De Ostentis*), and it is these new numbers that we find in the margins of his edition of the *De Ostentis*. Fuss's edition gives the old folio numbers, while the editions of Bekker and Wünsch do not indicate folio enumeration. The present edition gives the newer enumeration.

The arrangement of the bifolia seems to conform to Byzantine usage.³² The puncturing was made with the point of a penknife. The

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxvi.

³¹ *Joannis Laurentii Lydi De Ostentis quae supersunt, etc., Praef.*, pp. v-vi.

³² Cf. C. R. Gregory, "Les Cahiers des manuscrits grecs," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1885 . . . (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), pp. 261-268, esp. p. 265.

ruling³³ was executed in a capricious manner without always respecting normal usage which calls for each of the double folia to be ruled separately on the exterior side.³⁴ Thus, for example, quaternion 6 (ff 35-42^v) was ruled at once,³⁵ the four bifolia being laid out in a pile one on the other, and the lines being traced on the interior side of the double folia (ff 38^v-39).

The folia measure 279 x 195 mm. The surface on which the writing occurs occupies 190 x 140 mm. Each page contains thirty-one lines of writing, exceptionally thirty-two. Two contemporary hands (end of ix to beginning of x century) shared in the writing of the manuscript. The first hand wrote ff 1 to 45^v, line 5, as well as ff 99^{rv} and 100^{rv}; the second hand copied from f 45^v, line 6, to f 98^v. The first hand used a blackish-brown ink, which has generally held well except that it has turned towards black on the most damaged folia, especially on f 100^{rv}. The writing, written on top of the line with elegance and fineness, is sufficiently clear; it is slanted towards the left and is not arranged in two columns. The text is written in very pure minuscules, while the titles are in small uncials with rounded forms. The scholia are sometimes in uncial, sometimes in minuscule without mixing the forms. Each line has approximately 45-50 letters. The hand which relieved the first one is less elegant. It uses a dull ink bordering on gray. The letters are thicker. The writing is vertical and reposes generally on the line but without regularity so that the guide lines often cut the letters horizontally in two. The difference between minuscule and uncial is the same as in the first hand. The number of letters in each line is 40 or slightly more. The words are always spaced at definite intervals. There is no rubrication. The manuscript exhibits no division into chapters, which was the work of the various editors, though in a few instances the initial word of what is considered the beginning of a new chapter is written with an oversized letter (*Mag.* 1.44,45; 3.11,31,41,43,49).

e) *Literary Quality of the Codex Caseolinus*

Correct breathings and correct accents are exhibited on many words; while both, or one or the other, are omitted in others. The second

³³ Cf. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* 5 (Boston, 1936): Manuscripts in Paris, Part II, Oxford, Berlin, Vienna & Jerusalem, Plate 7, type I, 1g.

³⁴ Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

hand more often omits breathings and accents. Many words have an incorrect breathing; others have a carelessly placed accent, though an incorrectly placed accent is sometimes corrected; and some words exhibit even two accents. The rough breathing is not expressed on initial *rho*. Sometimes the acute and sometimes the grave is placed on the ultima. Upper and lower periods are used but not consistently. Commas are rarely found, but the comma is utilized once to introduce an articular interrogative adverb, while the colon is used once to introduce a direct quotation. Hyphens are not utilized at the end of a line when the remainder of the word continues on to the next line except once. Occasionally words are run together without an intervening space. The names of persons and geographical designations are not capitalized. The *iota* and *upsilon* often have a diaeresis. Letters representing numerals almost always exhibit a macron over them, but in one instance the macron follows the letter. The *iota subscriptum* is omitted both in the dative singular of both the first and second declensions except in seven instances where it is written on the same line as the other letters, and in words that have it in their stem. There are instances of abbreviation by a variety of signs and by suspension; instances of diplography, haplography, transposition of vowels or diphthongs, and transposition of consonants. Initial, medial, and final sigmas are sometimes carelessly not only added but also omitted. This is also the case regarding medial and final nus. Initial, medial, and final iotas are sometimes carelessly omitted and in two instances a medial *iota* is carelessly added. Smooths are sometimes rendered as aspirates and aspirates as smooth; doubled consonants are rendered as a single and single consonants as a doubled. Superfluous syllables are sometimes carelessly inserted but in three instances an incorrectly inserted letter-or letters are eradicated by the scribe. Errors in vowels and diphthongs occur which are the result of the discrepancy between the contemporary pronunciation and the historically transmitted spelling, such as α for ϵ and ϵ for α , η for \omicron , ι for υ and υ for ι , \omicron for ω and $\omicron\upsilon$ and ω for \omicron , and υ for η , ι , \omicron , and $\epsilon\iota$. Vowels are also carelessly rendered, such as α for ϵ and ϵ for α , α for \omicron and \omicron for α , and α for ι . Often errors in a vowel occur by influence from a preceding or following vowel or diphthong. Whole lines, phrases, and individual words, as well as initial, medial, and final parts of words, are carelessly omitted; so that it is clear, says Hase,³⁶ that the scribe did not observe well the rules of grammar nor always understood what he was writing.

³⁶ *Prologus, etc.*, p. lxxiii.

Lydus' manuscript tradition seems to have gone through three steps: the autograph written in vi A.D. in majuscules; the archetype of the Codex Caseolinus probably written in vii/viii A.D., most probably in majuscules with uncials; and the Codex Caseolinus written in ix/x A.D. in minuscules. Hase³⁷ conjectures that the archetype of the Codex Caseolinus was written in majuscules from the fact that, whereas the scribe rendered the Greek in the connected writing of his time, he rendered the Latin words, whenever they occurred, in majuscules because he did not know the connected writing in Latin and so reproduced them as they existed in his archetype. Hase's opinion, Wunsch points out,³⁸ is proved by the fact that between two Latin words two Greek words (78.5) are expressed in majuscules and by the fact that the titles, too, which had been added perhaps in accordance with the example of the *Codex Justinianus*, which was completed in 529, are rendered in majuscules.

Such errors as stem from the misreading of vowels, diphthongs, and consonants by the scribe who was converting the Lydus' codex in majuscules to a codex in minuscules are A as H and as Λ, B as P, Γ as Π, as □, and as T, E as H, as I, and as □, EI as H and as I, H as A, as E, as EI, as I, as N, and as □, Θ as O, I as A, as E, as EI, as H, as N and as O, III as γι and as πτ, I as P and as □, Λ as A, as Δ, and as N, N as I, O as Θ, III as ιτ, P as E, □ as B, as E, as I, and as P, T as Γ, as Π, and as □.

Other kinds of errors in letters are observed, such as the misreading of a cursive ε as o and of o as ε, and the misrendering of consonants, such as β as μ and as υ, γκ as κκ, ϑ as ε and as σ, λ as τ, ν as μ, ρ, and υ, ξ as ζ, ρ as ν, and σ as ϑ. The misreading of δή as τε, τε as δέ, and δέ as τε. The insertion and omission of μ and γ, the non-conformity of ν to the rules of euphony before β, κ and γ, and λ and μ, and the retention of ν before ζ are observed. Errors also occur in case or form as a result of the influence from words that precede or follow.

A rather copious use of the *nu* movable, which is added to many words even when the succeeding word begins with a consonant – a practice found in very many codices of every age – is observed. According to Hase,³⁹ the calligraphers of the tenth century in this matter

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxiv.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xv, note 1.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxiii.

already rather diligently followed the laws of present-day grammar, but the copyist of the Codex Caseolinus followed the old way of writing whereby the *nu* movable is added to words even when succeeding words begin with a consonant in accordance with definite, oratorical laws for amplifying and filling out the sound of a word. Hase believes that the copyist did not employ this *nu* fortuitously but followed the example of the codex which he was copying. Fuss, Bekker, and Wünsch departed from this practice of the Codex Caseolinus by placing the *nu* movable almost always before a word beginning with a vowel or diphthong and omitted it almost always before a word beginning with a consonant. The present edition, however, has preferred to retain the *nu* movable where there would be a natural pause which is normally indicated by a comma, parenthesis, or upper and lower periods.

It is Wünsch's opinion⁴⁰ that, although it is rather difficult to determine which errors must be ascribed to the Codex Caseolinus, which errors to the archetype of the Codex Caseolinus, and which errors to Lydus himself, there is no reason for us to assume that Lydus never erred at all in the composition and arrangement of his words. He states, furthermore, that Lydus, though he strove to imitate the Attic dialect, was not completely successful but used forms and idioms of the everyday language of his time. However, when Lydus' use of language is carefully examined, the scribal errors having been removed, one finds that there are no instances of genuinely incorrect grammatical and syntactical errors on Lydus' part. Every word and construction used by Lydus can be documented from authors of the classical period and literary Greek of subsequent times. Lydus liked to display his erudition in language usage. He did not merely try to imitate the Attic dialect exclusively but intentionally made use of literary Greek of all periods. He likes to use the same word (be it noun, adjective, verb, adverb, conjunction, or particle) often with different meanings or shades of meanings, different words with the same meaning, even different forms of the same word. In short, there are, in fact, no language irregularities in Lydus. Photius⁴¹ evaluates Lydus' style of writing thus: καὶ λέξει μὲν ἔστιν οὗ κέχρηται λογάδι τε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἡττικισμένον ἀνηγμένη, ἔστι δ' ὅπου χαμαιπετεῖ τε καὶ παρεωραμένη καὶ μηδὲν ἐχούση τῶν ἐκ τριόδου πλεον. The latter part of Photius' evaluation is purely subjective and need not necessarily be the case.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁴¹ *Bibl. Cod.* 180.

A question more difficult than the vacillating spelling of Greek words is the copyist's rendering of Latin words in Greek. The copyist not only committed errors in the spelling of Latin words that occur once but often spelled the same word that occurs more than once inconsistently. There are, however, instances of Latin words that are correctly transliterated into Greek, which undoubtedly reflect Lydus' original rendering of them. Since Lydus, being not only a master of the use of Greek but also a scholar of Latin, was keenly perceptive to the correct forms of Latin words, it is reasonable to assume that he wrote the Latin words in Greek with precise transliteration, even contrary to colloquial usage (cf. *Mag.* 1.25, 3.20), rendering the long and the short vowels of the Latin by their corresponding vowels in Greek, namely, ē as *eta*, o as *omikron*, ō as *omega*, ū as *ou*, though short u is also rendered *ou*, and ae as *alpha-iota*, doubled consonants as doubled and single consonants as single. In addition to the Latin words that are transliterated directly into Greek without any alteration, as well as those transliterated Latin words adapted with Greek terminations and Greek accentuation, Lydus also cites Latin words in Latin characters. In the matter of the vacillating spellings of the Latin words in the Codex Caseolinus, Wünsch⁴² observes the following principles: (1) wherever the copyist is not consistent with himself in any place in executing the oblique cases of nouns in -or, -ōris, exhibiting now *πράιτωρα*, now *πράιτορα*, Wünsch, following Eckinger,⁴³ restores in all places the short instead of the long vowel. But Lydus, being precise in his transliteration of Latin words, would have retained the long vowel. (2) Wherever no single form of the Latin word can be set down because it is variously written by various Greek writers, Wünsch prefers that reading which is found more often in the Codex Caseolinus, e.g. he wrote *Δομτιανός* (78.9, 112.25, 168.20), not *Δομετιανός* (112.11, 168.14). But Lydus would have utilized the correctly transliterated form. (3) Whenever a Latin word is written in Latin under several forms, e.g. *nomenclator* and *nomenculator*, Wünsch prefers the use of the form *νωμεκλάτωρ* in Lydus, presumably because the former was used more frequently than the latter. He says that in this word's first occurrence (142.8) the manuscript reading *νωμεν.ατορες* exhibits the obliteration of only two letters [namely, *kappa* and *lambda*],

⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

⁴³ *Die Orthographie Lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften* (München: C. Wolf & Sohn, [1892]), p. 51.

while in its second occurrence (142.10) the reading is νομενκυλατωρες and in the third (162.25) νομενκολατωρων. Wünsch, however, is not correct because in the first instance the manuscript exhibits the obliteration of four letters, *sc.* νομεν[κυλ]ατωρες, in the second it reads νομενκυλατωρες, *sc.* νομενκυλατωρες, and in the third (162.25) νομενκολατωρων, *sc.* νομενκυλατωρων; thus Lydus had in mind the form *nomenculator*, not *nomenclator*. Wünsch correctly states that, since Lydus affected an intimate knowledge of Latin, he seems to have applied himself more closely than other Greeks to Latin orthography, and so he always wrote πρίγκηψ (152.7), not πρίγκηψ, and καλένδαις (56.22), not καλάνδαις.⁴⁴ (4) Wherever, however, the reading of the Codex Caseolinus is defensible by the testimonies of other writers but cannot stand because it does not agree with the remaining usage of Lydus, Wünsch writes in his critical apparatus *mutavi* and not *correxī*.

f) Condition of the Writing in the Codex Caseolinus

Villoison⁴⁵ had made the observation that the Codex Caseolinus was to a great extent so damaged by wine that the forms of the letters could scarcely be satisfactorily distinguished. Anyone who has read the Codex Caseolinus can attest that the writing in it in very many places is either totally obliterated or seriously damaged because of age and wine spots so as to be in some places rather difficult and in others impossible to read. Fuss, therefore, whenever he was unable to discern the shape of the letters or words, had to resort to conjecture but indicated by dots such areas as were completely indistinguishable by him. Bekker, not having read the Codex Caseolinus, relied solely on Fuss's edition and indicated by dots most often the very same areas unreadable by Fuss. Wünsch,⁴⁶ on the other hand, placed within double square brackets those readings which Fuss had been unable to discern but restored by conjecture, and within single square brackets such readings as had been discerned by Fuss but which he (Wünsch) could not read and thus had to rely on Fuss's readings. Wünsch⁴⁷ utilized angular brackets to indicate such conjectured supplements as he deemed necessary in his

⁴⁴ Cf. Eckinger, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁵ 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς σὺν τοῖς σχολίοις, *etc.*, *Prolegomena*, p. xlvī.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

attempt to heal lacunae which had resulted from a scribal omission of individual words or phrases. The preparation of the present edition has had the benefit of the use of Wood's infra-red lamp for securing the readings indicated in Wünsch's edition by single or double square brackets. Whatever still remains totally unreadable even with the infra-red lamp is noted in the critical apparatus by the use of single square brackets accompanied by dots indicating the approximate number of totally obliterated letters.

g) *Corrector Hands of the Codex Caseolinus*

Besides the two scribes who had written the Codex Caseolinus a corrector hand of a much later date than ix/x century, who is designated by Fuss as *manus recentior*, by Wünsch as O₂, and by the present edition as P₂, probably without the support of any other manuscript, introduced corrections into the Codex Caseolinus in places which it considered corrupt. This corrector hand, using a very black ink, corrected spellings, accentuations, and breathings, and removed the *nu* movable in accordance with the generally accepted rules of grammar. It simulates the letter forms of the Codex Caseolinus but not the breathings, often places a rough breathing on initial *rho*, and occasionally expresses the *iota* subscript. The black ink which it used in some instances obliterated either totally or partially the original reading of a word. Hase,⁴⁸ conjecturing from the writing style, consigns this corrector hand to a Greek of the xvi or xvii century, while Wünsch⁴⁹ assigns it to a person of the xviii century. The corrector hand of the Codex Caseolinus and the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis or Rhallianus are generally believed to be one and the same hand, but this opinion can be disputed, as will be explained later.

In the margin and space between the lines of ff 28^v–32, a hand anterior to the preceding corrector hand (possibly xv/xvi century) has inscribed opposite *Calendarium Clodii* starting from the calends of February and up to those of August (*De Ostentis* 60–66, ed. C. Wachsmuth pp. 122.2–142.3) the citations of the holidays corresponding to the Christian *menologium*.⁵⁰ At the bottom of f 30^v another hand added for

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxiv.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. xviii.

⁵⁰ Cf. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), pp. 376–383.

May 19 the memory of the thirteen monks who were burned by the Latins on Cyprus in A.D. 1231,⁵¹ while below there is a second inscription by this hand: ἔτους ς ραμ(?) ἰνδ. δ' [or ιδ'], ἀρχ(ῆ) τῆς (two or three unidentified words follow). The reading of the second figure of the date is not absolutely certain; but, if, indeed, it is a *sampi* (traced rather like a *kappa*), the date corresponds to the year A.D. 1432, though the indiction should be tenth instead of fourth or fourteenth. In the lower margin of f 26 another hand of the xvi century has written several words by virtue of trying or testing the pen. Finally in the lower margin of f 32^v a hand of the same period wrote + Τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Ἡλιοφώτου.

h) *Dating of the Codex Caseolinus*

The shape of the letters in the Codex Caseolinus is very similar to those of the *Codex Parisinus graecus* No. 1853 (containing the works of Aristotle), which Henri Omont⁵² consigns to the tenth century, and to those of the *Codex Coislinianus* No. 28, which was made in a monastery on Mount Athos in A.D. 1056.⁵³ The Codex Caseolinus seems, states Wünsch,⁵⁴ to be a little earlier, so that we can rightly assume that it is to be consigned to approximately A.D. 1000, and so Wünsch dates it x/xi A.D. Others in the Bibliothèque Nationale that were written in the same handwriting were Codex No. 1807 (Plato), Codex No. 1430 (Eusebius), Codex No. 2934 (Demosthenes), and Codex No. 1470 (lives of the saints). One of these codices has the date on which it was written, namely, μηνὶ ἀπριλλίῳ ἰνδικτιόνος ἦ ἔτους ς τζή, which corresponds to the year A.D. 890, and so was written during the reign of Emperor Leo VI, and yet in the *Catalogus*, Part 2, p. 330, it is incorrectly assigned to the eleventh century. Thus, just as this and many others, so perhaps even the Codex Caseolinus was written during the reign of Leo VI.⁵⁵ Consequently, the date of the Codex Caseolinus can be placed at the end of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

⁵¹ F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 2 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), p. 96; C. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθῆκη* 2 (Venetiis, 1873), pp. 20–39.

⁵² *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. xxx.

⁵³ *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs datés*, pl. xxiv.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

⁵⁵ Hase, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxi–lxxii.

i) *Binding of the Codex Caseolinus*

The Codex Caseolinus, sometime after its acquisition by the Bibliothèque Impériale, was bound in marbled leather with the title of the work in gold letters and on the very bottom was placed the mark of the binder Rel(ié) P(ar) Lefebvre, under the reign of Louis XVIII (1814–1824). It was stamped under the Second Empire in the lower margin of ff 1, 84^v, and 100^v.⁵⁶ Numerous margins have been reinforced with cut strips of strong beige-colored paper, while the holes of the folia which were the most damaged were filled with little pieces of silk paper.

j) *The Codex Atheniensis*

The text of the *De Magistratibus* has been transmitted not only through the Codex Caseolinus but also through another codex, one written at Trebizond at the beginning of July of 1765. Somehow or other it fell into the possession of the Metropolitan of Argolis (formerly Metropolitan of Aegina), Gerasimos Byzantios, the maternal uncle of Georgios A. Rhalles, a professor at the National or Kapodistrian University at Athens, who became the subsequent possessor of the codex. Finally, Ioannes D. Rhalles, son of G. A. Rhalles and member of the Greek Parliament, gained possession of the codex. His son Georgios Rhalles, when asked whether the manuscript was now in his possession, appears not to know of its existence and presumes that it had been destroyed during the fire at Thessalonike in 1917 when much of his father's library was consumed in flames. Because of its existence at Athens this codex has been called *Codex Atheniensis* by Wünsch⁵⁷ and Ἀττικὸς or Πάλλειος Κῶδιξ (*Codex Atticus* or *Rhallianus*) by Vasis.⁵⁸ The Codex Atheniensis was first mentioned by G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles thus:

⁵⁶ Compare the reproduction of a corresponding stamp used for printed works in P. Josserand & J. Bruns, "Les Estampilles du Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Mélanges d'histoire du Livre et des Bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot*, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, Nouvelle Série, Études et Documents (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1960), pl. xxiv (opposite p. 281), No. 37.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. xvii, note 1.

⁵⁸ *Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos* (Athens, 1909), p. 35.

Εἰς τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει μητροπολίτου Ἀργο-
λίδος, πρώην Αἰγίνης, κυρίου Γερασίου ἀνεύρομεν κειμήλιον
ὄντως . . . κώδικα χειρόγραφον, περιέχοντα ὁλοσχερὲς τὸ Σύνταγ-
μα τοῦ Πατριάρχου Φωτίου μετὰ τοῦ νομοκάνονος καὶ τῶν ἐξηγή-
σεων τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βαλσαμῶνος. ὁ κώδιξ οὗτος
συγκείμενος ἐκ 490 φύλλων ὠραίου χάρτου, καθαρῶτα καὶ μετὰ
πλείστης ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ κομψότητος γεγραμμένος, κατηρτίσθη
ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι κατὰ τὸ σωτήριον ἔτος ,αψοθ' τὴν 21ην τοῦ Ἰου-
νίου.⁵⁹

G. A. Rhalles communicated with Zachariae von Lingenthal that
excerpts of Lydus also were contained in the same codex. Von
Lingenthal⁶⁰ went to Athens and during his stay there in December,
1879, examined the codex at Rhalles' house and wrote regarding it that
it contains, among other things, fragments from Book II of the *De*
Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae and an incomplete copy of the only known
manuscript of Ioannes Laurentii Lydus *De Magistratibus* written in the
month of July, 1765.

Folio 1^r contains only the title Ἰωάννου Λαυρεντίου Φιλαδελφῆως
τοῦ Λυδοῦ περὶ πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν. Folio 1^v contains the following:

Πίναξ τῶν περιεχομένων ἐν παλαιοτάτῳ ἑλλειπεῖ καὶ διεφθαρ-
μένῳ μεμβρίνῳ βιβλίῳ κεφαλαίων τῆς περὶ διοσημείων πραγμα-
τείας.

Περὶ τῶν ἡλιακῶν καὶ σεληνιακῶν διοσημείων ἐξ αὐτῶν καθ-
ολικῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων· ἀρχή· ἰστέον ἐν πρώτοις.

Ἐφ' ἡμέρος βροντοσκοπία τοπικὴ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ τὸν
ῥωμαῖον ὕψιγυλον ἐκ τῶν τάγματος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν. ἡ
ἀρχή· εἰ ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς τῆς διοσημείας παραδόσεσι τὴν σελήνην
φαίνονται λαβόντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

Βροντοσκοπία ἐκ τῶν φωνητῆς τοῦ ῥωμαίου καθ' ἑρμηνείαν
πρὸς λέξιν. ἡ ἀρχή· αἰγοκέρῳτι σελήνης ἐχούσης τὸν αἰγόκερον εἰ
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ βροντὴ γένηται, τύραννον ἐπαναστήσασθαι ἀπειλεῖ.

Καθολικὴ ἐπιτήρησις πρὸς σελήνην περὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων
καταστημάτων ἐκ τῶν λαβεῶνος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν ἀπὸ

⁵⁹ Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων
Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων
πατέρων. . . 1 (Athens: G. Chartophylax, 1852), *Praef.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus*
dem Jahre 1880 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 79–81.

θερινῆς τροπῆς. ἡ ἀρχή· εἰ κατὰ τὴν ἰα' ἡν τοῦ καρκίνου μοῖραν καὶ εἰ ἐν κριῶ ἔσονται ἀχλύες καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ χάλ.

Περὶ κεραυνῶν. ἡ ἀρχή· τῆς φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων λέγειν καὶ οὕτως γίνεσθαι κεραυνοῦς ἡ παλαιότης ὑπολαμβάνειν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις.

Περὶ σεισμῶν. ἡ ἀρχή· δῆλων οὐσῶν τῶν εἰρημένων τοῖς πάλαι φιλοσοφῆσασιν αἰτιῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν γῆν πάθεισι μίαν ἐκ πασῶν.

Ἐφήμερος τοῦ παντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ σημειώσις ἐπιτολῶν τε καὶ δυσμῶν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φαινομένων ἐκ τῶν κλαυδίου τοῦ θούσκου καθ' ἐρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν. ἡ ἀρχή· Ἰαννουάριος ἁ. Ἡλιος ὑψοῦται, ὁ δ' αἰετὸς σὺν τῷ στεφάνῳ δύεται. β'. τῇ πρὸ δ' νόνων ἰαννουαρίων ὁ μὲν Ἡλιος πηδᾷ τὸ δὲ μέσον τοῦ.⁶¹ μεθ' ἃ εἶπετο ἡ παροῦσα περὶ πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν πραγματεία, καὶ αὕτη ἀτελῆς ἐξίτηλος καὶ περὶ τὴν ὀρθογραφίαν χωλαίνουσα, ἀντιγραφεῖσα ὥς ἦν ἐφικτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἀψῆξέ ἔτος κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ ἰουλίου.

Folio 2 contains *Μαρτυρίαι παλαιῶν περὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως* from Theophylactus Simocatta, Photius' *Bibliotheca*, the *Suda*, and the *Anthologia*.⁶²

Folio 3 begins the *De Magistratibus* with the words: Περὶ ἐξουσιῶν Ἱερέας γενέσθαι, etc., precisely as in the Codex Caseolinus. The Codex Atheniensis does not contain all of the *De Magistratibus* but ends with the words τε καὶ σύντονον ἐντρέχειαν οἱ τότε (*Mag.* 3.17 p. 160.2). Everything thereafter is missing.

When von Lingenthal read the Codex Atheniensis and compared it with the readings of the Codex Caseolinus and its corrector hand as recorded in Fuss's edition (von Lingenthal did not say whether or not he had actually read the Codex Caseolinus himself), he came to the conclusion that "the preparer of this copy of the old original is manifestly the same person who in the latter has made all sorts of so-called corrections. For the readings which Fuss mentions as proceeding from a *secunda manus* are found repeated in the copy." Von Lingenthal chose to cite only the following three examples of agreement between the corrector hand of the Codex Caseolinus and the Codex Atheniensis:

⁶¹ These are titles and beginnings of chapters 9, 27, 39, 42, 43, 53, 59 of Lydus' *De Ostentis* (ed. Wachsmuth). Wunsch (*Ioannis Lydi De Magistratibus Populi Romani Libri Tres, Praefatio*, p. xvii) states that, if you should compare them with the reading preserved in each ms., you will no longer doubt that they are taken from the Codex Caseolinus.

⁶² The listing of Photius explains whence the copyist got the name of Lydus since it has not been preserved in the Codex Caseolinus.

ἐκεῖνο (*Mag.* 1.5 p. 14.19)

κόκκηον (*Mag.* 1.7 p. 18.3)

θυρεοὺς (*Mag.* 1.12 p. 24.8)

Wünsch⁶³ repeats the first and third examples cited by von Lingenthal and correctly points out that the latter erred in the second example, because the corrector hand corrected κοκκηον to κοκκῖον. Wünsch, too, however, does not say whether or not he actually read the Codex Atheniensis.

Von Lingenthal further notes that the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis has frequently omitted words and this is observed in his copy by a lacuna, words which Fuss succeeded in deciphering in the original. Thus the Codex Atheniensis reads: ἐπ' ἄκρου δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους σφίγγον ἱμάντων ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ ψάμα τοῦ ποδὸς ἐλκομένων ἐπὶ τὸ στη των ἀλλήλοις καὶ διαδεσμούντων τὸν πόδα δακτύλων ἐμπρὸς καὶ ἐξόπισθεν διαφαίνεσθαι . . . ὅλον δὲ τὸν πόδα τῇ περισκελίδι διαλάμπειν καμ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸν κάμπον οἰονεῖ τὸ πεδίον χρεῖ ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου κτλ (*Mag.* 1.17 p. 30.23–32.3), where Fuss's edition (p. 36.12–19) exhibits no lacunae. Wünsch⁶⁴ cites this very same example and observes that "you will be able in no way to explain such an agreement of letters that are lacking in both unless you assume that the Codex Atheniensis has been taken from the Codex Caseolinus already at a time when the latter had been damaged to a large extent." Wünsch notes also that the interest of the copyist decreases proportionately to the negligence of the corrector hand of the Codex. He is, however, incorrect in stating that the corrector hand omitted to correct folia 78^v–87^r (*Mag.* 3.31 p. 182.4–*Mag.* 3.53 p. 214.24) and folia 90 sqq. (*Mag.* 3.59 p. 224.16 sqq.), for between folia 78^v and 87^r the corrector hand made the following corrections:

ἀνατεθείσης (*Mag.* 3.46 p. 204.18)

ἀτιμωτέραν (*Mag.* 3.46 p. 204.22)

πενίης (*Mag.* 3.46 p. 204.23)

τε ὁλοῆς (*Mag.* 3.46 p. 204.23)

εὐρώπην (*Mag.* 3.46 p. 206.1)

The corrector hand did make corrections frequently between folia 87^v and 90^r (*Mag.* 3.53 p. 214.25–*Mag.* 3.59 p. 224.16). It is, however, also to

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. xviii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

be noted that the corrector hand made the following corrections after f 90^v: ἡπείρου (*Mag.* 3.61 p. 228.9) εἰωθότων (*Mag.* 3.68 p. 240.6) ἀπήνης (*Mag.* 3.76 p. 254.15) βέλος (*Mag.* 3.76 p. 254.16). Von Lingenthal says that he leaves aside the question whether a collation of the Codex Atheniensis might be of interest and admits that there is no lack of variants but cites only the following five readings of the Codex Atheniensis which are at variance with the Codex Caseolinus:

ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ιστορίας (*Mag. Intr.* p. 2.13)

υἱὸς θεοῦ (*Mag.* 1.1 p. 10.7)

ἐτέλεσε (*Mag.* 1.2 p. 10.19)

ἀνδραλλάται (*Mag.* 1.46 p. 70.18)

ἀπίει (*Mag.* 1.50 p. 80.18)

Von Lingenthal, however, errs in the last example, because the reading of both the Codex Caseolinus and the Codex Atheniensis is ἀπίει, whereas the corrector hand emends it to ἀπείη. Fuss (p. 88.12) incorrectly cites the reading of the Codex Caseolinus here as ἀπει. Von Lingenthal observes, finally, that it is a question whether here in all instances the original has not been reproduced more faithfully by Fuss. Wünsch⁶⁵ repeats the same variant readings of the Codex Atheniensis that von Lingenthal had cited and makes the observation that, if these variants were rather serious, they would vitiate the opinion that the Codex Atheniensis is merely a copy of the Codex Caseolinus and proceeds to show how they are inferior readings. Because he considered the Codex Atheniensis as merely made from the Codex Caseolinus, he ignored the Codex Atheniensis in the critical apparatus of his edition.

According to Wünsch⁶⁶ it did not escape von Lingenthal's notice that the particular readings of the Codex Atheniensis agree with the corrections introduced into the Codex Caseolinus by the corrector hand so much that the next thing to conjecture is that the same person both corrected the Codex Caseolinus and wrote the Codex Atheniensis, which, even if it cannot be demonstrated with certain arguments, nevertheless is most likely. Von Lingenthal apparently relied on Fuss and Wünsch on von Lingenthal for the readings of the codex which each did not see. Obviously von Lingenthal's opinion, apparently supported by

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. xviii–xix.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. xvii–xviii.

Wünsch, would have been more convincing if one or both of them had seen and compared the handwriting of the corrector hand and that of the Codex Atheniensis so as to verify that both were written by the same person.

Spyridon Vasis,⁶⁷ a Greek scholar of the Latin language and literature, began to concern himself with a critical examination of the text of the *De Magistratibus*, occasioned by the publication of Wünsch's edition. Because he believed that the Codex Atheniensis, since it was in Athens, should not be left unexamined, though viewed of no account, he set himself to the task of making a thorough examination of the Codex Atheniensis and of comparing it with the text of the Codex Caseolinus as recorded in Wünsch's edition. Its possessor at the time, Ioannes D. Rhalles, willingly and graciously allowed Vasis to take the Codex Atheniensis home with him so as to examine it at his leisure. After carefully going through it, Vasis found in his judgment compelling reasons for rejecting the assumption that the text of the Codex Atheniensis is simply a copy made from, and therefore directly dependent upon, the text of the Codex Caseolinus. His study resulted in the publication of an article⁶⁸ (unfortunately marred by some printing errors), in which Vasis gives his principal arguments why the Codex Atheniensis, though in general inferior to the Codex Caseolinus, ought not to be judged a copy of the latter, worthy of no account, but its readings must be taken into consideration in the restoration of the text of Lydus and presents a listing of readings which differ from those of the Codex Caseolinus. The reasons that led Vasis to conclude that the text of which the Codex Atheniensis is a copy was not that of the Codex Caseolinus but a second source different from the Codex Caseolinus were basically three.

(1) The Codex Atheniensis, Vasis says,⁶⁹ exhibits in many places readings which are different from the corresponding readings of the

⁶⁷ Vasis (1852–1912), who had studied at the University of Athens and in Germany under Th. Mommsen, J. Vahlen, Bücheler, Curtius Ribbeck, and others, became a professor of Latin Literature at the University of Athens in 1887. He published in various journals many scholarly articles dealing with Latin and Greek philological studies and in 1903 a book titled *Ἡ Ῥωμαίων Πολιτεία ἢ τε Βασιλευομένη καὶ Ἐλευθέρα*. For the life of Vasis and a list of his scholarly publications see *Ἀθηνᾶ* 25 (1913), pp. 478–491 (obituary by Th. A. Kakrides).

⁶⁸ "Περὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ ἢ Ῥαλλείου Κώδικος τοῦ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας Συντάγματος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λυδοῦ" in *Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos* (Athens: Sakellarios, 1909), pp. 35–66.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36–38.

Codex Caseolinus, which Vasis considers far better and, in fact, in some instances undoubtedly the genuine reading of Lydus. Such readings, he says, cannot reasonably be imputed to errors by the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis nor can they be taken as corrections of the Codex Caseolinus, because the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis in many places is detected as being incapable of finding what is correct by conjecture. This appears in some of these very readings which are superior to the corresponding readings of the Codex Caseolinus. Some of these readings, he admits, in themselves make no sense, and yet they lead to the genuine reading, from which the text of the Codex Caseolinus goes astray, by means of a slight alteration. Yet the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis does not himself make these easy corrections. Vasis offers an example: the Codex Caseolinus has ὑπουόλαις (*Mag.* 3.15 p. 156.1) but the Codex Atheniensis has ὑποβόλαις, the transposition of accent gives the correct reading ὑποβολαῖς, which the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis did not find. It is, however, to be noted here that Vasis' conclusion may not be valid because the letter which Fuss and Wünsch read as *upsilon* can be easily taken as *beta*, which is precisely what the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis understood the letter to be.

(2) Vasis⁷⁰ notes that there are places in the Codex Atheniensis left with a lacuna although the Codex Caseolinus exhibits in these very same places letters or words which are readable. He cites the following:⁷¹

ἐπί[στευον] *Mag.* 1.18 p. 32.15

[Τουβενάλιος] *Mag.* 1.20 p. 32.29

[ἔως καὶ] τοὺς λε[ιπο]μένους *Mag.* 1.34 p. 52.1-2

[ταῖς δέκα δέλτοις] *Mag.* 1.34 p. 52.2

[ὦν ὁ πρῶτος τῆς] *Mag.* 1.34 p. 52.4

ἐπ[α]γουσα γέλωτι] *Mag.* 1.40 p. 62.10

[παρέτρωσαν] *Mag.* 1.41 p. 62.24

[ὀκρεᾶτοι, πεζοὶ σιδήρω τὰς κνήμας περιπεφραγμένοι] *Mag.* 1.46 p. 72.9

[ἀρχιερεὺς] *Mag.* 2.2 p. 84.5

[τῇν] *Mag.* 2.9 p. 96.29

[προαγωγῇν] *Mag.* 2.20 p. 114.15

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

πρὸς τὰς [ης] ἀρχῆς *Mag.* 2.23 p. 118.23
 [εἶτα ὡς] *Mag.* 2.23 p. 118.24
 [μετεφεύη] *Mag.* 2.23 p. 118.25
 δια[συρίζων] *Mag.* 2.26 p. 122.20
 [πασῶν] *Mag.* 2.26 p. 124.2
 [τοπως] *Mag.* 3.7 p. 138.25
 ἐξ[ωθεν λάβη τὰ τῆς] *Mag.* 3.9 p. 144.8–9
 [πόνων] *Mag.* 3.9 p. 144.14
 [τοῦ δικαστηρίου] *Mag.* 3.9 p. 146.2
 [ἴσως] *Mag.* 3.9 p. 146.6
 [ἐτέρους] *Mag.* 3.9 p. 146.7
 δακρύων τι[ς] *Mag.* 3.11 p. 148.10
 [facite] *Mag.* 3.12 p. 150.21
 [ἄρτι] *Mag.* 3.13 p. 152.23

On the other hand, there are also places in the Codex Caseolinus where, though obliterated by damage, the Codex Atheniensis exhibits readings. These are:

ἄδειαν Α ἄ. . . αν P *Mag.* 3.2 p. 134.7
 ὑπομνήματι Α υ[. . . .]ματι P *Mag.* 3.8 p. 142.11
 πραγμάτων μὲν οὐκ ὄντων Α πραγμά[.]ντων P *Mag.* 3.9
 p. 146.4
 ὡς πάλοι τῶν Α [.]τῶν P *Mag.* 3.9 p. 146.5
 Αὐγουσταλίῳ Α [.]αλίῳ P *Mag.* 3.9 p. 146.5–6
 κατ' ἀξίαν Α κατα[. . .] P *Mag.* 3.12 p. 150.12
 νενομοθετημένων Α [.]θετημένων P *Mag.* 3.12 p. 152.5
 προδεδηλωται Α προ[.]αι P *Mag.* 3.16 p. 158.9
 αὐθεντίας Α [.]ας P *Mag.* 3.16 p. 158.13

(3) Finally, asserts Vasis,⁷² some errors are encountered in the Codex Atheniensis which could not have been committed by the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis if he had the Codex Caseolinus as his archetype. For example, the Codex Atheniensis has εἴη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ, while the Codex Caseolinus has ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ (*Mag.* 2.4 p. 88.19). This error shows that in the archetype of the Codex Atheniensis there existed either εἴη or the original reading EN, which through misreading became EIH, inasmuch as frequently N and IH are confused in majuscules, but at any rate not the minuscule which exists in the Codex Caseolinus,

⁷² *Op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

because this could not have been corrupted by the Codex Atheniensis into εἴη. Unfortunately Fuss and Wünsch failed to cite the reading of the Codex Caseolinus εἴη.

A year later Paul Marc⁷³ took note of Vasis' article, pointing out that the Codex Atheniensis

until now was viewed as a copy of the Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 257 x cent. and as such remained neglected in the edition of Wünsch. Vasis now intercedes, on the basis of various places, for the independence of the new manuscript and gives a complete list of really very numerous variants without being able to demonstrate much more than that the manuscript was not copied verbatim from the Parisinus. The dependence of the Rhallianus beyond all doubt is established by omissions which correspond to the very same unreadable places of the Parisinus; the scribe could therefore at best have drawn on a second source in a subsidiary way. The observation that many of the 'variants' coincide with the emendations of later editors awakens further reflections. A completely satisfactory solution of the question is only to be expected by a penetrating interpretation and elucidation of the various readings.

In 1909 Vasis published two other articles⁷⁴ suggesting emendations and offering corrections to Wünsch's text edition along with sundry interpretations of content. In 1911 Wünsch⁷⁵ published an article in which he comments on Vasis' readings and conclusions and indicates that some of the readings of the Codex Atheniensis are good, others are questionable, and finally others are to be rejected. Vasis' readings and comments, along with Wünsch's evaluation of them, are discussed in Part III (*Commentary*) in their appropriate place in the text.

When one has read the Codex Caseolinus and closely evaluates both the corrections introduced into the Codex Caseolinus and the readings of the Codex Atheniensis as recorded by Vasis, one comes to the conclusion that the corrector hand of the Codex Caseolinus and the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis cannot have been the same person, as

⁷³ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910), p. 253.

⁷⁴ "Εἰς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας διορθωτικὰ καὶ ἐρμηνευτικὰ," 4 (1909) Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου (Athens: Sakellarios, 1909), pp. 110-122; "Κριτικὸν ἐπίμετρον εἰς τὸ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας Σύνταγμα Ἰωάννου Φιλαδελφέως τοῦ Λυδοῦ," Βυζαντίς 1 (1909), pp. 31-34.

⁷⁵ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 31 (1911), No. 19 (May 13), cols. 569-576.

von Lingenthal and Wünsch propose that they were, for the reason that, although there are places where the Codex Atheniensis and the corrector hand of the Codex Caseolinus are in agreement among themselves but in disagreement with the Codex Caseolinus, there are also places where the Codex Atheniensis is in disagreement with the corrections of the corrector hand. An examination of the apparatus criticus of this edition makes this evident. If, indeed, the same person not only made corrections in the Codex Caseolinus but also wrote the Codex Atheniensis, such diverse readings would not normally be expected. In those places where the readings of the Codex Atheniensis are different from those in the Codex Caseolinus, such variant readings can easily be attributed to the fact that certain readings in the Codex Caseolinus were extremely difficult to distinguish and for this reason were simply left unread or were misread, conjectured, or intentionally altered by the copyist of the Codex Atheniensis.

In sum, the existence of lacunae in the Codex Atheniensis in those areas where the Codex Caseolinus is seriously damaged and its readings are therefore obliterated beyond decipherment does justifiably arouse the suspicion that the Codex Atheniensis may have been copied directly from the Codex Caseolinus, as Wünsch proposes. This assumption, however, can be cogently challenged by the fact that the Codex Atheniensis has lacunae where the Codex Caseolinus is readable, as well as by the fact that the Codex Atheniensis has readings where the Codex Caseolinus is completely obliterated. The latter two facts, as Vasis convincingly maintains, lead to the highly probable conclusion that the Codex Atheniensis cannot have been copied directly from the Codex Caseolinus but owes its origin to a codex or text different from the latter. Although Wünsch's opinion has some merit, Vasis' arguments in support of a second source for the Codex Atheniensis are more convincing.

Apart from the problem of the origin of the Codex Atheniensis, the question of the soundness of its variant readings should be raised. Now, when all these variants are carefully examined in terms of content, and particularly Lydus' use of Greek, the conclusion is inescapable that these variants in *almost* all instances are undoubtedly inferior to their corresponding readings in the Codex Caseolinus and therefore are less useful, if not valueless, in restoring the autograph text of Lydus, which must be viewed as more faithfully represented in the Codex Caseolinus. Vasis' arguments in support of certain readings of the Codex Atheniensis as superior to those of the Codex Caseolinus are, for the most

part, unconvincing. Therefore, until another text of the *De Magistratibus* comes to light, one is compelled to agree with Wünsch⁷⁶ that the Codex Caseolinus must be considered as its *testis unicus*.

IV. *The Editions of Lydus' Works*

Choiseul-Gouffier originally had intended that the Codex Caseolinus be edited and published by Villoison, hoping that his own name would also appear in such an edition, even though only in the preface.¹ When Villoison returned to France in the autumn of 1786, he found it impossible to undertake the publication for various reasons: his other commitments; the death of his wife; the outbreak of the French Revolution; his own retreat to Orléans; and the voluntary exile to Russia of Choiseul-Gouffier, who had taken along the Codex Caseolinus. On April 26, 1805, while still in the prime of life, Villoison died unexpectedly at the age of fifty-two, suddenly stricken by an illness. Before his untimely death, however, he had introduced to Choiseul-Gouffier a protégé and friend of his named Karl Benedikt (Charles-Benoît) Hase,² whom, when he had come to Paris in 1801, Villoison had helped to become established and known. Hase was one of the many who mourned Villoison's death; in fact, he wrote a sixty-four folio tribute to

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. xix.

¹ Pingaud, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

² Hase (1780–1864) had studied at Jena and Helmstedt. In 1805 he was employed in the Département des manuscrits grecs at the Bibliothèque Impériale. In 1816 he became professor of Greek Paleography and Modern Greek at the École des langues orientales. In 1824 he was made a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. In 1830 Hase was appointed professor of the German Language and Literature at the École Polytechnique, and in 1832 he became Conservateur en chef in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Royale. Finally, in 1852, he was appointed professor of Comparative Grammar at the Faculté des lettres. Hase published an annotated edition of the Byzantine Chronographer Leo Diaconus in 1819, edited Julius Obsequens, Valerius Maximus, and Suetonius; contributed many papers to the *Notices et Extraits* of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque; and was one of the chief cooperators in the edition of the *Stephani Byzantini Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 9 (1831). See Didot-Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* 23 (Paris, 1861), cols. 507–510; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 10 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 725–727; I. Ševčenko, *The Date and Author of the so-called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus* in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 25, 1971, p. 117, note 2.

him and deposited it in the Bibliothèque Impériale on April 4, 1806.³ Choiseul-Gouffier then asked Hase to make an edition of Lydus' works; but, since Hase was unable to do this, he entrusted the publication of the *De Magistratibus* to Joannes Dominicus Fuss,⁴ who immediately accepted the task.⁵

Fuss then began preparing the editio princeps of the *De Magistratibus*. After he had transcribed that portion of the Codex Caseolinus which contained this work, he emended the text, as he saw fit, and made a Latin translation to accompany the Greek text. In the preparation of his edition Fuss was assisted by Hase and by Gregorios Georgiades Zalykes (or Zalikoglou),⁶ whose help he acknowledges in his preface to the readers (p. lxxxiii). Fuss's edition,⁷ published in 1812, consists of an excellent and most informative prologus or commentary on Lydus and his writings written by Hase;⁸ Fuss's preface to his readers titled *Dominicus Fuss Lectori* (pp. lxxxi–lxxxvii); the Greek text of the *De Magistratibus* on the left page and his Latin translation of it on the right page (pp. 2–295); *Corrigenda* citing corrections both to the Greek text and to his Latin translation (p. 296); an *Index Rerum et Verborum* (pp. 297–

³ *Suppl. Gr. Ms.* 990.

⁴ Fuss (1781–1860) had been educated by Jesuits, later studying at Würzburg under Schelling and at Halle under F. A. Wolf. He made the acquaintance of W. von Schlegel and Madame de Stael, upon whose advice he studied in Paris for some years, where he was professor of Classical Philology. In 1815 he was appointed by the Prussian government to a classical mastership in the Gymnasium of Cologne. In 1817 he became professor of Ancient Literature and Roman Antiquities at Liège. He wrote a Latin manual of *Roman Antiquities* in 1820, the third edition of which was translated into English by A. W. Street and B. Street and was published in 1840 at Oxford. Fuss was also a skillful composer of Latin verse and translated French and German classical writers. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 8 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1878), pp. 253–254; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 3 (Cambridge: University Press, 1908), pp. 301–302.

⁵ Hase, *Prologus*, etc., pp. lxxviii–lxxix.

⁶ Zalykes (1785–1827) was a learned Greek from Thessalonike, who had studied Greek, Latin, and French literature, as well as mathematics. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he was sent to Paris where he became secretary to Choiseul-Gouffier and later, in 1816–1820, first secretary of the Turkish Embassy. Zalykes published a French-Greek dictionary titled *Λεξικὸν τῆς Γαλλικῆς Γλώσσης Dictionnaire François-Grec* (Paris: J.-M. Eberhart, 1809), which consisted of 376 pages and was reprinted in Venice in 1815.

⁷ *Joannis Laurentii Lydi Philadelpheni De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae Libri Tres*, nunc primum in lucem editi, et versione, notis indicibusque aucti a Joanne Dominico Fuss. Paris: J.-M. Eberhart, 1812.

⁸ *Prologus in Librum Joannis Lydi De Magistratibus Romanis, sive Commentarius De Joanne Laurentio Philadelpheno Lydo, eiusque scriptis*, auctore C. B. Hase, pp. i–lxxix.

314); and an *Index Auctorum* (pp. 314–316). Fuss' work was published at the expense of Choiseul-Gouffier.⁹ One book review of it appeared.¹⁰

Fuss's edition gives almost all of the folio pagination of the Codex Caseolinus and refers to the latter in his notes as *Cod.* and to the corrector hand as *manus recentior*. When citing the manuscript reading, he sometimes makes no distinction between the two. Often he places the manuscript reading in his text but gives his own emendation in a footnote. Sometimes, however, he places his own emendation in the text and gives the manuscript reading in a footnote, though occasionally he does not give the manuscript reading, and he capitalizes the first word of a new sentence. In a few instances Fuss misread the Codex Caseolinus, and despite his *corrigen*da he did not detect all the typographical errors in his Greek text, which are indicated in the critical apparatus of the present edition by the word *sic*. Typographical errors in his footnotes are the following: ιέ (p. 10) should read ιε'; footnotes 2 and 3 (p. 129) should read 5 and 6; note 10 in the Greek text (p. 246) does not have a footnote, which should read *Cod.* την τε (footnote 10 should read 1 and footnote 1 should read 2); and footnote 3 (p. 289) should read 7.

In 1820 Fuss published at his own expense an Epistle addressed to Hase¹¹ consisting of a preface titled *Carolo Benedicto Hase* S. D. J. D. Fuss (pp. 3–9); corrections to his text and alternate readings along with illucidations of difficult passages (pp. 10–45); and an *Index Maxime Verb(or)um Memorab(ili)um* (pp. 47–48).

Fuss reserved for Hase the publication of the editio princeps of the *De Ostentis*.¹² Though the latter's text was found to be intact in the Codex Caseolinus except for three lacunae, the first ten pages were so mutilated that Hase had to construct the text by conjecture; where the latter was seriously damaged Hase copied it in larger characters, reproducing letter by letter all that he could decipher without conjecture. Hase's work,¹³ of which very few copies were published in 1823,

⁹ Joret, *op. cit.*, p. 298; Pingaud, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁰ *Leipziger Literaturzeitung*, 1812, No. 260 (October 20), cols. 2075–2080.

¹¹ J. D. Fuss ad Carolum Benedictum Hase Epistola, in qua Joannis Laurentii Lydi De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae opusculi textus et versio emendantur, loci difficiliores illustrantur. Leodii: P. J. Collardin, 1820.

¹² Hase, *Prologus*, etc., p. lxix.

¹³ Joannis Laurentii Lydi De Ostentis quae supersunt, una cum fragmento libri De Mensibus ejusdem Lydi, fragmentoque Manl. Boëthii De Diis et Praesensionibus. Ex codd. regis edidit, graecaque supplevit et latine vertit Carolus Benedictus Hase. Paris: Typographia Regia, 1823.

consists of a *Praefatio* (pp. i–xxv); *Libri De Ostentis Argumenta* ([p. xxviii]); the Greek text of the *De Ostentis* on the left page and Hase's Latin translation on the right page (pp. 2–259); Joan. Laur. Lydi *De Mensibus* with Greek text and Latin translation (pp. 262–287); Caroli Ben. Hase *Animadversiones in Librum Joannis Lydi De Ostentis* (pp. 291–329); Caroli Ben. Hase *Animadversiones in Joannis Lydi Fragmenta De Mensibus* (pp. 333–340); *Anicii Manl. Sev. Boëthii De Diis et Praesensionibus ex ipsius commentis in Topica Ciceronis Fragmentum* (pp. 343–356); *Index Auctorum, Rerum, Verborum Maxime Memorabilem, quotquot in textu notisve leguntur aut citantur* (pp. 357–406); and *Addenda et Emendanda* (p. 407). Five book reviews of this work appeared after its publication.¹⁴ The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses Hase's own personal manuscript of the *De Ostentis* from the Codex Caseolinus and his Latin translation of it,¹⁵ as well as his decipherment of the two folia of the Codex Caseolinus containing the remnants of the *De Mensibus*¹⁶ and his transcription and Latin translation of it.¹⁷

Curtius Wachsmuth published two editions of the *De Ostentis*, one in 1863 and the second in 1897.¹⁸ His second edition contains *Prolegomena in Lydi Librum De Ostentis* (pp. vii–xlvi); *Prolegomena in Calendaria Graeca*; Greek text of the *De Ostentis* (pp. 3–160); *Tabula Argumenti Libri Lydiani De Ostentis* (p. 161); *Epimentra Duo De Cometis et De Terrae Motibus* (pp. 165–175); *Indices in Lydi Librum De Ostentis et Epimetra Duo*: (1) index astronomicus et meteorologicus (pp. 335–337); (2) index geographicus (pp. 337–339); (3) scriptores (pp. 339–340); (4) alia quaedam memorabilia (pp. 341–342); and *Indices in Calendaria Graeca*: (1) stellarum apparitiones (pp. 345–357); (2) auctores (pp. 357–360); (3) notabilia quaedam in Ptolemaei prooemio et epologo (p. 361); (4) notabi-

¹⁴ *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* 17, N.F. 4 (1824), fasc. 3, pp. 305–316; *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (Halle & Leipzig), 1824, Nos. 257, 258, 259; Ch. D. Beck *Repertorium der neuesten in- und ausländischen Literatur für 1824*, 1, pp. 107–110; [A. J.] Letronne *Journal des Savants*, Février 1824, pp. 108–116; *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 2 (1825), Indices, No. 79 (May 16), pp. 785–792.

¹⁵ *Parisinus Suppl. Gr.* No. 859, ff. 54–152^v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 154–156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 157–159^v.

¹⁸ First edition: *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber De Ostentis ex codicibus italicis auctus et calendaria graeca omnia*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1863. Second edition: *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber De Ostentis et calendaria graeca omnia*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1897.

lora quaedam, quae ad calendaria spectant (pp. 361–364). Wachsmuth describes the Codex Caseolinus not without some inexactitudes.¹⁹ There were three book reviews of his second edition.²⁰

Niels Iversen Schow²¹ published in 1794 an edition of the *De Mensibus*²² consisting of a short introduction titled *Lectoribus S. Librarius* (pp. iii–viii); the Greek text of the *De Mensibus* (pp. 1–129); a small part of the *De Ostentis* with brief notes at the bottom of each page of text (pp. 130–134); and an *Index Rerum, Auctorum, Verborum* (pp. 135–144). Four book reviews of Schow's edition appeared after its publication.²³

Guilielmus Roether published in 1827 an edition of the *De Mensibus*²⁴ consisting of *Roetheri Praefatio* (pp. v–xvi); *Editionis Schowianae Praefatio* (pp. xvii–xx); the Greek text of the *De Mensibus* on the left page and a Latin translation on the right accompanied by critical notes at the bottom of each page (pp. 2–299); *Ern. Antonii Lewaldi Excursus* (pp. 300–310); the work of Hermes Trismegistos *De Herbarum Xylosi* (pp. 313–332); a fragment of the first book of Vettius Valens'

¹⁹ Cf. *Praef.* pp. ix–x.

²⁰ W. Kroll, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 18 (1898), No. 24 (June 11), cols. 739–744; R. Wünsch, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), No. 13 (March 23), cols. 337–345; F. Cumont, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 8 (1899), pp. 493–494.

²¹ Schow (1754–1830), a Dane, was a philologist, archaeologist, and professor at Copenhagen. Having studied under C. G. Heyne at Göttingen, he had acquired an interest in archaeology and even wrote a handbook on this subject. Schow studied mss. in Rome and Venice and edited the Homeric Allegories of Hecataeus Ponticus in 1782. He also began editions of Stobaeus and Photius, but these remained unfinished. See J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 3 (Cambridge, 1908), p. 317.

²² *Ioannis Laurentii Philadelphensis Lydi Opusculum De Mensibus ex codicibus manuscriptis Biblioth. Barberin. et Vatic. et Fragmentum De Terrae Motibus ex cod. Bibl. angelicae Rom. graece edidit varietatem lectionis et argumenta adiecti Nicolaus Schow. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1794.*

²³ *Erlangische gelehrte Zeitung*, 1794, No. 68 (August 26), pp. 542–543; *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* 2 (1794), No. 127 (August 9), pp. 1273–1276; *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), 1794, 3, pp. 515 sqq.; *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1794, 4, pp. 515–517; cf. *Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur für die Jahre 1791 bis 1795*, Erster Band, Erste Hälfte (Weimar, 1799), No. 700.

²⁴ Ἰωάννου Λαυρεντίου Φιλαδελφῶς Λυδοῦ Περὶ Μηνῶν. *Ioannis Laurentii Philadelphi Lydi De Mensibus quae exstant excerpta*. Textum recognovit atque emendavit e Graeco in Latinum convertit et perpetua cum sua et Nicolai Schowii, tum Car. Bened. Hasii et Frid. Creuzeri aliorumque annotatione instruxit indicemque copiosissimum adiectum Guilielmus Roether, Ph.D. Gymnasii Heidelberg, nuper professor, nunc verbi divini apud Mosbacenses minister. Accedit Hermetis Trismegisti περὶ βοτανῶν χυλώσεως libellus et Vettii Valentis Antiocheni libri primi Ἀνθολογιῶν fragmentum. Leipzig & Darmstadt: C. G. Leske, 1827.

Ἀνθολογιῶν (pp. 335–339); and an *Index Rerum et Verborum maxime memorabilium quae Joannis Lydi Libello continentur* (pp. 341–363). Two book reviews of Roether's edition appeared after its publication.²⁵

Richardus Wünsch²⁶ also published in 1898 an edition of the *De Mensibus*²⁷ consisting of a *Praefatio* (pp. v–xci); *Conspectus eorum editionis locorum, qui in praefatione tractantur* (pp. xcii–xcv); *Tabula codicum atque editionum* ([p. xcvi]); the Greek text of the *De Mensibus* (pp. 1–184); and *Index Auctorum* (pp. 185–188); *Index Glossarum* (pp. 189–191); and an *Index Nominum* (pp. 192–202). At least four book reviews of it appeared.²⁸ According to Stein,²⁹ however, there remains the need for a definitive edition of the *De Mensibus*.

August Immanuel Bekker³⁰ published in 1837 all three of Lydus'

²⁵ *Allgemeine Schulzeitung*, 1827, Abth. II, No. 47 (October 5), cols. 409–412; *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1827, No. 275 (November), cols. 521–528, No. 276 (November), cols. 529–531.

²⁶ Wünsch (1869–1915) studied at the Universities of Marburg, Berlin, and Bonn Classical and German philology, especially with Dieterich, Usener, and Wissowa. He traveled in France, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor to complete his studies. In 1898 Wünsch became professor of Classical Philology at the University of Breslau. In 1902 he became Professor Ordinarius für klassische Philologie at the University of Giessen, in 1906 at the Universities in Kiel and Königsberg, and in 1907 at the Albertus University. In 1909 he became an honorary member of the Greek Society for Folklore and in 1912 an honorary doctor of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Athens. In addition to classical philology, archaeology, and teaching, Wünsch's chief interest was in the science of religion and monuments of superstition. After the death of Dieterich in 1908 he took over the publication of the *Religionswissenschaftliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* and the *Archive für Religionswissenschaft*. At the outbreak of the First World War Wünsch volunteered for military service and in May, 1915, at Orsiny (Poland) fell on the Eastern front as captain and battalion commander. See *Altpreuussische Biographie* 2, Lieferung 7, Marburg/Lahn: N. G. Elwert, 1967, p. 828 (article by Carl Wünsch); Hepking in *Hessische Bl. für Volkskunde* 15 (1915), pp. 136 sqq.; W. Kroll in *Jahresberichte für Altertumswissenschaften*, 177B, Nekrologe 1916/18, pp. 1 sqq. (with a listing of R. Wünsch's writings).

²⁷ *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber De Mensibus*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1898.

²⁸ F. Hirsch, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 16 (1899), No. 37 (September 13), cols. 1009–1011; W. Kroll, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 19 (1899), No. 20 (May 20), cols. 612–614; K. K[rumbacher], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 8 (1899), p. 550; A. Nikiskij, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 10 (1903), pp. 174–179.

²⁹ *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 2, p. 732, note 3.

³⁰ Bekker (1785–1871), the German philologist and textual critic, had studied under F. A. Wolf. He was appointed professor of Greek Literature at the University of Berlin in 1807 and professor of Philosophy in 1810. In 1815 he became a member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Bekker traveled extensively between 1810 and 1812 in France, Italy, England, and parts of Germany in order to examine classical manuscripts

works in a single volume.³¹ It reprints Hase's *Prologus* (pp. v–xlvi), Fuss's Preface to the Reader (pp. xlvii–xlix) in his editio princeps of the *De Magistratibus* and Hase's Preface to his editio princeps of the *De Ostentis* (pp. l–lxiv); the Greek text of the *De Mensibus* (pp. 3–118), of the *De Magistratibus* (pp. 119–272), and of the *De Ostentis* (pp. 273–382), each of which is accompanied by a Latin translation on the lower part of each page; Hase's notes on the fragments of the *De Mensibus* (pp. 385–388) and his notes on the *De Ostentis* (p. 388–402); an *Index Grammaticus* (pp. 403–407); and an *Index Historicus* (pp. 408–434).

As regards the *De Magistratibus*, Bekker essentially republishes Fuss's text. He does not indicate the folio pagination but repeats all of Fuss's notes and refers to the Codex Caseolinus as *C*. He uses the word *vulgo* to indicate such words as he has altered; he does not always accept Fuss's emendations but often retains the manuscript reading, being generally rather sparing with emendations; however, he sometimes emends the text without citing the manuscript or Fuss; and he does not capitalize the initial word of a new sentence but only of a new paragraph and makes less use of punctuation than either Fuss or Wünsch. Two typographical errors are noted (see *Commentary* 110.7). Fuss's Epistle to Hase, published in 1820, seems to have remained unknown to Bekker, and yet the latter offers in several places some of the same emendations already suggested in this epistle.³² Bekker did not alter Fuss's Latin translation even in those places where he had introduced into the Greek text an emendation involving a change in sense. Bekker's evaluations on the whole did not go very much beyond Fuss's edition in emending the Codex Caseolinus to restore Lydus' probable readings. It is unfortunate

and to gather materials for his editorial projects, the fruits of which are to be found in his *Anecdota Graeca* (3 v., Berlin, 1814–21) and the various classical authors whose works he edited. His best known editions are Plato (1816–23), *Oratores Attici* (1823–24), Aristotle (1831–36), Aristophanes (1829), and twenty-five volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Bekker's research extended to almost the entire field of Greek literature except tragedy and lyric, confining himself to textual recension and criticism. In the field of Latin literature Bekker edited only Livy (1829–30) and Tacitus (1831). See Didot-Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* 5 (Paris, 1853), cols. 182–183; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 2 (Leipzig, 1875): pp. 300–303; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 3, pp. 85–87.

³¹ *Ioannes Lydus*. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Editio emendatio et copiosior, consilio B. G. Niebuhrii C. F. instituta, auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussiae continuata. 20 (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1837).

³² A. Heisenberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), p. 221; Wünsch, *Ioannis Lydi De Magistratibus, etc.*, p. xxx.

that Bekker did not read the Codex Caseolinus so as to have prepared a critical edition. For this reason his edition does not constitute a substantial improvement over that of Fuss.³³

Richardus Wünsch,³⁴ on the other hand, prepared a critical edition of the *De Magistratibus* consisting of the following parts: *Praefatio* (pp. v–xliv); *Conspectus eorum editionis locorum, qui in praefatione tractantur* (pp. xlv–xlii); *Tabula codicum editionum notarum* (p. [xlvi]); Greek text (pp. 1–170); and *Indices*: I *Index Auctorum* (pp. 171–173); II *Index Glossarum* (pp. 173–178); III *Index Nominum* (pp. 178–183). After the publication of Wünsch's edition eight book reviews appeared, of which four were short reviews³⁵ and four offered emendations and various observations.³⁶

Wünsch³⁷ says that, when he undertook the preparation of his text edition, he endeavored to note carefully and accurately the readings of the Codex Caseolinus; and that, when he began the collation, he soon realized that the reading of the manuscript, because it had been damaged from the passage of time, was so difficult that no sensible person, when he had finished going through it, could state with certainty that he had committed no errors. He, just as Fuss also before him had done, sought indulgence from his readers if anywhere, in examining the traces of the letters, he had fallen into errors. Wünsch further states that he corrected almost a hundred places where he thought that there was a corruption which had arisen from the fact that what had been in the Codex Caseolinus had not previously been correctly understood. He also states that he did not hesitate to depart from the opinions of Fuss and Bekker; that he strove to correct the context of very many words abandoned by them; that he added accents and breathings where these were lacking or incorrectly placed and rather often omitted the *nu* movable before consonants; and that he separated clauses by the use of

³³ Heisenberg, *ibid.*

³⁴ *Ioannis Lydi De Magistratibus Populi Romani Libri Tres*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903.

³⁵ G. Tropea, *Rivista di Storia Antica* N. S. 7 (1903), fasc. 4, p. 849; *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland* 55 (1904), No. 3 (January 16), p. 104; *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 11 (1904), pp. 205, 667; C. W[eyman], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), p. 582.

³⁶ A. H[eisenberg], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), pp. 221–222; W. Kroll, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 24 (1904), No. 28 (July 9), cols. 868–872; B. Kübler, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 25 (1904), No. 15 (April 16), cols. 940–943; S. Vasis, *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου* 4 (1909), pp. 110–122; *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909), pp. 31–34.

³⁷ *Ioannis Lydi De Magistratibus, etc., Praef.*, pp. xxv–xxviii.

punctuation, particularly where he considered it necessary in the sometimes obscure and very entangled words of Lydus, which cannot be properly understood unless the individual parts of a sentence are set off with punctuation. He acknowledges very great gratitude to W. Kroll, Th. Preger, and F. Skutsch for their assistance,³⁸ whose conjectures, whether he utilizes them or not, he records in his critical apparatus.

Notwithstanding Wünsch's diligence, he has occasionally misread the Codex Caseolinus. He often cites words as lacking or as having breathings or accents or both contrary to the manuscript reading; in several instances where Bekker suggests the omission of a word and so conjectures it, the manuscript does have it; occasionally he gives himself credit for a reading which already exists in the manuscript or gives credit to scholars for emendations already made by the corrector hand; and he often accepts as corrections by Bekker the latter's readings or conjectures indicated in the latter's critical apparatus with an interrogation sign, whereas these are merely intended for consideration as possible readings or emendations. Heisenberg³⁹ finds fault with Wünsch's rejection of some manuscript readings, making the following observations.

In some places Wünsch appears not to have gone far enough in his attention to the reading of the (Codex) Caseolinus. Thus, for example, ἐξοιδημένος (222.26), which Fuss emended to ἐξωδημένος, must remain preserved. Wünsch, too, according to his *Præf.* p. xxxi, seems finally to have assumed this. But he emends ἀνεβέβηκε (94.18) to ἀναβέβηκε and προαπεδεδώκαμεν (140.19) to προαποδεδώκαμεν, unjustly so in my opinion, cf. Modern Greek ἀνεβαίνω. The codex presents ἐωρημένον (22.23), which the corrector hand emends to ἥωρημένον; thus Wünsch also writes, but the reading of the codex is in correct orthography and must so be written. The codex has μεταδῶη (178.14), which Wünsch emends to μεταδοίη. But the forms ἀλώη and ἀλοίη used in later Greek next to one another can attest also μεταδῶη next to μεταδοίη. I doubt, furthermore, whether Wünsch is correct in following Bekker who emends ὀλισθεύων (182.28) to ὀλισθαίνων, and I hold it incorrect to emend ἐκδραμοῦντος (82.31) to ἐκδραμόντος. The more the forms of the infinitive coalesced, the closer lay the analogy φιλεῖν: φιλοῦντος, ἐκδραμεῖν: ἐκδραμοῦντος, which, moreover, found a firm support in δραμοῦμαι."

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xliv.

³⁹ *Byz. Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), p. 222.

Heisenberg's opinion, however, regarding the words that he cites is only partially valid. He is correct only in the case of ἐξοιδημένος and αἰωρημένον because the temporal augment in the aorist and the perfect in the case of verbs beginning with diphthongs is not absolutely required. As regards ἀνεβέβηκε, προαπεδεδώκαμεν, and ἐκδραμοῦντος, since such forms are of colloquial usage and occur in non-literary writings, they need not necessarily have been used by Lydus, who, having been a well-educated person, was a writer of the literary idiom, and must be viewed of scribal origin. As regards μεταδῶν, it should be noted that the Codex Caseolinus has μεταδόη, and, since the scribe has often carelessly omitted a medial *iota* (see *Commentary* 18.3), μεταδοίη must be viewed as the correct reading and not μεταδῶη, which is the corrector hand's correction. As regards ὀλισθεύων, the scribe incorrectly wrote *epsilon* instead of the diphthong *alpha-iota* and carelessly omitted the left-hand stroke of *upsilon* so that the resultant letter appears as *upsilon* instead of *nu* (see *Commentary* 116.22).

Wünsch's edition does not indicate the folio pagination. Its *Index Glossarum* (pp. 173–178) has omissions,⁴⁰ and there is no *Index Grammaticus*.⁴¹ According to Heisenberg,⁴² Wünsch would have facilitated the usefulness of his edition by the inclusion of a concise *Index Graecitatis* recording the linguistically interesting and unusual forms for the sake of linguistic studies; whether one assigns such forms to the sixth century or only to the scribe of the Codex Caseolinus is initially less important for the historical grammar than their presentation.

T. F. Carney⁴³ published in 1971 a work which treats of Byzantine bureaucracy but chiefly of Byzantium in the sixth century A.D. This work is divided into three sections (called books), namely, a survey of Roman and Byzantine bureaucracies; an analysis of three sixth-century writers, Cassiodorus, John the Lydian, and Procopius; and an English translation of John the Lydian *On the Magistracies of the Roman Constitution*. After reading Carney's work, one must agree with the following criticisms offered by Alice-Mary Talbot⁴⁴ in her book review of it:

⁴⁰ Vasis, Βυζαντις 1 (1909), p. 33.

⁴¹ *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland* 55 (1904), p. 104.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Within* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971).

⁴⁴ *Byzantine Studies* 1, pt. 2, (1974), pp. 195–196.

Much of Carney's commentary in the first two sections is useful and stimulating, but . . . he has placed excessive and unnecessary reliance on sociological methodology (such as quantitative analysis) and terminology . . . It is regrettable that the extensive footnotes are relegated to the end of each chapter, where they are difficult to consult . . .

Though Carney sometimes presents some provocative information, often the conclusions that he draws can be seriously questioned or are outright unwarranted. As regards Carney's translation of the *De Magistratibus*, one would have expected it to be more faithful to the Greek text and more carefully prepared and polished before publication, notwithstanding those places which admit of a textual and interpretative preference. In general, Carney's work serves as a good supplement to the present edition.

TABULA CODICUM, EDITIONUM, NOTARUM

- P = *Codex Caseolinus Parisinus Supplementi Graeci* No. 257 (ix/x A.D.)
- P₂ = manus recentior, corrector Codicis Caseolini (A.D. ?)
- A = *Codex Atheniensis* (xviii A.D.) in S. Vasis *Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos* (Athens, 1909), 35–66 & *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου* 4 (1909), 110–122.
- b = I. Bekker *Ioannes Lydus* (Bonn, 1837)
- by = A. C. Bandy (present edition)
- f = J. D. Fuss *Joannis Laurentii Lydi Philadelpheni de Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae libri tres, etc.* (Paris, 1812)
- f¹ = J. D. Fuss *Ad Carolum Benedictum Hase epistola, etc.* (Liège, 1820)
- w = R. Wünsch *Ioannis Lydi de magistratibus populi romani libri tres* (Leipzig, 1903)
- ⟨ ⟩ conjectured additions
- [] one or more letters unreadable because of damage in the manuscript
- { } one or more words to be deleted
- | In the Greek text it indicates the beginning of a folio, recto and verso, of the *Codex Caseolinus*; in the *apparatus criticus* it indicates that a word in the *Codex Caseolinus* is either partially on one line and partially on the following or at the end of one folio and the beginning of the following.
- corr. = correxit; correctura
- del. = delevit; deleverunt
- delend. = delendum
- etc. = et cetera
- fort. = forte; fortasse
- leg. = legendum
- loc. vac. = locus vacuus
- mal. = malit
- mav. = mavult
- omis. = omisit; omiserunt
- sic = indication of typographical error

TEXT and TRANSLATION

f 36^r

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΩΝ

Ἱερέας γενέσθαι τὸ πρὶν τοὺς ὑστερον ἄρχοντας τοῦ Ῥωμαίων
 πολιτεύματος οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἡγνόηται, Τυρρηνοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐσπέραν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας μεταναστάντος τοὺς τότε καλουμένους
 Ἑτρούσκους (ἔθνος δὲ ἦν Σικανόν) τὰς Λυδῶν τελετὰς διδά- 5
 ξαντος, οὗς ἐκ τῆς θυοσκοπίας Θούσκους συμβέβηκε μετονομα-
 σθῆναι· καὶ τούτων εἰς πλάτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περὶ Μηνῶν
 γραφείσης ἡμῖν πραγματείας ἴσμεν μνημονεύσαντες. τὰ γὰρ
 ἐπίσημα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπὸ Θούσκων λαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς Νουμᾶς
 τῇ πολιτείᾳ εἰσήγαγεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ δύσμαχον ἀπὸ 10
 Γαλατῶν. καὶ μάρτυρες μὲν τούτων ὁ τε Κατίτων καὶ Φοντήιος,
 ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ διδασκαλικώτατος Οὐάρρων, Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες, μεθ'
 οὗς Σαλλούστιος οὗτος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ἐπὶ τῆς Πρώτης Ἱστορίας
 σαφῶς ἀναδιδάσκει. ὥστε ὑπόλοιπον περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀφηγή-
 σασθαι ἐξουσιῶν καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ ἱερατικῆς τάξεως ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν 15
 μετεφύησαν σχῆμα. μὴ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἀλλοίους πρὸς τὰ πάλαι δοθέντα
 κρίναι τις, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τυχὸν ἀπηχῆς λογικῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑφιστά-
 μενος φθόνῳ τὸν ἔπαινον μεταβάλῃ. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Γρακχιανὸς τις
 πάλαι περὶ τούτων ἔγραφεν, ἴσμεν τοὺς νομογράφους ἀναφέ-
 ροντας· οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τὰ γραφέντα φέρεται ἴσως αὐτά, πάντως δὲ 20
 καὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ χρόνου τεκόντος ἅμα καὶ κρύψαντος.

2 intra 1 & 2 <ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ> w PROOEMIUM f 3 Τυρρηνοῦ b w τυρρηνοῦς P
 Τυρρήνου f <τοῦ> ἐπὶ w 10 εἰσήγαγεν P f b w ἐπήγαγεν A 11 Φοντήιος w φων-
 τήιος P Φωντήιος f b 12 Οὐάρρων b οὐάρρων P Οὐάρρων f Βάρρων w
 13 Σαλλούστιος w σαλούστιος P Σαλούστιος A f b ἐπὶ τῆς Πρώτης Ἱστορίας by ἐπὶ
 τῆς πρώτης ἱστορίας P b w ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ἱστορίῶν f f¹ 11 ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἱστο-
 ρίας A 14 ὑπόλοιπον f b w ὑπόλοιπ P 15 καὶ ὅτι P f f¹ 11 καθότι b w 18 Γρακ-
 χιανός f b w γρακχιανός P

ON POWERS BY THE SAME [AUTHOR]

No one at all has failed to recognize that those who were later magistrates of the state of the Romans had formerly been priests, because Tyrrhenus, when he had migrated to the West from Lydia, had taught the mystic rites of the Lydians to those who were called at that time Etruscans (their race was Sicanian), who, from their *thyoskopia*, happened to be renamed Tuscans; and I know that I mentioned them in detail in the first treatise which I wrote *On Months*. For Numa the king got the insignia of the magistrates from the Tuscans and introduced them to the state, just as also from the Gauls their hard-to-fight-against weapons. And attestors, indeed, of these facts are both Capito and Fonteius, to whose number belongs also the most instructive Varro, all Romans, after whom the celebrated Sallust, the historian, clearly teaches [these things] in his *Early History*. Consequently, there remains to give an account about the civil powers, though it is clear that they had evolved from a priestly character to the civil form. May no one, however, judge me as being at variance with the data of antiquity unless perchance, undergoing a discordance of rational soundness because of envy, he should commute their praise. I know that the writers of legal treatises mention that a certain Gracchanus, too, long ago wrote about these matters, but his writings are perhaps themselves nowhere extant; at any rate, however, Time both engendered and at the same time concealed them.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

- (Α) Πόσος ἀνύεται χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰνείου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πα-
ρόδου ἕως κτίσεως Ῥώμης, καὶ πόσος ἀπ' αὐτῆς γέγονεν ὁ τῶν
ῤῥηγῶν, καὶ πόσος ὁ τῶν ὑπάτων ἕως Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ 5
πόσος ἄχρι Κωνσταντίνου, ἐξ οὗ πόσος ἄχρι τῆς Ἀναστασίου
βασιλέως τελευτῆς.
- Β τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τοῦ ῤῥηγὸς καὶ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως·
καὶ Καίσαρος καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀξίωμα τί σημαίνει <καὶ τί> τὸ
Κυρῖνον ὄνομα. 10
- Γ ὅτι Ῥωμύλος καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν τῇ Αἰολίδι ἐφθέγγοντο φωνῇ·
f 36^v | ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλέας δεσπότας ἀποκαλεῖν· περὶ
τῶν ἐπισήμων τοῦ ῤῥηγός· τί ἐστὶ τόγα καὶ τραβέα· διὰ τί
Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βασιλέως καθέδραν σόλιον προσαγορεύουσιν. 15
- Δ διὰ τί τὰς λοφίας τινες τούφας καλοῦσιν. 15
- Ε διὰ τί τὰς ἀσπίδας σκοῦτα καὶ κλίπεα καὶ πάρμας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
καλοῦσι καὶ τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τούτων· ὅτι ἀπὸ Αἰνείου παρέλαβεν
ὁ Ῥωμαϊκὸς στρατὸς οὕτω στέλλεσθαι, ὥς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κα-
λούμενοι ἐσκουβίτωρες. διὰ τί τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑποζύγιον βα-
σταγὴν ἀττηνσίωνα καλοῦσιν. 20
- Σ πρώτη προαγωγὴ ὁ ἵππαρχος, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τόπον αὐτοῦ ὁ τῶν
πραιτωρίων ὑπαρχος προεβλήθη.
- Ζ δευτέρα προαγωγὴ οἱ πατρίκιοι, καὶ τίνος χάριν πάτρης κων-
σκριπτους αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀρχαιότης ἐκάλεσεν· ποῖον εἶδος χιτῶνος ὁ
λεγόμενος παραγαύδης· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων καμπαγίων· 25
τί σημαίνουν οἱ λεγόμενοι τίτλοι, καὶ ὅτι φιλότιμοι ἐτύγγανον
οἱ πάλαι συγκλητικοί· πόθεν διώνυμοι καὶ τριώνυμοι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι
ἐχρημάτιζον.
- Η τρίτη προαγωγὴ οἱ κυαίστωρες καὶ ὅτι ἕτερον μὲν κυαίστωρ,
ἕτερον δὲ κυαισίτωρ· περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ἐπισήμων. 30

4 ἀπ' P f b w αὐτῆς f b w αὐταῖς P αὐταῖς P₂ 9 <καὶ τί> w 10 Κυρῖνον by
κύριον P Κυρίνου f b w 13 τραβέα by τραβαία P τραβαία f b w 15 λοφίας τι-
νες b w λοφίας τινες P f 16 πάρμας b w παρμαῖς P παρμάς (sic) f 19
ἐσκουβίτωρες f b ἐσκουβίτορι (alteram tertiamque syllabam in rasura) P ἐσκου-
βίτορες w 20 ἀττηνσίωνα f b ἀττηνσίωνα P ἀττηνσίωνα w 22 πραιτωρίων P f b w
23 πάτρης f b w πατρης P κωνσκριπτους by κωνσκριπτους P κωνσκριπτους f b w
29 κυαίστωρ f b w κυέστωρ P κυαισίτωρ P₂ 30 κυαισίτωρ f b w κυεσίτωρ' P
ὑπατείας f b w ὑπατίας P

On Civil Magistracies
Chapters of Part I

1. How much time came to an end from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to the founding of Rome; and after the latter how much that of the *reges* amounted to; and how much that of the consuls to Caesar; and how much from the latter to Constantine; how much from the latter to the death of Anastasius the emperor (I.2).¹
2. What the difference is regarding the *rex*, the tyrant, and the king (I.3); and what the office of Caesar and of supreme commander signifies (I.4), and what the appellative *Quirinus* (I.5).
3. That Romulus and his contemporaries spoke in the Aeolic dialect (I.5). That the emperors of the Romans ought not to be called "masters" (I.6). On the insignia of the *rex* (I.7). What the *toga* and *trabea* are (I.7). Why the Romans style the king's throne *solium* (I.7).
4. Why some call crests *tufae* (I.8).
5. Why the Romans call the shields *scuta*, *clipea*, and *parmae* and what their difference is (I.9–11). That the Roman army received from Aeneas the method of equipping themselves in such manner as the so-called *excubitores* still do even to this day (I.12). Why they call the king's transport by draught animals *attentio* (I.13).
6. First institution, the cavalry commander, and that in his place the prefect of the *praetoria* was instituted. (I.14–15).
7. Second institution, the *patricii*, and why antiquity called them *patres conscripti* (I.16–18). What sort of tunic the so-called *paragaudes* was; also about the so-called *campagia* (I.17). What the so-termed *tituli* mean (I.19), and that the senators of old were munificent (I.20). Whence the ancients had two and three names (I.21–23).
8. Third institution, the *quaestores*, and that *quaestor* is one thing, while *quaesitor* is another (I.24–29). On the consulship and its insignia (I.30–33).

¹ References in parentheses are to Part (roman numerals) and Chapter (arabic), not indicated in the *Codex Cascolinus* but given here for the convenience of easy reference.

Θ τετάρτη προαγωγή ἡ κληθεῖσα δεκανδρική ἐξουσία.

Ι πέμπτη προαγωγή ἡ καλουμένη δικτατοῦρα, καὶ τί σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα, πόσοι τε γηγόνασιν οἱ πάντες δικτάτωρες καὶ ἕως τίνος.

ΙΑ ἕκτη προαγωγή ἡ καλουμένη κηνσοῦρα· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ κωμωδίας καὶ τραγωδίας, καὶ πότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐγνώσθησαν· διὰ τί Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀσώτους ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσι πατρίως νέπωτας.

f 37^r IB ἐβδόμη προαγωγή ἡ δημαρχία· πότε ἐδόθη τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ λεγόμενα κάπιτα καὶ διὰ τί κάπιτα λέγεται· περὶ τῶν ἐν ὅπλοις ταγμάτων τε καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ βαθμῶν καὶ τῶν λεγομένων τειρώνων.

II ὀγδόη προαγωγή οἱ πραίτωρες, καὶ ὅτι ὁ τῆς πόλεως καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχος εἰς ἐτύγχανε τῶν πάλαι πραιτῶρων, φύλαξ πόλεως χρηματίζων.

IA ἐνάτη προαγωγή ὁ τῶν νυκτῶν ὑπαρχος.

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β

A περὶ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπισήμων.

B περὶ Αὐγούστου, καὶ ὅτι πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβαλὼν τὴν ἱπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν τὴν πραιτωριανὴν ἐπαρχότητα προεβάλετο.

Γ περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν στολῶν.

Δ περὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων καὶ τῆς πειδομένης αὐτῷ τάξεως· περὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων τῆς ἐπαρχότητος καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μεγίστων δικαστηρίων· ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἀνέκαθεν πραιτώριον ὠρισμένον τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν.

E περὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου, καὶ τίνα πρῶτον προαχθῆναι ἡ ἱστορία ἀναφέρει· ὅτι οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς λεγόμενοι μαγιστριανοὶ τὸ πρὶν φρουμεντάριοι ἐκαλοῦντο.

1 τετάρτη P b w πέμπτη f 2 πέμπτη P b w ἕκτη f 3 δικτάτωρες f b δικτάτορες P w 5 ἕκτη P b w ἐβδόμη f κηνσοῦρα f b w κηνσοῦρα P 8 νέπωτας f 296 b w νεπώτας P f 9 ἐβδόμη P b w ὀγδόη f 10 κάπιτα P καπιτὰ f καπιτὰ b καπητὰ w κάπιτα P καπιτὰ f b καπητὰ w 11 τειρώνων by τηρόνων P τηρώνων P₂ τιρώνων f b w 13 ὀγδόη P b w ἐνάτη f πραίτωρες f b πραίτορες P w 14 πραιτῶρων f¹ 12 πραιτορίων P πραιτωρίων f b πραιτόρων w 16 ἐνάτη P b w δεκάτη f 19 ἱπαρχον P f¹ 12 w ὑπαρχον P₂ f b 24 πραιτώριον f b w πραιτόριον P

9. Fourth institution, the so-called decemviral magistracy (I.34–35).
10. Fifth institution, the so-called *dictatura*, and what this term means (I.36); how many *dictatores* there have been in all and also for how long (I.37–38).
11. Sixth institution, the so-called *censura* (I.39, cf. 43); also about comedy and tragedy (I.40), and when they became known to the Romans (I.41). Why the Romans in their native language call both spendthrifts and grandsons homonymously *nepotes* (I.42).
12. Seventh institution, the tribunate (I.44–45). When the so-called *capita* were given to the soldiers, and why they are called *capita* (I.46). On units under arms, their names and ranks (I.46), and the so-called *tirones* (I.47).
13. Eighth institution, the *praetores*, and that the present-day prefect of the city was one of the *praetores* of old, who was styled guardian of the city (I.48).
14. Ninth institution, the prefect of the night watches (I.50).

Part II

1. On Caesar and Caesar's insignia (II.1–2).
2. On Augustus, and that he was the first to abolish the office of cavalry commander and to institute the praetorian prefecture (II.3).
3. On the imperial raiment (II.4).
4. On the prefect of the *praetoria* and the staff obedient to him (II.5–12). On the insignia of the prefecture and its very great courts of justice (II.13–19). That the highest of the magistracies did not have in the beginning a definite *praetorium* (II.20–21).
5. On the *magister*, and whom history records to have been the first so advanced (II.23–25). That those who in our day are called *magistriani* formerly used to be called *frumentarii* (II.26).

- Σ̅ περὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου Σκυθίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ πραίτωρος
 καὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου τῶν κήνων καὶ τοῦ κυαιοτίωρος, καὶ ὅτι οὐ
 πρῶτως αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐταὶ ἐπενεγήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμελημέναι ἀνεκλήθη-
 σαν.
- Ζ̅ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καταλόγων, 5
 ἡθῶν τε καὶ σχημάτων καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς ἀρχαι-
 ότητος γνωρισμάτων καὶ ἐκ ποίων αἰτιῶν ἡμέληται.
- Η̅ διὰ τί τὸν ποταμὸν νῦν μὲν Ἰστρον, νῦν δὲ Δανούβιον συμ-
 βαίνει προσαγορεύεσθαι· πῶς Πέρσαις πολεμητέον κατὰ τοὺς
 τακτικούς. 10
- Θ̅ πότε καὶ τίνος χάριν ἐξηυρέθη τὸ τῶν σκρινιαρίων σῶμα· πό-
 θεν εἰσηνέχθη τὸ τῶν καγκελλαρίων ὄνομα καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως
 ὠνομάσθησαν· ἐκ ποίων αἰτιῶν ὑπεσύρθη ἡ τάξις, καὶ ὅτι Ἀνα-
 f 37v στάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς | διὰ Μαρίνου αἴτιος τοῦτου.
- Ι̅ πόθεν Δουρράχιον ἡ πάλαι Ἐπίδαμνος. 15
- ΙΑ̅ ὑποτύπωσις τῆς Ἀναστασίου βασιλείας.
- ΙΒ̅ διὰ τί Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους παρὰ τὴν παλαιότητα χρυσίον ἐφ'
 ἐκάστης ὥσπερ ὀφειλόμενον εἰσπράττουσιν· περὶ τοῦ πτώματος
 Ἀντιοχείας τῆς πρὸς Δάφνην καὶ τῆς Περσῶν ἐφόδου.
- ΙΓ̅ περὶ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ἀηττήτου 20
 βασιλέως, καὶ ὅσοις ἀγαθοῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκόσμησεν, καὶ ὅπως
 ἐν βραχεῖ Λιβύην ὅλην Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέσωσεν.
- ΙΔ̅ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν βασιλέως εὐμένειαν οὐ καλῶς τοῖς πράγμα-
 σιν ἀποχρησαμένων, ῥαστώνη δὲ συζησάντων· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ
 ἀσωτίας καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀκιπησίου. ποῖον εἶδος ἐσθήμαστος 25
 ὁ λεγόμενος σάνδυξ καὶ πόθεν οὕτως ὠνομάσθη.
- ΙΕ̅ περὶ τῆς κακοδαιμονίας τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ὅπως ἐνέπηρσε τὴν
 πόλιν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Ζευξίππου καὶ τίνος χάριν
 οὕτως ὠνομάσθη· ὅπως ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ Πρῶ-
 τον Ἱερὸν καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστησεν. περὶ τῶν εὐσε- 30
 βῶς καὶ δικαίως τὰς ἀρχὰς διανυσάντων. περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασι-
 λίδος Θεοδώρας, καὶ ὅπως τὰ κοινὰ ὠφέλησεν.
- ΙΣ̅ περὶ τοῦ ἀπευκταιοτάτου λοιμοῦ, καὶ ὅπως ἀπεπαύσατο.

1 πραίτωρος f b πραίτορος P w 2 κυαιοτίωρος f b κυαιοτίτορος P w 3 αὐται
 w αὐταὶ P αὐταὶ f b ἐπενεγήθησαν P₂ f b w ἐπένθησαν P fort. ἐπὴνθησαν w 5 in-
 ter 4 & 5 (Ἀδός γ Γ') w 9 πολεμητέον f b w πολεμηταῖον P 18 ὀφειλόμενον f b w
 ὀφειλόμενοι P 24 περὶ ἀσωτίας bis scriptum P alterum del. f' 12 b w περὶ
 ἀσωτίας. Περὶ ἀσωτίας f 25 ἀκιπησίου b ἀκκηπησίου P f w 26 λεγόμενος σάνδυξ
 f b w λεγόμενοςανδυξ P οὕτως f b w οὕτος P

6. On the prefect of Scythia (II.28–29), the *praetor Justinianus* (II.30), the *magister* of the *censi* (II.30), and the *quaesitor* (II.29); and that these magistracies had not been devised in the beginning, but, having been overlooked, they were called up. (II.28–30).
7. On the staff of the prefects and the registers in it, customs, forms, and language, and its other distinctive features of antiquity, and from what causes they have been neglected (III.1–30).
8. Why it happens that the river is called here *Ister* but there *Danuvius* (III.31–32). How one ought to make war with the Persians according to the tacticians (III.33–34).
9. When and for what reason the corps of *scriniarii* was devised; whence the title of *cancellarii* was introduced (III.35), and why they were called thus (III.37). From what causes the staff was reduced (III.36, 38–45); and that Anastasius the emperor was responsible for this through Marinus' doing (III.46).
10. Whence Epidamnus of old is Dyrrhachium (III.46).
11. Outline of Anastasius' reign (III.47–51).
12. Why the Persians throughout ancient times exact gold daily from the Romans as though it were owed (III.52–53). On the collapse of Antioch, adjacent to Daphne, and its assault by the Persians (III.54).
13. On the most blessed reign of Justinian, the invincible emperor, and all the blessings with which he adorned the Romans' realm, and how in a short time he won back all Libya for the Romans (III.55–56).
14. On those who, in spite of the emperor's graciousness, did not properly handle public affairs but spent their life in indolence (III.57–69); also on profligacy and the so-called *acipenser* (III.63). What sort of garment the so-called *sandyx* was and whence it was named thus (III.64).
15. On the ill-fated plight of the populace, and how it set fire to the city; also on the so-called *Zeuxippus*; and in whose honor it was named thus (III.70). How the emperor with God's help restored both the First Temple and at the same time the whole city (III.71). On those who executed their magistracies devoutly and uprightly (III.72–76). On the pious Empress Theodora, and how she furthered the public good (text missing).
16. On the most execrable plague, and how it came to an end (text missing).

ΠΕΡΙ ἈΡΧΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ
(ΛΟΓΟΣ Ἀ)

〈1〉 Ἐγχειροῦντί μοι περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας διαλαμβάνειν ἀξιόλογον εἶναι παρέστη προοίμιον δοῦναι τῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ τιμιωτάτου πάντων. Αἰνείας δὲ ἦν οὗτος, ὁ διὰ κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους εἶναι νομισθεὶς υἱός.

〈2〉 Ἀνύονται τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῆς Αἰνείου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρόδου ἕως τοῦ πολισμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι κατὰ Κάτωνα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ Βάρρωνα, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· κατὰ δὲ Αφρικανὸν καὶ Κάστορα 〈καὶ〉 τὸν Παμφίλου ἔτη ζ' καὶ ι' καὶ υ'. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πολισμοῦ μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν ῥηγῶν διέδραμεν ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια. οἱ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἄχρι Καίσαρος τοῦ πρώτου ἐνιαυτοὶ ε' (ἢ κατ' ἐνίους ἕξ) καὶ ξ' καὶ υ'. ἀπὸ δὲ Καίσαρος ἕως Κωνσταντίνου διαγέγονεν ἔτη τριακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτῆς ἔτη σκδ' πρὸς μῆσιν ἑπτὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις ἐννέα ἐξέλῃ ἐνιαυτούς, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ῥώμης ἔτυχε βασιλεύσας Κωνσταντίνος. συνάγεται δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολισμοῦ τῆς εὐδαίμονος πόλεως πέντε καὶ δέκα καὶ διακόσια ἔτη πρὸς μῆσιν ἑπτὰ. συνέλῃ οὖν ἂν τις ἀπὸ Αἰνείου ἕως τῆς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ χρηστοῦ τελευτῆς τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πρὸς ἑπτακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις πρὸς μῆσιν ἑπτὰ, ὥς Ἕλληνες οἰοῦνται κατὰ πάντας τοὺς ἑκατέρας φωνῆς συγγραφέας. τούτων οὕτως ἡμῖν σὺν ἀληθείᾳ τεθέντων, καιρὸς ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὥς εἴρηται, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαλαβεῖν πολιτεύματος.

〈3〉 Ῥωμύλος τοίνυν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγωνῶς σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ῥέμῳ τὴν μητέρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥώμην ἐδείματο. ὄνομα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὃ Ἴταλοὶ λέγουσι ῥήγιον, οἷον τυραννικόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλείας Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐννόμου ἐστὶ σημαντικόν, ὥς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, τὸ ῥήγιον ὄνομα· ὃθεν οὐκέτι μετὰ

7 υἱός. P f b w υἱὸς <Θυ> P₂ υἱὸς Θεοῦ A 9 υλδ in margine ubi singuli huius loci numeri repetuntur P 10 Βάρρωνα b w βάρρωνα P Βάρρωνα f 11 <καὶ> f b w 14 οἱ δὲ P f b w ἀπὸ δὲ A ἐνιαυτοὶ f b w ἐνιαυτοῦ P A ε' P f ἐν A ε' b w 16 τριακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε P w τριακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε f το' καὶ ε' b 19 ἔτυχε P₂ f b w ἔτυχεν P ἐτέλεσε A 23 καὶ χιλίοις P b w καὶ χίλιοι A κοί (sic) χιλίοις f 24 φωνῆς P b w φωνῆς (sic) f

On the Magistracies of the State of the Romans
 〈Part 1〉

1. As I was undertaking to treat of the magistracies of the State of the Romans, it occurred to me that it was worthwhile to give an introduction to the treatise beginning from the eldest and most honorable of all men. This was Aeneas, who, because of the beauty and strength of both his soul and body, had been considered to be the son of one nobler than common humans.

2. Now, from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to the founding of Rome four hundred and thirty-nine years came to an end according to the Romans Cato the Elder and Varro, but four hundred and seventeen years according to Africanus, Castor, and the disciple of Pamphilus. From its founding, however, to the expulsion of the *reges* two hundred and forty-three years went by. The years of the consuls to the first Caesar were four hundred and sixty-five, or sixty-six according to some. From Caesar to Constantine three hundred and seventy-five years elapsed; but from the latter to the death of Anastasius the emperor it was two hundred and twenty-four years and seven months, from which one might deduct nine years during which Constantine happened to reign in sacred Rome. Accordingly, the sum of the years since the founding of this blessed city is two hundred and fifteen and seven months. Therefore, one would calculate the totality of years from Aeneas to the death of the upright Anastasius as one thousand seven hundred and forty-six and seven months, as the Greeks believe according to all the historians in both languages. Now that I have truly laid down these facts thus, it is time for me to treat of the magistracies of our state, as I have stated.

3. Now, Romulus, at the age of eighteen, and his brother Remus founded Rome, the mother of the empire. The name of their rule was that which the Italians call *regium*, that is, “tyranny,” for the term *regium* is not indicative of a constitutional Roman kingship, as some assume;

τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν ῥηγῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καίτοι βασιλευμένοις
ἐχρημάτισεν. ἕτερον γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἐννόμου βασιλείας καὶ ἕτερον
τὸ τυραννίδος καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀξίωμα· καὶ ὅπως,
διὰ βραχέων ἐρῶ. βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηκόων πρῶ-
τος ψήφῳ ἐπιελεγμένος ἐπὶ βάθραν τινὰ ὥσπερ καὶ κρηπίδα, 5
τύχης κρείττονος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους λαχών· ὡς Σοφοκλῆς περὶ
Αἴαντος εἶπεν ἔχειν αὐτὸν βάθραν τῆς ἀγχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος. ἴδιον
δὲ βασιλέως ἐστὶ τὸ μηδένα καθ' ἅπαξ τῶν τοῦ πολιτεύματος
νόμων σαλεύειν ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς τὴν ὅψιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας
βασιλείᾳ διατηρεῖν· καὶ μηδὲν μὲν κατ' αὐθεντίαν ἐξω τῶν νόμων 10
πράττειν, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τοῦ πολιτεύματος συναρέσκον ψή-
φοις οἰκείαις ἐπισφραγίζειν, πατρὸς ἅμα καὶ ἡγεμόνος|στοργὴν
περὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐνδεικνύμενον, ὅποῖον ἡμῖν θεὸς καὶ καιροῦ
δεξιότης ἐχαρίσατο. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ὁ τύραννος τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ
πεσόντας διαθήσεται, πράξει δὲ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀλόγως εἴ τι καὶ 15
βούλεται, μηδὲ νόμους τιμᾶν ἀξιῶν, μηδὲ γράφειν μετὰ βουλῆς
ἀνεχόμενος, ταῖς δὲ οἰκείαις ὁρμαῖς ἐξαγόμενος. ἐστὶ γὰρ βασι-
λέως μὲν τρόπος ὁ νόμος, τυράννου δὲ νόμος ὁ τρόπος.

〈4〉 Τὸ γὰρ τῶν Καισάρων, ἢ γ' οὖν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐπώνυμον
οὐδὲ βασιλείας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τυραννίδος ἐστὶ σημαντικόν, αὐταρχίας 20
δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ αὐθεντίας τοῦ διοικεῖν τοὺς ἐξανισταμένους κατὰ
τῶν κοινῶν θυροὺς ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιον ἐπιτάττειν τε τῷ στρατεύ-
ματι πῶς ἂν δεοί μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις· *imperare* γὰρ τὸ 'ἐπι-
τάττειν' παρ' Ἱταλοῖς λέγεται, ἐνθεν ἱμπεράτωρ. ὅτι δὲ βασιλείας
οὐκ ἐστὶ σημαντικόν τὸ αὐτοκράτορος ἢ Καίσαρος ὄνομα, δῆλον 25
ἄντικρυς τῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους τοὺς Καίσαρας
τὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἱμπερατέρων ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπωνυμίας λαβεῖν.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισήμοις τυραννικοῖς φαίνεται χρησαμένη ἡ τῶν Και-

1 καίτοι P f b w οὐκ ἔτι (τ in rasura) A 5 ἐπὶ βάθραν f w ἐπὶ βαθράν P ἐπι-
βάθραν P₂ A b 7 βάθραν P₂ f b w βάθρα P ἀγχιάλου P₂ f b w ἀγχιαλοῦ P
Σαλαμῖνος f b w σαλάμινος P Σαλάμινος A 8 καθ' ἅπαξ by καθάπαξ P f b w
τῶν. . νόμων f b w τὸν. . νόμον P 12 οἰκείαις f b w οἰκίαις P οἰκεῖαις P₂ A
15 πεσόντας P f b w πείσοντας A εἴ τι P b εἴ τι A f w ὅ τι mal. b 19 Καισάρων
b w καισάρων P ἱμπερατέρων f ἢ γ' οὖν by ἡγουν P ἡγουν P₂ f b w 23
imperare A b w *IMPERARE* P *Imperare* f 24 παρ' P₂ b w παρ P πᾶρ (sic) f
ἱμπεράτωρ b ἱμπεράτωρ P ἱμπεράτωρ P₂ ἱνπεράτωρ f w 25 Καίσαρος b w καισα-
ρος P ἱμπεράτωρος f 26 ἄντικρυς P w αὐτικρὺς (sic) f ἀντικρὺς b 27 ἱμπε-
ρατέρων by ἱμπερα|τέρων P ἱμπερατόρων P₂ b ἱνπερατόρων f w ἱνπερατόρων
(ὄνομα) w τῆς ἐπωνυμίας P f b w ἐπωνυμίαν f¹ 13

for this reason, after the expulsion of the *reges*, it was no longer used by the Romans, even when they were being governed by emperors. For the dignity of constitutional kingship is one thing, that of tyranny is another, and that of emperorship is still another; and as to how, I shall explain briefly. A king is one who, by having been chosen as first by the vote of his own subjects for a base, as it were, or foundation, is allotted a station in life superior to that of the rest; as Sophocles said of Ajax, that he held the foundation of sea-girt Salamis. It is characteristic of a king to jar absolutely none of the state's laws but to preserve steadfastly the form of his own state by his kingship, and to do nothing outside the laws by absolute authority but to ratify by his personal decrees whatever the best men of his state conjointly resolve, displaying towards his subjects the affection of simultaneously a father and leader, such as God and the felicity of circumstance have granted us. But the tyrant will not treat thus those who have fallen under his sway but will do by his power rashly whatever at all he precisely wishes, not deigning to respect laws, nor tolerating to enact them in consultation with a council, but being led on by his own impulses. For, while the law is a king's way, a tyrant's disposition is law.

4. As for the cognomen *Caesares*, or rather supreme commanders, it is not indicative of kingship, nor even, however, of tyranny, but rather of absolute rule and absolute authority for better controlling the disturbances that arise against the republic and for commanding the army how it is to fight with adversaries; for "to command" is rendered by the Italians *imperare*, from which *imperator* is derived. That the name "supreme commander" or "*Caesar*" cannot be indicative of kingship is perfectly clear by the fact that both the consuls and the *Caesares* after them received the cognominal title of *imperatores*, so-called. For the office of *Caesares* did not manifestly use the insignia of the tyrants but merely

σάρων ἀρχή, ἀλουργίδι δὲ μόνη, τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν ἀναβαίνουσα καὶ τὰς ἐν ὅπλοις δυνάμεις αὐτοκρατῶς, ὡς ἔφην, ἰθύνουσα. ταύτη καὶ πρίγκιπας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι, οἷον εἰ πρῶτην κεφαλὴν τῆς πάσης πολιτείας. τὸ γὰρ Καίσαρος ὄνομα γένους ἐστὶ δεικτικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ὥσπερ Φαβίων καὶ Κορνηλίων καὶ Φλαυίων καὶ Ανικίων, τούτου πρότερον παρὰ βαρβάρους ἡρῆμενον. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Φαραῶνος τοὺς σφῶν βασιλέας ἐπεφήμιζον Φαραῶνας, καὶ Πτολεμαίους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου. ἐφυλάχθη οὖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἡ τοιαύτη τῶν Καισάρων εὐταξία ἄχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ, ὃς πρῶτος στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίας συγκεῖμενον τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθεὶς ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ τοὺς πόδας ψηφώσας ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἦ, τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ τυραννικὸν ἔτρεψεν, ἀνεμετρήσατό τε τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ τοῖς φόροις ἐβάρυνεν.

〈5〉 Ὡστε τύραννος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνελὼν καὶ τὸν μείζονα, καὶ πράττων ἀλόγως τὰ προσπίπτοντα· ταύτη καὶ Κυρῖνος προσηγορεύθη, οἷον εἰ κύριος, κἂν εἰ Διογενιανῶ τῷ λεξογράφῳ ἄλλως δοκεῖ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνοήσας ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἥ οἱ κατ' αὐτόν, δείκνυται κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, τὴν Αἰολίδα λέγω, ὡς φασιν ὁ τε Κάτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς Αρχαιότητος Βάρρων τε ὁ πολυμαθέστατος ἐν Προοιμίῳ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων, Εὐάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αρχάδων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντων ποτὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα τοῖς βαρβάρους ἐνσπειράντων φωνήν. ἡ γὰρ γραμματικοῖς παρὰ ταύτην εἰσαγομένη ἐτυμολογία (μετὰ συγγνώμης) βεβιάσται· ἀπὸ Κύρεως γάρ, πολίχνης Σαβίνων, οὕτως αὐτὸν παρονομασθῆναι βούλονται, καίπερ οὐχ ὁρμώμενον ἐκεῖθεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίνου βουνοῦ τεχθέντα τε παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Τιβέριδος καὶ τραφέντα ἐκεῖ. κυρίους γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δεσπότας ἄλλ' οὐ βασιλέας τύραννοι φιλοῦσι καλεῖσθαι.

1 ἀναβαίνουσα f b w ἀναβαίνουσιν P 2 ἐν ὅπλοις P₂ f b w ἐν ὁπλοῖς P ὡς ἔφην P f b w ὡς ἔφην A 3 πρίγκιπας P f b w οἷον εἰ by οἷον εἰ P οἷον εἰ f b w 6 Φλαυίων by φλαυίων P φλαυίων P₂ A Φλαβίων f b w 7 ἡρῆμενον P f b w ἡρῆμενον A 8 τοὺς P f b τοῦ A τοὺς w σφῶν P A f b σφῶν w βασιλέας P f b w βασιλέως A 9 ἀπὸ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου? b 11 συγκεῖμενον P₂ A f b w συγκεῖμενον P 13 φόροις f b w φόροις (una littera erasa) P 17 οἷον εἰ by οἷον εἰ P οἷον εἰ P₂ f b w 18 λεξογράφῳ f w λεξογράφῳ P λεξιογράφῳ b δοκεῖ P δοκεῖ P₂ f b w 19 κατ' ἐκεῖνο P₂ A f b w κατ' ἐκεῖνον P 21 Βάρρων b w ἄρρων P Βάρρων f 23 Αρχάδων A b w αλακδων (quod corr. in αρκαδων) P ἀρχάδων P₂ Αρχάδων f 26 Κύρεως f b w κυρέως P Κυθῆως A οὕτως f b w οὗτος P

the purple robe whenever they went up to the senate of the Romans and whenever they directed the forces under arms with supreme power, as I said. For this reason the Romans also called them *principes*, that is to say, "chief head of the entire state." For the name *Caesar* indicates family descent from the first Caesar, just as do the names *Fabii*, *Cornelii*, *Flavii*, and *Anicii*. This practice had been devised earlier by the barbarians, for the Egyptians used to call their own kings Pharaohs after the first Pharaoh, and Ptolemies after the first one. This kind of orderliness, then, of *Caesares* was preserved by the Romans down to the time of Diocletian, who, because he had put on his head a diadem consisting of precious stones and had adorned his dress and feet with gems, was the first to turn to the custom of kings or, truth to tell, to that of tyrants, and to survey the continent and burden it with taxes.

5. Consequently, Romulus was a tyrant; first of all because he had killed his brother, though older, and because he used to do rashly whatever occurred to him. For this reason he was called also *Quirinus*, that is to say, *kyrios*, even though Diogenian the lexicographer thinks otherwise. For Romulus, or his contemporaries, is not shown at that point of time to have been ignorant of the Greek language, I mean the Aeolic, as both Cato in his work *On Roman Antiquities* and the most erudite Varro in his *Introduction to Pompey* state, because Evander and the other Arcadians, when they had gone to Italy in olden times, had disseminated the Aeolic speech among the barbarians. As for the etymology which is introduced by the grammarians contrary to this one, it has, with their pardon, been forced; for they maintain that he was named thus from Quiris, a small Sabine town, though he did not come from there but had been both born on the Palatine Hill by the banks of the Tiber and reared there. For tyrants like themselves to be called "lords" and "masters" but not "kings."

<6> Κρεῖττον δὲ βασιλείας τὸ Καίσαρος ἀξίωμα, ὅτι καὶ δοῦ-
 ναι βασιλέας πάλαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας εἶχεν. μισητὸν γὰρ
 καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀλλότριον δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ μὴ βασι-
 λέας, τοὺς κρατοῦντας ὀνομάζειν καθ' ὃ τι δεσπότης ὄνομα κοι-
 νόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑνα δρατέτην κεκτημένοις, τὸ δὲ βασι- 5
 λέων αὐτῶν καὶ μόνων. καὶ δῆλον ἀντικρυς ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος
 dominos τοὺς τυραννήσαντας ἀποκαλεῖν, ὡς δὴ Σύλλαν καὶ Μά-
 ριον, καὶ δομινατίωνα τὴν τυραννίδα· ὡς καταρρίπτουσι τὴν
 βασιλέων μεγαλειότητα οἱ πονηροὶ κόλακες, ἐξ ἀμαθείας δούλων
 αὐτοὺς πρωτεύειν εἰσάγοντες. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθές, ἔξεστι καὶ ἐκ τού- 10
 των λαβεῖν. Αὐγουστός ποτε, ἡ τάχα Τιβέριος ὁ μετ' αὐτόν, πρὸς
 ἐνὸς τῶν κολάκων δεσπότης ὀνομασθεὶς, ἐξαναστὰς ἀφῆκε τὸν
 σύλλογον, ἀπαξιώσας, ὡς ἔφη, δούλοις διαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἤδη
 πρότερον ὥσπερ ἐν τιμῇ τῆς ὕβρεως εἰσαχθείσης, ἀνέχεται ἡ τοῦ
 ἡμερωτάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἐπιείκεια, καίπερ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς 15
 πώποτε βεβασιλευκότας μετριάζοντος, καὶ δεσπότης, οἷον πατὴρ
 ἀγαθός, ὀνομάζεσθαι. οὐχ ὅτι χαίρει ἀλλ' ἐρυθρία μᾶλλον τοὺς
 τιμᾶν οἰομένους δοκεῖν μὴ προσίεσθαι.

f 39^v

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΧΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΡΗΓΟΣ

<7> Καὶ πρὸ Ῥωμύλου ἐπίσημα τῆς Λατίνων βασιλείας ἦν 20
 θρόνος δρύφακτος καὶ στολὴ ἡ λεγομένη παρ' αὐτοῖς τραβέα
 (ποδαπὴ δέ τις ἦν, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρώ). ὅθεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιη-
 τῆς ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐβδόμῳ τῆς Αἰνιῆδος τὴν Λατίνου διαγράφων βα-
 σιλείαν θρόνου καὶ τραβέας διαμέμνηται. τῷ γε μὴν Ῥωμύλῳ
 καὶ στέφανος ἦν καὶ σκήπτρον ἀετὸν ἔχον ἐπ' ἄκρου καὶ φαινόλης 25
 λευκὸς ποδήρης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἔμπροσθεν μέχρι ποδῶν πορφυ-
 ροῖς ὑφάσμασιν ῥεραβδωμένος (ὄνομα δὲ τῷ φαινόλῃ τόγα, οἷον

2 ἐπ' ἐξουσίας A f¹ 13 b w ἐπεξουσίας P f 4 καθ' ὃ τι by καθότι P f b w
 6 μόνων f b w μόνων P ἀντικρυς P w ἀντικρὺς f b 7 dominos f b w dominos
 P domines (e ex o) A 8 δομινατίωνα f b δομινατίωνα A δομινατίωνα w
 καταρρίπτουσι b w καταρίπτουσιν P καταρρίπτουσιν P₂ καταρρίπ-
 τουσι f 9 ἀμαθείας f b w αμαθείας P ἀμαθίας P₂ 10 αὐτοὺς w αὐτοῖ P αὐτοῖ
 f b αὐτοὺς ? b 18 προσίεσθαι P₂ A f b w πρόσσεισθαι P 21 δρύφακτος f b w
 δρυφακτος P δρυφάκτος P₂ A τραβέα by τραβαβαία P τραβαία P₂ f b w τραβαία
 A 22 δέ τις P f b w δέτις (e ex ei) A 24 τραβέας by τραβεα P τραβαίας P₂
 A f b w 27 ῥεραβδωμένος P₂ A w ρεραβδομένος P ἑρραβδωμένος f ἑρραβδωμέ-
 νος b φαινόλη f b w φαινόλης P οἷον ei by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂ f b w

6. The dignity of *Caesar* is superior to kingship because long ago it had in its power even to give kings to the nations. For it was distasteful and extrinsic to Roman freedom to call their rulers "masters," but not "emperors," inasmuch as "master" is a term common to them and to those who possess even one slave, while that of "emperor" belongs to sovereigns and to them alone. And it is absolutely clear that it was customary for the Romans to call despotic rulers *domini*, as, for instance, Sulla and Marius, and to call despotic rule *dominatio*; consequently, base flatterers degrade the majesty of emperors because out of ignorance they introduce them as holding a position of primacy over slaves. That this is true can be inferred also from the following incident. Augustus, or perhaps Tiberius, who succeeded him, when he had been addressed once as "master" by one of the flatterers, arose and left the gathering because he had disdained, as he said, to converse with slaves. But, since the insolence had already been introduced in earlier times as if by way of homage, the clemency of our most serene emperor, although he is more humble than all who have ever yet reigned as emperors, just tolerates being called "master," that is, "good father." Not only does he not delight in it, but he is embarrassed rather that he should seem not to admit into his presence those who think that they are honoring him.

On the Insignia of the REX

7. Even before the time of Romulus the insignia of the king of the Latins were a railed-in throne and a robe which was called by them *trabea* (of what sort it was, I shall explain a little later). For this reason the Poet of the Romans in Book VII of his *Aeneid*, while describing the regal residence of Latinus, mentions a throne and a *trabea*. Romulus, however, had also a crown, a scepter which had an eagle at its tip, and a white, ankle-length *paenula* which was striped with crimson webs on the front side from the shoulders down to the feet (the *paenula* had the name

εἰ σκέπασμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγερε κατ' ἀντίστοιχον· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σκέπειν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν) καὶ ὑπόδημα φοινοκοῦν (κόθορνος ὄνομα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Κοκκήϊον). καὶ κοινὸν ἦν τοῦτ' ὁ σχῆμα τῆς λεγομένης τόγας αὐτῷ τε τῷ λεγομένῳ ῥηγὶ τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις ἐπ' εἰρήνης. ἡ μέντοι τραβέα μόνου τοῦ ῥηγὸς ἐτύγγανε παρα- 5 τοῦρα, οἷον εἰ στολὴ ἐπίσημος. χιτῶν δὲ ἦν καὶ περιβόλαιον ἡμικύκλιον, ὃ πρῶτον Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον ἐξευρεῖν λόγος. τὸν δὲ θρόνον σόλιον ἐπιχωρίως ὠνόμαζον, ἀντὶ τοῦ σελλίου κατ' ἀντίστοιχον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Ἀσπρος· ἡ καὶ ἄλλως σόλιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ σόλιδον, ἐκάλουν, οἷον εἰ ὀλόκληρον. 10 στέλεχος γὰρ ἀδρὸν εἰς κυτίδα καὶ καθέδρας τύπον ἐξορύττοντες ἀπετέλουν βῆμά τι βασιλεία, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐν τινι θήκῃ κατησφάλισται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔκ τε νώτου ἔκ τε πλευρᾶς ἐκατέρας μηδεμιάς ἀρμογῆς ἢ προσθέτου ξύλου σφίγγοντος τὴν καθέδραν ἅπαξ ὀλοτελῇ καὶ ὀλόκληρον τυγχάνουσιν. ταύτη σό- 15 λιον τὸν βασιλέως θρόνον ἐκάλουν.

〈8〉 Πρὸς τοῦτοις ἡγοῦντο τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πελέκεις δυοκαίδεκα πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν γυπῶν, ὧν εἶδεν ἀρχόμενος θεμελιοῦν τὴν πόλιν. Πρίσκου δὲ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ ῥηγὸς ὕστερον Θούσκους καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμῳ νικήσαντος, προστετέθησαν τοῖς τῆς βασι- 20 λείας γνωρίσμασι δόρατα ἐπιμήκη, ὡσαύτως τὸν ἀριθμὸν δυοκαίδεκα, ἀκροξυφίδας μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἡωρημένους δὲ λοφιάς (καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ιούβας, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τούφας, f 40^r βραχύ τι παραφθαρείσης τῆς λέξεως)·|βήξιλλα πρὸς τοῦτοις, οἷον εἰ δόρατα μακρά, ἐξηρητημένων ὑφασμάτων (φλάμμουλα 25 αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογίνου χρώματος καλοῦσιν), περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν γραφεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως ἀνενηνέκται.

1 τέγερε P₂ f b w τεγερε P 3 Κοκκήϊον b w κοκκηον P κοκκῖον P₂ Κοκκηον f τοῦτ' f b w τοῦτ' P τοῦτ' P₂ 5 τραβέα by τραβαία P f b w παρατοῦρα f b w παρατοῦρα P A 6 οἷον εἰ by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂ f b w 9 σελλίον P A f b σέλλιον w 10 σόλιδον P f b w οἷον εἰ by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂ f b w 12 βῆμά τι βασιλεία by βή|ματι βασιλεα P βῆμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ f b βῆμά τι <τῇ> βασιλείᾳ w κατησφάλισται P₂ f b w κατ' ἡσφαλίσται P 14 μηδεμιάς P f 296 b w μηδεμίας (sic) f προσθέτου P₂ w προσθέτου P A f b 17 ἡγοῦντο f b w ἡγοντο P ἡγοντο P₂ 21 ὡσαύτως P₂ f b w ὡσαύτως P 22 ἡωρημένους P₂ A f b v εἰωρημένους P λοφιάς b w λοφιάς P A f 23 ιούβας P₂ f b w ιούβας P 24 βήξιλλα f b w μηξιλλα P μήξιλλα A 25 οἷον εἰ by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂ f b w φλάμμουλα P f b w 26 φλογίνου f b w φλογίνου P χρώματος P f b w ράμματος A 27 ἀνενηνέκται by ἀνήνεκται P f b w ἀνενηνέκται ? b

toga, that is to say, “covering,” derived from *tegere* by interchange of vowel, for thus the Romans express the infinitive “to cover”), and crimson footwear (it had the name *cothurnus* according to Cocceius). And this wear consisting of the so-called *toga* was common to both the *rex* himself, as he was called, and his subjects in time of peace. The *trabea*, however, was the *paratura*, that is to say, “distinctive dress,” of the *rex* alone; it was a tunic or semicircular wrap, which, tradition states, Agathocles the tyrant of Sicily was the first to have devised. They called the throne in their country’s language *solium* for *sellium* by interchange of vowel, as the Roman Asper says; or, even otherwise, they called it *solium* for *solidum*, that is, “whole,” because they used to hollow out a thick trunk into a chest or shape of a seat and make a platform for the king, where the body of the king was safeguarded as if in a kind of casing, with no joint or added wood both at the back and at each side holding the chair together, being once fully constituted and whole. For this reason they called the king’s throne *solium*.

8. In addition to the above, twelve axes preceded Romulus, conformably to the number of the vultures which he had seen when he was beginning to lay the city’s foundations. Later, after Tarquinius Priscus the *rex* had conquered the Tuscans and Sabines in war, to the emblems of the kingship were added long spears, likewise twelve in number, which did not have points but suspended crests (the Romans call them *jubae*; but the barbarians, *tufae*, by slightly corrupting the word); and, in addition to these, *vexilla*, that is, “long spears with cloths suspended from them” (they call them *flammula* from their fiery color), with which I have dealt sufficiently among the topics treated in my work *On Months*.

<9> Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐπίσημα τῆς τότε βασιλείας. περὶ δὲ τῆς
 ἐν ὅπλοις στρατείας Πάτερνος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐν πρώτῃ Τακτικῶν
 αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι καθ' ἑρμηνείαν ταῦτά φησιν· ὁ Ῥωμύλος δεκου-
 ρίωνας τῶν ἱερῶν φροντιστὰς προεστήσατο, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ
 κεντουρίωνας τῶν πεζικῶν ταγμάτων ὀνομάσας. τρισχιλίων γὰρ
 ὄντων πεζῶν ἀσπιδιωτῶν, ἐκάστης ἐκατοντάδος ἡγεμόνα προῦ-
 θηκεν, ὃν Ἕλληνες μὲν ἐκατόνταρχον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κεντουρί-
 ωνα καλοῦσιν, ὥς εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἐκατοντάρχους ᾧ καὶ
 τοσοῦτους δὲ μανίπλους, οἷον εἰ σημειοφόρους. ἐκ δὲ τῆς στρα-
 τιᾶς τριακοσίους σκουτάτους (ὥς Ῥωμαῖοί φασιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσπι-
 διώτας) ἑπὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίαν ἀφώρισεν (καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον
 εἰρήσεται, τί μὲν ἐστὶ κλιπεᾶτος, τί δὲ σκουτάτος στρατιώτης).
 προστέθεικε δὲ καὶ τριακοσίους ἱππότητας ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, Κελε-
 ρίῳ τινὶ οὕτω καλουμένῳ τὴν φροντίδα τούτων παραδούς. ταύτη
 συνεκδοχικῶς ἅπας ὁ στρατὸς κελέριοι τότε προσηγορεύθησαν.
 ἐν τρισὶ δὲ ἐκατοντάσι συναγομένης τῆς ἱππικῆς δυνάμεως, τρισὶν
 ἐπωνύμοις αὐτὰς διέστειλεν, Ῥαμνίτας καὶ Τιτίους ἰστών καὶ
 Λούκερας. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ
 Μηνῶν, ὥς εἴρηται, τεθεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδεδῶκαμεν.

<10> Εἰπεῖν δὲ καιρὸς, τί διαφέρει σκοῦτον κλιπέου. σκοῦτον
 τοῖνυν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχνόν, ὅπερ
 Ἕλληνες στιπτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ στιβαρόν, ὥς Ἀριστο-
 φάνης ἐν Αἰσχροκωμῷ ἑπὶ γέροντες, Μαραθωνομάχοι πρίνι-
 νοι. ταύτη καὶ σκουτλάτα τὰ ἰσχνὰ τε καὶ στεγνὰ καὶ κοῦφα τῶν
 ἐσθλημάτων καλοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. τοιαύτη δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀσπίδος κα-

1 ab περὶ paragraphum ordiuntur f b 2 στρατείας by στρατειας P στρατιᾶς
 P₂ A (ex corr.) f b w 3 καθ' ἑρμηνείαν P₂ f b w κατερμηνείαν P ταῦτά φησιν f b w
 ταῦτά φησιν P δεκουρίωνας (corr. ex δὲ κουρίωνας) A δὲ κουρίωνας P f b δεκουρίων
 in margine P δεκουρίωνας w 5 κεντουρίωνας b κεντουρίωνας P κεντυρί in
 margine P κεντυρίωνας P₂ Κεντυρίωνας A κεντυρίωνας f κεντουρίωνας w 6
 προῦθηκεν P₂ f b w προῦθηκεν P 7 κεντουρίωνα P b κεντυρίωνα P₂ f Κεντυρίωνα
 A κεντουρίωνα w 8 ἅ P λ' f b w Γρ A 9 τοσοῦτους f b w τοσοῦτ' P μαν-
 νίπλους by μανιπλοῦς P f b w οἷον εἰ by οἷονει P₂ f b w 10 σκουτάτους
 f b w σκορτάτους P 12 κλιπεᾶτος w κλειπεατος P κλειπεᾶτος A κλιπεᾶτος f
 κλιπεᾶτος b σκουτάτος w σκουτάτος P A f b 15 συνεκδοχικῶς (χι in corr.) P A f b w
 18 Λούκερας f b w λούκερας P τούτων f b w τούτων εἰ P τούτων P₂ 20 σκοῦτον
 f b w σκούτον P κλιπέου f b w κλειπόου P A 24 σκουτλάτα w σκουτλάτα
 P f b ἰσχνὰ P₂ A f b w ἰσχᾶ P στεγνὰ w στυγνᾶ P στυγνὰ f b στεγνὰ ? b κοῦφα
 P₂ f b w κοῦφα P

9. Such were the insignia of kingship at that time. Regarding the service under arms, however, Paternus the Roman in Book I of his *Tactics* says the following with these very words in translation.

Romulus appointed *decuriones* as curators of the sacred rites; he called the same men also *centuriones* of the infantry units. For, because the shield-bearing infantrymen were three thousand, he put a leader in charge of each century, whom the Greeks call *hekatontarchos* but the Romans *centurio*; consequently, the centuries in all were thirty and there were also as many *manipuli*, that is to say, "standard-bearers." He set apart, however, from the army three hundred *scutati* (so the Romans call shield-bearers) for his personal protection (and a little later I shall explain what kind of soldier a *clipeatus* is and what kind a *scutatus*), and he added also three hundred horsemen to the forces, and he turned over the authority over them to a certain Celer, so he was called. For this reason synecdochically the entire army at that time was styled *celeres*. As the cavalry force consisted of three centuries, he differentiated them by three names, designating them as *Ramnes*, *Titius*, and *Luceres*.

I have explained the reasons for these names among the topics which, as I have said, I have set down *On Months*.

10. It is time to explain, however, how the *scutum* differs from the *clipeus*. Now, the Romans call that which is simultaneously strong and light *scutum*, the very thing which the Greeks call *stipton*, namely, "sturdy"; as Aristophanes says in his *Acharnians*, "sturdy old fellows, oaken Marathon fighters." It is precisely for this reason that the Romans call garments that are both thin and impervious and light *scutulata*. Such

τασκευή· ἀβαρῆς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἰσχνή, καρτερωτάτη δὲ καὶ
 f 40^v ταῖς πληγαῖς οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐνδιδοῦσα. κλίπεον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι|τὸν
 θυρεὸν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέπτειν καὶ καλύπτειν τὸν ἐπιφερό-
 μενον αὐτόν. Ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἴδιον καὶ μόνων ἀσπίσι τροχωτάταις
 ἐν πολέμῳ χρῆσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ θυρεοῖς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ κατεπεΐ- 5
 γον τῆς μάχης τὰς θύρας ἀνασπῶντες ὡς σκεπάσασιν αὐταῖς
 εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι.

〈11〉 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος ἀσπίδος βραχυτέρας, ἧς πεζο-
 μαχεῖν οἱ ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον οὐκ ἰσχύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων κομίζουσιν
 (πάρμαν αὐτὴν Ἴταλοι καλοῦσιν), ὡς εἰ πέλτας οἱ Σκυῖται. ἀγκί- 10
 λιον πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γέγονεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν), εἶδος
 ἀσπιδισκαρίου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἀγκίλλας τὰς δορικτήτους γυναικας
 ὠνόμασαν. τὴν γὰρ ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ τυχὸν γυναῖκα ὁ στρατιώ-
 της ἔσκεπε τῷ ἀγκιλίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐφόδου ὡς μὴ βλάπτοιο πρὸς
 τινος, οἷα φυλαττομένη τῷ σώσαντι. ταύτη καὶ σέρβους τοὺς δού- 15
 λους ἀπὸ τοῦ φυλαχθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου Ἴταλοι καλοῦσιν· τοὺς
 δὲ μὴ δορικτήτους ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρους μὲν τὴν τύχην, δι' ἔνδειαν
 δὲ δουλεύοντας φαμούλους, ὅτι φάμης ὁ λιμὸς προσαγορεύεται.
 ἀγκίλια δὲ ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς, Αἰολικῆς <λέγω>, σημασίας εἴρηται,
 ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀμφίλεια· τὰ γὰρ πελτάρια τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοιαῦτα. 20

〈12〉 Στολὴ δὲ τότε παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι μία· περι-
 κεφαλαία χαλκῇ καὶ θώραξ κρικωτὸς καὶ ξίφος πλατὺ, κολοβόν,
 αἰωρημένον ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου μηροῦ, καὶ ἀκόντια ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς
 δύο, γλωχῖνας πλατεῖς ἔχοντα, περικνημίδες τε ὑφανταὶ μέλαιναναι
 καὶ ὑποδήματα τοῖς ποσίν, ἅπερ Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀρβύλας, Ῥω- 25
 μαῖοι δὲ γάρβολα καὶ κρηπίδας ὀνομάζουσιν· οὐχ ἀπλῶς πως
 οὐδὲ ἀλόγως. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Εἰκόσι Τερέντιος ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Βάρρων

2 κλίπεον b w καὶ πέον P Κλίπεον f 3 θυρεὸν f b w θυρέον P 4 τροχω-
 τάταις P f b w βραχυτάταις f¹⁵ βραχυτάταις ? b 5 θυρεοῖς A f b w εὐραίοις
 (quod corr. in θυραίοις) P 10 πάρμαν b w παρμᾶν P f Πάρμαν A ὡς εἰ by ὡς
 εἰ P ὡσεῖ P₂ f b w 12 ἀγκίλλας by ἀγκίλας P f b w δορικτήτους P₂ f b w δω-
 ρικτήτους P δορυκτήτους A 15 ταύτη w ταύτην P f b 17 δορικτήτους P₂ f b
 w δωρικτήτους P δορυκτήτους A 18 φάμης by φάμεις P A φάμεις f b w προσ-
 αγορεύεται f b w προσγορεύεται P προσηγόρευται A 19 Ἑλληνικῆς, Αἰολικῆς
 <λέγω>, by ἑλληνικῆς αἰολικῆς P Ἑλληνικῆς Αἰολικῆς f Ἑλληνικῆς del. b Ἑλλη-
 νικῆς, <κυρίως δὲ> Αἰολικῆς w σημασίας bis scriptum P alterum del. A f b w 20
 ὡς ἂν εἰ by ὡσάνει P ὡσανεῖ P₂ f b w ἀμφίλεια w ἀμφιλια P ἀμφίλια P₂ b ἀμφί-
 λεῖα f fort. scrib. ἀμφίλεια f 23 αἰωρημένον A εωρημενον P ἥωρημένον P₂ f b w
 24 γλωχῖνας πλατεῖς f w γλοχῖναι πλατύς P γλοχῖνας πλατεῖς P₂ A γλωχῖνας πλα-
 τεῖας b 26 γάρβολα by γάρβουλα P f b w γαρβατinas aut γαλλικας f¹⁵ 27
 Εἰκόσι f b εἰκόσιν P εἰκόσι P₂ w Βάρρων b w βαρρων P βάρρων P₂ Βάρρων f

is the quality of the shield; for, though it is light, inasmuch as it is thin, yet it is very resistant and does not readily yield to blows. The Romans call the oblong shield *clipeus* from the fact that it conceals and covers its bearer. It is characteristic of the Greeks, and of them alone, in fact, to use in war perfectly round shields, but of the barbarians to use oblong ones; for, in consequence of the urgency of fighting, they are wont to use them as covers while they are breaking open doors.

11. There is, however, also another type of shield, a smaller one; the Italians call it *parma*. Those who live beyond the Ister, because they are not able to fight on foot, carry them on their horses, just as the Scythians do their targes. Besides the above, the ancients had (for it does not exist today) an *ancile*, a type of small shield, from which they called even women won by the spear *ancillae*. For, whenever a woman chanced to meet his fancy, the soldier would cover her with the *ancile* during the attack in order that she might not be harmed by anyone, inasmuch as she was preserved by him who had saved her. For this reason the Italians call slaves, too, *servi* from the fact that they were preserved from the war, whereas they call *famuli* those not won by the spear but, though freemen by birth, yet on account of poverty render services of a slave, because famine is called *fames*. *Ancilia*, however, is said to be of Greek, I mean Aeolic, meaning, "round on all sides," as it were; of such sort, in fact, were the small targes of the Amazons.

12. The entire Roman army at that time had the same dress: a helmet that was brazen; a breastplate that was ringed; a sword that was broad, short, suspended on the left thigh; two javelins at the right side that had broad-bladed tips; black greaves, too, that were woven; and shoes for the feet, which the Greeks call *arbylai* and the Romans *garbola* and *crepidae*; not in any way fortuitously or without reason. For Terentius,

(τὸ δὲ Βάρρωνος ἐπώνυμον τὸν ἀνδρεῖον κατὰ τὴν Κελτῶν
 φωνήν, κατὰ δὲ Φοίνικας τὸν Ἰουδαῖον σημαίνει, ὡς Ἑρέννιός
 φησιν) Αἰνεῖαν οὕτως ἐσταλμένον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθεῖν ποτε ἀνε-
 γράψατο, ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ ἐξε-
 σμένην ἐπὶ κρήνης ἐν τῇ Ἀλβῇ. καὶ πανάληθες μᾶλλον ἐστίν· καὶ 5
 γὰρ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Αἰνῆϊδος οὕτως ἐσταλ-
 f 41^r | μένον αὐτὸν καὶ πλανώμενον σὺν Ἀχάτῃ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ εἰσήγαγεν.
 σάρακας δὲ ἐπ' εἰρήνης θηρείους ἐξ ὧμων ἄνωθεν ἕως κνημῶν
 ἐξηρητημένας περιετίθεντο, κοσμοῦντες αὐτῶν τοὺς λεγομένους
 ποδεῶνας, καὶ γλοῦβας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζοντες, οἷον εἰ δοράς, ὅτι 10
 γλουβᾶρε τὸ ἐκδεῖραι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος καλεῖν. καὶ οὐ τοῖς στρα-
 τιώταις οὕτως ἐστάλθαι μόνοις ὅπλοφοροῦσι νόμος ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτοκράτορσιν. τῶν δὲ νῦν στρατιωτῶν βαρβάρους ζηλωσάντων,
 ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτούς, παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου φύλαξιν (λέ-
 γονται δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσκουβίτωρες, οἷον εἰ φύλακες ἄγρυ- 15
 πνοι, οὓς πρῶτος μετὰ Ῥωμύλον Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἐξεῦρεν) τὸ
 τοιοῦτο παραπέμεινε σχῆμα ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου, ὡς ἔφην, ἐξ Αἰνείου
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξήν Ῥωμαίοις βαρβαρικὴν στολὴν
 περιθέσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο Τράγκυλλος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Αὐγούστου δια-
 μέμνηται. ἰδόντα γὰρ φησι τὸν Αὐγούστον ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ 20
 τινὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐσταλμένους ἀγανακτῆ-
 σαι, ὡς ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοὺς καταγνωσθέντας ἀποβαλόντας τὸ βάρβα-
 ρον μόγις ἐπιγνωσθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Ῥωμύ-
 λου στρατιά.

<13> Καὶ τὰς λεγομένας δὲ ἀττηνσίωνας πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν 25
 ῥηγῶν ἐπινοηθῆναι στοχάζομαι πρὸς βασταγὴν καὶ φορὰν τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων, ὥσπερ νοκτούρνους πρὸς ἐπιπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα
 πρὸς κοῖτόν ἐστι χρήσιμα· Κικέρων γὰρ ὁ πολὺς ἐν τοῖς Κατὰ

2 Ἑρέννιός b w ἐρέννιοι P Ἑρέννιος A Ἑρέννιός f 4 ἐξεσμένην f b w
 ἐξεσμένης P 8 σάρακας P b w σαράκας f θηρείους w θυριοῦς P f b θυρεοῦς
 P₂ A βυρσίονους f¹ 15 an θηρείους ? b 10 ποδεῶνας b w πεδεῶνας P f leg. πο-
 δεῶνας f γλοῦβας by γλόβας P f b w ὀνομάζοντες f b w ὀνομάζοντι P οἷον ei
 by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂ f b w δοράς b w δορὰς P δορὰς f 11 γλουβᾶρε by
 γλοβᾶρε P f b Γλοβᾶρε A γλοβᾶρε w στρατιώταις f b w στρατιώτες P 12
 ἐστάλθαι A f b w στάλθαι P 14 παλατίου f b w παπαλατίου P Παλατίου A 15
 ἐσκουβίτωρες f b σκουβήτορες P ἐσκουβίτορες w οἷον ei by οἶονει P οἶονει P₂
 f b w 18 ἔχον P₂ f b w ἔχων P 19 Τράγκυλλος b τράγκυλος P Τράγκυλος
 f b w 21 ἀγανακτῆσαι f b w ἀγανακτῆσε P ἡγανάκτησεν P₂ A 25 ἀττηνσίωνας
 f b w ἀττηνσιόνας P ἀττηνσιόνας A 27 νοκτούρνους b w νουκτούρνους P A f
 28 κοῖτόν f b w κοιτόν P κοιτόν A

surnamed Varro (the cognomen Varro means "the brave one" in the language of the Celts; but "the Jew," according to the Phoenicians, as Herennius says) recorded in his *Portraits* that Aeneas had come in days of old to Italy dressed thus, because, as he said, he had seen his likeness hewn out of white marble at a spring in Alba. And it is rather quite true, for the Poet of the Romans, too, in Book I of his *Aeneid* introduced him as thus dressed and wandering with Achates in Libya. In peacetime, however, they used to wear pelts of wild animals, suspended from the shoulders at the top down to the shins, adorning their so-called extremities, and called them *glubae*, that is to say, "hides," because the Romans are wont to express "to flay" as *glubare*. And it was the custom not for the soldiers alone who bore arms but for supreme commanders, too, to be thus dressed. Since the present-day soldiers, however, have emulated the barbarians, and the latter the former, such form of dress as had its origin from Romulus, as I said, derived from Aeneas, remained only with the guards of the *palatium* (they are called by the Romans *excubitores*, that is to say, "vigilant guards," whom Tiberius Caesar was the first after Romulus to have devised). The Romans were by no means allowed to wear barbaric dress. And Tranquillus mentions this in his material *On Augustus*. For he says that, when Augustus had seen some of the Romans in the Hippodrome dressed in the manner of the barbarians, he became vexed so that, although those who had been censured had immediately cast off their barbaric dress, they were reluctantly forgiven by the *Caesar*. Such, then, was Romulus' army.

13. The so-called *attentiones*, too, however, were devised, I conjecture, to serve the *reges* for the transporting and carrying of necessities, just as the *nocturni* were for furnishings and all the other things that are useful for sleeping; for the celebrated Cicero mentions this word in his work

Βέρρου μέμνηται τουτουῖ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἀττήνους τοὺς οἰκια-
κοὺς ὑπηρετάς τῶν ῥηγῶν ὠνόμαζον ἀπὸ τοῦ προσανέχειν καὶ
πειθαρχεῖν· ἀττένδере γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ φιλονεικεῖν λέγουσιν.

ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓὴ Ὁ ἸΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ

<14> Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται μοι, τὴν μὲν πεζομάχον δύναμιν τοῖς 5
 ἑκατοντάρχοις, τὴν δὲ ἱππικὴν Κελερίῳ τῷ πρὶν τῆς ὅλης ἡγησα-
 μένῳ στρατιᾷς παραδεδώκεν, πάσης αὐτὸν δυνάμεως καὶ τύχης
 καὶ διοικήσεως κρατεῖν ἐγκλευσάμενος, ὥς ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἢ μό-
 νον τὸν στέφανον τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τῶν ἱππάρχων κατασχεῖν
 f 41^v | ἐξουσίαν ἀδέσποτον ἑαυτῇ. ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ τε ῥῆγες οἱ τε 10
 δικτάτωρες ἔσχον ἅπαντες καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Καίσαρες, ἔπαρχον
 τὸν ἱππαρχον μετονομάσαντες. καὶ μάρτυς Αὐρήλιος ὁ νομικός,
 ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν οὕτως εἰπὼν· ‘διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν
 χρειῶδες ἐστὶ πόθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν <ὁ> τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπαρχος
 ἔσχεν. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπάρχου ἦν μᾶλλον· εἰς τόπον γὰρ ἐκείνου τὸν 15
 ἔπαρχον προχειρισθῆναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις <παραδέδοται ἐπεὶ
 τοῖς δικτάτωρσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις> ἐστὶν οἷς ἡ πᾶσα πρὸς και-
 ρὸν ἐξουσία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστεύετο, ἐπελέγοντο γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς
 ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἱππέων ἕκαστος κοινωνὸν ὥσπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ
 διοικήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων. τοῦ δὲ κράτους ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοὺς 20
 αὐτοκράτορας μετενεχθέντος, πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἱπάρχου <ὁ>
 τῶν πραιτωρίων προῆλθεν ἔπαρχος. καὶ δέδοται αὐτῷ μείζων ἢ
 κατ’ ἐκείνον ἰσχὺς τῆς τε διοικήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς τε κα-

1 τουτουῖ f b w τοῦ τίτου P A ἀττήνους b w αττηνσους P ἄττηνσους A
 Ἀττήνσους f ἀκκήνσους f^l 16-17 2 ὠνόμαζον P f b ὀνομάζων w 3 ἀττένδере
 P f b w ἀτγένδере A 4 προαγωγή f b w ΠΡΟΤΑΓΩΓΗ P Προαγωγή A 6
 Κελερίῳ f b w κελέριος P 7 αὐτὸν f b w αὐτῶν P 9 ἱπάρχων P₂ w ἱπάρχων
 P ὑπάρχων f b nonne τῶν ἱπάρχων? an τὴν ἱππαρχον? b 10 ἐξουσίαν P b w ἐξου-
 σίας f 11 δικτάτωρες f b δικτορες P δίκτορες P₂ δικτάτορες w 12 μετονο-
 μάσαντες P f b w μετονομάσαντες (ex μετωνόμασαν a prima manu factum) A
 Αὐρήλιος A b w αὐρήλλιος P Αὐρήλλιος f 14 <ὁ> b w πραιτωρίων f b w πραιτω-
 ρίων P A 15 ἦν by ἡ P ἡ P₂ A f b ἡ delend. f καὶ w 16 πᾶσιν P₂ πᾶσιν P
 πασιν. f πᾶσιν w φασιν leg. f φασίν f^l 17 b 16-17 <παραδέδοται, ἐπεὶ τοῖς
 δικτάτωρσι (δικτάτωρσι by) παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις> w πασιν. Τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐστὶν οἷς etc. f
 φασίν. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐστὶν οἷς etc. b 19 ἕκαστος f w ἕκαστον P ἕκαστον b 21 <ὁ>
 b w 22 προῆλθεν f b w προῆλθ ~ P ἡ f b w ἡ P 23 τε f b w δε P δὲ P₂

Against Verres. The household servants of the *reges* were called *attenti* from the fact of their attending to them and doing their biddings, for the Romans render "to strive" as *attendere*.

[6.] *First Institution: the Cavalry Commander*

14. As, then, I have said, Romulus handed over the infantry force to the centurions but the cavalry [force] to Celer, who previously had been leader of the entire army, and enjoined him to be master of every power and fortune and administration; consequently, the king withheld from the cavalry commanders nothing other than the crown alone as a power over which he could not exercise ownership. Both the *reges* and the *dictatores* all had this magistracy, and afterwards so did the *Caesares*, though they had renamed the cavalry commander as prefect. And Aurelius the jurist attests this, having said thus with these very words in translation.

It is needful to state briefly whence the prefect of the *prætoría* got his origin. It was rather from the cavalry commander, for it has been handed down by all the ancients that in his place the prefect was instituted. For, whenever total authority for a time over the affairs of state used to be entrusted among the ancients to the *dictatores*, the few that there were, each of them chose for themselves a commander of the cavalry as a sharer, as it were, in their magistracy and administration of the affairs of state. Later, however, when sovereign power had been transferred to the emperors, the prefect of the *prætoría* emerged in the pattern of the cavalry commander. And greater power was given him than his predecessor wielded to administrate affairs

ταστάσεως καὶ ἀσκήσεως τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἀπάσης καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροχῆς προελθεῖν, ὡς μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι πρὸς ἔφεσιν ὁρμᾶν ἢ ὅλως ἐγκαλεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν.'

〈15〉 Καὶ τόδε μὲν ὁ νομογράφος, ὅτι δέ, κἂν εἰ τυχὸν πρεσβυτέρα καὶ μείζων τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀπασῶν 〈ή〉 ἐπαρχότης τῶν πραιτωρίων εἶναι δέδοται, καὶ χρειῶδες ἦν ἅμα καὶ ἀρμόδιον δι' ὅλης αὐτῆς τῆς τάξεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν λόγον· ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱππάρχου, ὡς ἔφην, προεχειρίσθη, ἀρκέσει τέως περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὅθεν ἡ ἐπαρχότης ἔχει τὰ σπάργανα· εἶτα μετὰ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν παλαιότερων ἀρχῶν ἐν προοιμίῳ τῆς Αὐγοῦστου βασιλείας, ἐξ ἧς, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τὰ προοίμια ἔσχεν ἡ ἀρχή, ἐφ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντα ὅσων τε κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφηρέθη, εἶτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τελοῦσης μεγίστης ὡς ἀληθῶς τάξεως, ἐν ἣ καμὲ τελεῖσαι συμβέβηκεν, λεπτομερῶς ἀφηγήσομαι (καὶ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι οὐκ ἄκοῃ ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἔργοις ὑπουργήσας τοῖς πράγμασιν), εὐχαριστήριον ὥσπερ ἀνάθημα προσφιλὲς τοῖς ἐφόροις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρων, δι' αἰρέψασιν ἅμα κοσμίως ἡμᾶς καὶ μετὰ θεὸν τὸν πάντων κύριον γέρα τε τῶν πόνων καὶ πέρας ἐσθλὸν καὶ τύχην κρείττονα παρεσχηκόσιν.

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῆ Οἱ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΙ

〈16〉 Δῆλον ἀντικρυς ἑκατὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν γέροντας ἐκ πασῶν τῶν κουριῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλῶν, ἐπιλέξασθαι τὸν Ῥωμύλον πρὸς διάσκειψιν τῶν κοινῶν, οὓς αὐτὸς μὲν πατέρας, Ἴταλοὶ δὲ πατρικίους ἐκάλεσαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐπατρίδας· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν Σαβίνων conscriptos αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσας, οἷον εἰ συγγεγραμ-

3 ἔφεσιν f b w ἄφεσιν P ὅλως P f b w ἐγκαλεῖσθαι f w ἐγκαλεῖσθαι P b 4 τόδε f w τότε P b ab ὅτι paragraphum ordiuntur f b κἂν εἰ b w κἂν εἰ P κἂν εἰ P₂ κἂν εἰ f πρεσβυτέρα P b w πρεσβυτέραν f 5 μείζων f¹ 17 b w μείζω P f 〈ή〉 by ἐπαρχότης P b w ἐπαρχότητα f πραιτωρίων f b w πραιτορίων P 6 δέδοται P₂ b w δέδοται P δέδοκται f¹ 17 7 τε P A omis. f b w 13 ἐφ' ἐξῆς by ἐφεξῆς P f b w ὅσων b w ὅσον P f 14 τελοῦσης f b w τελοῦσ' P 16 οὐκ ἄκοῃ f¹ 17 w οὐ κακὸν P f leg. οὐ κακῶς f οὐ κακόν, b 18 διατρέψασιν P A f¹ 17 b w διατρέψασιν f 20 παρεσχηκόσιν f b w παρεσχηκό- P παρεσχηκότα A 22 ἀντικρυς P w ἀντικρὺς f b 23 κουριῶν f b w κουρίων P A φυλῶν f b w φίλον P 26 conscriptos f b w SCPTOC P ἐπονομάσας P₂ b w ἐπωνομάσας P ἐπωνόμασαν f

and also to establish and train armies and to right whatever needed righting, and he advanced to such a degree of preeminence that no one was permitted to proceed to appeal or to bring any charge at all against his judgment.

15. And, while this is what the writer of legal treatises wrote, it is clear that, even if perchance the prefecture of the *praetoria* has been granted to be older and greater than all the magistracies, it is both needful and at the same time fitting to conduct a discussion of both all its staff and power. But, then, since it was not instituted from the beginning but from the time of Augustus in place of the cavalry commander, as I said, it will suffice at this point to speak about its antiquity and whence the prefecture gets its origins. Then, after my narration of the older magistracies that existed at the beginning of Augustus' reign, from which, as I said, this magistracy, in fact, got its beginnings, I shall narrate in detail all its functions one after the other and all of which it was deprived little by little, and then also about the truly very great staff which functions under its jurisdiction, in which I, too, happened to serve (for I know it, in fact, not by hearsay but by having rendered service to its affairs by actual deeds), offering a thank-offering, just as an affectionate dedication, to the overseers of the magistracy because they supported me decorously and at the same time, next after God, the Lord of all, have granted me both rewards for my toils and a noble end and besides a superior fortune.

[7.] *Second Institution: the PATRICII*

16. It is perfectly clear that Romulus chose elders, one hundred in number, from all the *curiae*, namely, "tribes," for deliberating on matters of common concern, whom he himself called "fathers" but the Italians called *patricii*, namely, "noblemen." After, however, the abduction of the Sabine women he surnamed them *conscripti*, that is to say, "enrolled" (for

μένους (ὄθεν *patres conscripti* οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν χρηματίζουσιν) καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ τριάκοντα κουρίας καὶ τοσοῦτους ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ τριακοσίους ἑτέρους ἱππότας ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ συνηρίθμησε στρατῷ, ὡς εἶναι πάντας ἑξα-
 κισχιλίους μὲν πεζομάχους, ἑξακοσίους δὲ ἱππότας. καὶ τοῦτον
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὁ Μάριος ὕστερον διεφύλαξεν, τὰς λεγομένας λε-
 γιώνας, οἷον εἰ λογάδας, διατυπῶν, καὶ Λέων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶ-
 τος τοὺς λεγομένους ἐκσκουβίτωρας τῶν παρεξόδων τοῦ παλα-
 τίου φύλακας προστησάμενος τριακοσίους μόνους ἐστράτευσε
 κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα.

〈17〉 Ἐπίσημα δὲ τοῖς πατράσιν, ἣ τοι πατρικίαις, ἦν δίπλακες
 μὲν ἢ τοι χλαμύδες ἄχρι κνημῶν ἐξ ὥμων διήκουσαι, περόναις
 χρυσαῖς ἀνεσταλμέναι, τὸ χρῶμα ξηραμπέλιναι, πορφύρα κατὰ
 μέσου διάσημοι (λατικλαβίας αὐτὰς ὠνόμαζον· τὰς δὲ χλαμύδας
 ἀτραβαττικὰς ἐκ τοῦ χρώματος, ὅτι τὸ φαιδὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἄτρον
 προσαγορεύεται)· καὶ παραγῶδαι, χιτῶνες λογχωτοί, ἀκροπόρφυ-
 ροι, λευκοὶ δι' ὅλου, περιχερίδας ἔχοντες (μανίκας αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνοι
 λέγουσιν)· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους χιτῶνας παραγαύδας τὸ πλῆθος
 οἶδεν ὀνομάζειν· ἀρχαῖος ὁμῶς χιτῶν ὁ παραγαύδης, Πέρσαις
 καὶ Σαυρομάταις ἐπίσημος, ὡς Διογενιανῷ τῷ λεξογράφῳ εἴρη-
 ται· περισκελίδες τε λευκαί, ὅλον τὸ σκέλος σὺν τοῖς ποσὶ σκέ-
 πουσαι, καὶ ὑπόδημα μέλαν, ὑποσάνδαλον, δι' ὅλου γυμνόν, βρα-
 χεῖ τινι ἀναστήματι τὴν πτέρνην, ἐπ' ἄκρου δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους
 τῶν ποδῶν συσφίγγον, ἱμάντων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστραγά-
 λους ὑπὸ τὸ ψαλίδωμα τοῦ ποδὸς διελκομένων, ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος
 ἀνθυπαντῶντων ἀλλήλοις καὶ διαδεσμοῦντων τὸν πόδα, ὥστε
 βραχὺ λίαν ἐκ τε δακτύλων ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐξόπισθεν διαφαίνε-

1 *patres conscripti* A f b w PATTEC CONSCRIPTI P 2 ἑτέρας f b w
 ἑτέρους P 4 πάντας f b w πάντ' P 6 Μάριος f b w μαρίος P 7 μάριος P 8 ἐκσκου-
 βίτωρας f b w λεγομέν' P λεγιῶνας w λεγιῶνας P λεγιῶνας P 2 A f b 8 ἐκσκου-
 βίτωρας f b ἐκσκουβίτορας P w 11 πατράσιν P w πατράσιν (sic) f b ἢ τοι by
 ἦτοι P ἦτοι f b w 12 ἦ τοι by ἦτοι P ἦτοι P 2 f b w περόναις f b w περόνες
 P 13 ἀνεσταλμέναι f b w ἀνεσταλμέναις P ξηραμπέλιναι P 2 f 17 b w ξηρᾶν
 πελιναι P ξηραμπέλιναι (sic) f 14 λατικλαβίας P f b w λατικραβίας A 16
 παραγῶδαι f b παραγῶδαι P παραγαύδαι P 2 παραγαύδαι w 17 δι' ὅλου by
 διόλου P f b w μανίκας by μανίκας P f b w αὐτὰς A f b w αὐτὰ P αὐτὰ P 2 18
 παραγαύδας P 2 f b w παραγαυδας P 19 παραγαύδης P f b w 20 λεξογράφῳ f w
 λεξογράφῳ P λεξιμογράφῳ b 22 δι' ὅλου f b w διόλου P διόλου P 2 24 τῶν
 ποδῶν by [...] P τοῦ ποδὸς f b w συσφίγγον f 18 w [...] φίγγων P συσφίγ-
 γων f b 25 ψαλίδωμα w ψαμα P ψάμα A f b ἄμμα f 18 an πέλμα ? b ποδὸς
 P f 296 b w πόδας (sic) f 27 ἔμπροσθεν f b w ἔμπρός P A

this reason the magistrates of the Romans still even to this day are called *patres conscripti*) and reckoned in with the Roman army from the nation of the Sabines also another thirty *curiae* and an equal number of centurions and another three hundred horsemen, so that there were in all six thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. And later Marius preserved this number when he formed the so-called *legiones*, that is to say, "picked"; and even Emperor Leo, who was the first to establish the so-called *excubitores* as guards of the side-exits of the *palatium*, put into service only three hundred to accord with ancient custom.

17. The fathers, or *patricii*, had as insignia: double-folding mantles, or cloaks, which extended from the shoulders down to the shins, held up with golden brooches, russet in color, conspicuous because of a purple stripe down the middle (they used to call the latter *laticlaviae* but the cloaks *atrabaticae* from their color because "gray" is called by them *atrum*). And *paragodai*, which were tunics, ornamented with spearheads, purple-edged, entirely white, with sleeves (they call the latter *manicæ*); the common folk, however, are accustomed to call such tunics *paragaudai*; yet the *paragaudes* was an ancient tunic, distinguished wear for the Persians and Sarmatians, as Diogenian the lexicographer has stated. And white leggings, which covered the whole leg including the feet. And black footwear, which had the form of a sandal, entirely open, by a kind of small rim closely binding the heel and the toes at the tip, straps being pulled through from each side under the arch of the foot up to the ankle bones, meeting each other crisscross upon the metatarsal and binding the foot, so that, while the shoe was visible very little both in

σθαι τὸ ὑπόδημα, ὅλον δὲ τὸν πόδα τῇ περισκελίδι διαλάμπειν. κάμπαγον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν κάμπον, οἷον εἰ τὸ πεδίον, 5
χρείας ἔτι καὶ νῦν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου γινόμενοι τὰς προαγωγὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπετέλουν, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐστέλλοντο ὑποδήμασιν. τουτονὶ τὸν κάμπαγον Θούσκων γενέσθαι τὸ 5
πρὶν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἱερῶν φησίν.

〈18〉 Πρόδοδος δὲ τοῖς πατρικίοις ἐκ ποδὸς μὲν οὐδέποτε ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἵππικῇ (κοινῇ γὰρ ἐδόκει), ὀχήμασι δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἐφ' ὕψη- 10
λοῦ τῆς καθέδρας ἀναστρωννυμένοις, τεσσάρων ἡμιόνων ἐλκόντων τὸ ὄχημα ἐκ χαλκοῦ Κορινθίου, εἰς πλήθος σχημάτων καὶ 10
τύπων ἀρχαιοφανῶν διαγεγλυμμένων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἵππους ἐξῆν ὑποζεύξαι τῷ ὀχήματι εἰ μὴ γε μόνοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν· θριαμβικῇ γὰρ ἡ μετὰ τῶν ἵππων ἐν ὀχήματι πρόδοδος. βουριχάλλια δὲ τὰς 15
ἀμάξας ἐκ τῶν βοῶν ἐκάλουν· ὧν ἄνευ, ἐπεὶ μὴ φορτίον ἐπέ- 15
κειτο, ἡμιόνοις ἐπίστευον τὸν ζυγόν.

ΤΙΝΟΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΦΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑἰΩΜΑΤΩΝ Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Τίτλους Καλοῦσιν

〈19〉 Τίτος Τάτιος, Σαβίνων ἡγούμενος, ὡς ἔφθην εἰπών, συναφθεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις οὕτως ἦνωσεν ἅμφω τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς μηκέ- 20
τι δύο, μίαν δὲ καὶ μόνην ἀναφέρεισθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν. 20
ὅτι δὲ 'Τίτος Τάτιος' τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν, ὑποκορι- 20
στικῶς τίτουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Τίτου τὴν προγραφὴν τῆς εὐγε- 20
νείας ἐκάλεσαν καὶ Τίτους τοὺς ἐκ προγόνων εὐγενεῖς, ὡς φησι Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος.

〈20〉 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα περὶ τῶν ἀξιωματῶν, πάσης δὲ τιμῆς 25
πρώτην ἐλογίζοντο οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης εὐπατρίδαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χα- 25
ρισμάτων εὐφημίαν· καὶ ὅσῳ πλείους εἶχον τοὺς οἰκειουμένους 25
αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτω μείζονα τὴν εὐδοξίαν παρὰ τοὺς ἐλάττονας 25
f 43^r 〈ἔχοντας〉 ἐλογίζοντο. καὶ μάρτυς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Ἰουβενάλιος, εἰπὼν

3 γινόμενοι P A γενόμενοι f b w 4 ἐφ' οὗ f b w ἐφου P ἐστέλλοντο P f b w
ἔστελλον A 9 ἀναστρωννυμένοις by ἀναστρωννυμένοι P ἀναστρωννύμενοι P₂ A f b
leg. ἀναστρωννυμένοις f ἀναστρωννυμένης w 11 διαγεγλυμμένων P f b w διαγεγλυμ-
μένον mav. b 14 ἐπέκειτο P f b w ἐπείκειτο A 15 ἐπίστευον P f b w ἐπ[ί]cetera
desunt et pro hoc loc. vac.] A 20 ἀναφέρεισθαι P f b w ἀν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ? b 25
ab πάσης paragraphum ordiuntur f b 29 〈ἔχοντας〉 w 〈ἔχοντας〉 ? f Ἰουβενάλιος
deest et pro hoc loc. voc. A

the front at the toes and in the back, the whole foot, however, shone through because of the legging. Still even to this day they call the shoe *campagus* from its use on the *campus*, that is to say, "the plain," for the Romans used to go to the plain and carry out the promotions of their magistrates, where they used to be dressed in shoes of this sort. Lepidus in his work *On Priests* says that this *campagus* belonged in days of old to the Tuscans.

18. A progress by the *patricii* was never on foot, but nor was it on horse-back (for it seemed commonplace), but in distinguished carriages furnished with a seat set high, with four mules drawing the carriage made of Corinthian bronze, with archaistic figures and reliefs copiously engraved throughout; for no one, except, that is, the kings alone, was permitted to yoke horses to such a carriage, for a progress in a carriage with horses was triumphal. They called their wagons, however, *burichallia* from the oxen, apart from which, whenever a load was not laid in them, they entrusted the yoke to mules.

Why the Romans call the Titles of Dignities TITULI

19. The union of Titus Tatius, leader of the Sabines, with the Romans, as I already said, so united both nations that they were no longer two, but the state of the Romans was referred to as one and only one. Because, however, he had the name "Titus Tatius," they called the title of nobility by the diminutive *titulus* after the first Titus and those who were noblemen from their ancestors *Titi*, as Persius the Roman says.

20. While such are some points concerning titles, the patricians of Rome used to reckon the fame resulting from the bestowing of favors as the highest of every honor; and the more people who were friendly to them they had, so much the greater they reckoned their good repute compared with those who had less. And the Roman Juvenal attests this

καὶ ὑπατειῶν καὶ θριάμβων καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθη-
μάτων πρώτην γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χαρισμάτων
εὐκλειαν. τοὺς δὲ οἰκειουμένους αὐτοῖς κλιέντης, ἀντὶ τοῦ κο-
λιέντης κατ' ἀντίστοιχον, πατρίως ἐκάλουν, οἶον εἰ τιμῶντας καὶ
ἀγαπῶντας αὐτούς, σὺν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ μετριότητι τὰς δωρεὰς
χαριζόμενοι, ὥστε φιλοτιμίας τὰς τῶν φίλων τιμὰς ὀνομάζειν. 5
οὐδεῖς δέ, τυχὼν οἰκειώσεως εὐπατρίδου, ἔχρησεν ἐτέρου τὸ
λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου παραμυθίαν, αἰσχος οἰομένων
αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκείας τύχης ἀπόστασιν εἰ πού τις τῶν φίλων
αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐτέρου κατέστη χρεῖαν. καὶ τουτουῖ ἵχνος ἀμαυρὸν 10
ἕως ἄρτι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐφυλάττετο. περὶ γὰρ τὴν Ὀστίαν (πό-
λις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Θύβριδος κειμένη) ἀπέστελ-
λον οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης λογάδες τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, καθάπερ τι θήρα-
μα καλόν, τοὺς ἀναγομένους ξένους λαμβάνοντας πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων
ἄγειν ὥς αὐτούς, πρὸς πάσης ἀφθονίας ἐπίδοσιν ἀνεωχθεῖσων 15
ἅπανσι τῶν αὐλείων θυρῶν τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ μερίζονος, μηδενὸς φύλα-
κος ἢ θυρωροῦ διακωλύοντος τοῖς δεομένοις τὴν εἰσοδον, αὐτῶν
τῶν εὐπατριδῶν σὺν γαμεταῖς καὶ τέκνοις προφαινομένων τοῖς
ξένοις καὶ θαρρεῖν ἀξιούντων τοὺς οὐδέποτε ὀφθέντας αὐτοῖς.
διῆλθε δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ῥώμην ἡ τοιαύτη φι- 20
λανθρωπία καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔσται, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνδόξων ἄχρισ
ἐαυτῶν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς τύχης ἐνδεικνυμένων.

ΠΟΘΕΝ ΔΙΩΝΥΜΟΙ ΚΑὶ ΤΡΙΩΝΥΜΟΙ ΚΑὶ ἜΤΙ ῬΩΜΑῖΟΙ

〈21〉 Καὶ πρὸ Ῥωμύλου δὲ ἂν τις εὖροι Σιλβίους τοὺς βασι- 25
λέας τῆς χώρας ἐπονομαζομένους ἀπὸ Σιλβίου Αἰνείου τοῦ ἀπὸ
Αἰνείου τοῦ πρώτου. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὕλαις τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες οἱ
πρὶν καὶ τὸν νομαδικὸν τιμῶντες βίον Σιλβίους σφᾶς σεμνυνό-
μενοι προσηγόρευον, μηδὲ αὐτῶν βασιλέων ἀπαξιούντων νέμειν
ἀγέλας καὶ χρήματα συλλέγειν αὐτῶν· ὅθεν καὶ πεκουνίας κατ' 30

1 ὑπατειῶν b w ὑπατιῶν P ὑπατιῶν P₂ f 3 κλιέντης P f b w κολιέντης
P f b w 7 τυχὼν f b w τυχὸν P ἔχρησεν P f ἔχρηζεν b w 8 πρὸς P f b πρὸς
(sic) w 9 ἀπόστασιν P f b w ἀπόπτωσιν A 13 καθάπερ f b w καθάπερ P
14 ἀναγομένους P f b w καταγομένους mal. f 15 ἀνεωχθεῖσων P₂ w ἀνοεχθεῖσων
P ἀνεωχθεῖσων f b 16 τῆς P b w τῆς <τε> f 21 ἔσται A f b w ἐσταιν P ἔστι
P₂ 28 καὶ deest in A σφᾶς P f b σφᾶς P₂ σφας w 30 <ἀπ'> αὐτῶν b w πεκουνίας
by πεκουνίαι P πεκούλια P₂ A πεκουνίαι f πεκουνίαν b w

when he said that the good repute resulting from the bestowing of favors had been for the ancients superior even to consulships, triumphs, and brave deeds accomplished in wars. In their native language they called those who were friendly to them *clientes*, namely, *colientes* by interchange of letters, that is to say, "respecting and loving them," graciously granting their bounties with every esteem and modesty, so that they called the gifts of friends munificences. No one, however, when he had gained the friendship of a patrician, needed any longer anyone else for the comforting of his entire life, because they used to consider it a disgrace and a defection of their personal fortune if perchance anyone of those dear to them had become reduced to the need of anyone else. And a faint trace of this used to be preserved among the Romans until recently. For the patricians of Rome used to dispatch their nearest kinsmen around Ostia (it is a city lying at the mouth of the Tiber) to take the foreigners who were being brought up [to the city], just as though they were a fine prey, and to bring them to them before the others did so. For the bestowing of every bounty the outer doors of the house of a dignitary were open to all. No guard or doorkeeper barred entrance to those who were in need. The patricians themselves, accompanied by their wives and children, appeared before the strangers and bade welcome to those whom they had never seen. Yet such philanthropy, however, did make its way to our Rome, too, but thereafter it did not become established because the illustrious men among us display the superiority of their fortune only towards themselves.

Whence the Romans Even Yet Have Two and Three Names

21. Even before the time of Romulus one can find the kings of the country being surnamed *Silvii* after Silvius Aeneas, who was descended from the first Aeneas. For, since the people of old had their dwellings in the forests and esteemed the pastoral life, they proudly styled themselves *Silvii*. Not even kings themselves disdained to tend flocks and to accumulate money from them; for this reason, in fact, they call "money"

αὐτοὺς τὰ χρήματα καλοῦσιν. ταύτη καὶ κύνας παρέπεσθαι
 f 43v Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῷ Τεγεάτῃ ἢ παλαιότης οἶδεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον
 ἀνδράσι τὸ Σιλβίων ἐπώνυμον ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξίν ἐπετίθετο, ὡς
 'Ρέα Σιλβία καὶ 'Ιλία Σιλβία. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς 'Ρώμης γένεσιν
 καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν Σαβίνων πρῶτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Νουμᾶς 5
 διώνυμος ἐχρημάτισεν, Πομπήλιος Νουμᾶς προσαγορευόμενος· ὦν
 τὸ μὲν 'Ρωμαίων, τὸ δὲ Σαβίνων ἐπώνυμον ἦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ
 αὐτοῦ εὐροι <ᾶν> τις 'Ρωμύλον ἢ τινα ὅλως πρὸ τῆς Σαβίνων πρὸς
 'Ρωμαίους συναφείας παρὰ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ κυρίαν προσηγορίαν
 κτησάμενον.

<22> Καὶ τότε μὲν σπουδὴ καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἐκείνοις τῇ ἐξ ἑκατέρας
 γενεᾶς σεμνύνεσθαι προσηγορίᾳ, προῖων δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐπωνυμίας
 εἰσήγαγε καινάς, νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ Τρωϊκῆς εὐγενείας, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῶν λεγομένων Ἀβοριγίνων καὶ αὐτοχθόνων τῆς χώρας (καὶ γὰρ
 ἴσμεν Κέθηγον ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν γηγενῶν ἔλκειν τὸ γένος ἀξιοῦντα, 15
 γυμνὸν ἐσθῆτος, μόνης αὐτῷ τόγης τραχείας περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις
 κειμένης, ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς γινόμενον, καίτοι βουλευτικοῖς ὠγκωμένον
 γνωρίσμασιν), εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τρόπου ἢ διαθέσεως, ὡς Πούπλιος
 Βαλέριος Πουπλικόλας, ὦν αἱ μὲν δύο ἐπωνυμίαι τὴν ἐκ 'Ρω-
 μαίων, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ Σαβίνων παρεδήλουν λαμπρότητα, ἡ δὲ 20
 τρίτη τὴν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν δῆμον στοργῆς ἐδείκνυ διὰθεσιν. καὶ
 τάχα χρειώδες ἀντὶ πολλῶν μετρίων ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοιουτωδῶν
 περιττωμάτων· οὐδὲ γὰρ σχολὴν ἄγω περὶ ταύτην ἀπραγῆσαι τὴν
 ζήτησιν, ἱκανὴν οὖσαν καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ μόνην μεγίστας ἀπασχο-
 λῆσαι βίβλους.

<23> Πρόκουλον τοιγαροῦν τὸν ἀποδημοῦντι τεχθέντα τῷ πα-
 τρί, καὶ Πόστουμον τελευτήσαντι, καὶ Βώπισκον τὸν δίδυμον μὲν
 συλληφθέντα, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φθαρέντος σφζόμενον, καὶ Καίσαρα
 τὸν ἀνατμηθείσης τῆς μητρῶας γαστρὸς θανούσης ἀποσωθέντα
 ἐκάλουν, καὶ Φλάσκον τὸν ὦτα μείζονα ἔχοντα, καὶ Ναίβιον τὸν 30
 ἀλφώδη, καὶ Λούκιον Λικίνιον Κράσσον, ὦν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον <τὸν>
 ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου τεχθέντα, τὸ δὲ δεῦτερον τὸν ἀκρόουλον τὴν

2 Εὐάνδρῳ f b w εὐάνδρῳ P (loc. vac.) ἄνδρῳ A 8 <ᾶν> by ὅλως P f b w
 10 <ἐτέραν> κτησάμενον w 15 Κέθηγον f b w καὶ θηγῶν P κεθηγῶν P₂ 16
 τόγης f b w τὸ γῆς P τὸ del. P₂ 17 γινόμενον (e corr. ex γινομένων) P γενόμενον
 f b w 21 τρίτη τὴν P₂ A f b w τρίτη τῶν P 26 τοιγαροῦν P₂ f b w τοι γὰρ οὖν
 P 27 Βώπισκον f b w βωπίσκον P Βωπισκὸν A 31 ὦν τὸ f b w ὦν τὸν P
 <τὸν> b w 32 τεχθέντα, τὸ f b w τεχθέντα τὸν P

pecuniae in their language. It is precisely for this reason that antiquity knows that dogs accompanied Evander of old the Tegean. In fact, the cognomen *Silvius* used to be applied not only to men but to women as well, as, for instance, Rhea Silvia and Ilia Silvia. However, after the birth of Rome and the abduction of the Sabine women Numa the king was the first to be called with two names, being addressed as Pompilius Numa, of which the first was a name derived from the Romans and the second from the Sabines. For before him one cannot find that Romulus or anyone at all before the union of the Sabines with the Romans possessed any but the personal name which he had.

22. And, though at that time they had the eagerness and fashion to pride themselves on a name from both stocks, the passage of time, however, introduced new surnames, derived in some instances from Trojan nobility and in others from the so-called *Aborigines*, that is, natives of the country (for we know, in fact, that Cethegus, because he claimed to derive his descent from that indigenous folk, used to go to the marketplace devoid of dress with only a coarse *toga* wrapped around his torso, though exalted with senatorial distinctions), and then even from a temper or disposition, as, for example, Publius Valerius Publicola, of which the first two names indicated grandeur of lineage from the Romans and the Sabines, as I said, while the third indicated a disposition of affection for the people. And perhaps it is needful, instead of many, to mention a moderate number of instances of such kind, for I am not at leisure to idle over such an investigation, which, even by itself alone, is sufficient to occupy very large volumes.

23. Now, they used to call *Proculus* one born while his father was away from home; *Postumus*, one who was born after his father's death; *Vopiscus*, one who was conceived as a twin but survived, the other having perished; *Caesar*, one who was brought out safely by the cutting open of his mother's womb upon her death; *Flaccus*, one who had rather large ears; *Naeivius*, one who had birth marks; and *Lucius Licinius Crassus*, the first of which signifies one who was born as the sun was rising, the

f 44^r κόμην, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸν κρεώ|δη καὶ εὐσώματον διασημαίνει.
 Κράσσοις γὰρ ὁ παχὺς τὸ σῶμα κατὰ φύσιν παρ' Ἰταλοῖς τοῖς
 ἀρχαιοτέροις εἴρηται, Πεινάριος δὲ ὁ πεινῶν, καὶ Στάτις ὁ εὐή-
 λιξ, καὶ Φαῦστος καὶ Φάβιος ὁ εὐνους, καὶ Γάϊος, οἶον εἰ Γαῦδιος, 5
 ὁ χαρίεις, καὶ Τιβέριος ὁ παρὰ Τίβεριν τὸν ποταμὸν τεχθεὶς, καὶ
 Τίτος ὁ ἀπὸ Τατίου τοῦ Σαβίνου, καὶ Ἀππίος ὁ ἐν Ἀππία οἰκῶν
 (ὁδὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίσημος), καὶ Σέρβιος ὁ θανούσης αὐτῷ τῆς
 μητρὸς ἐγκύμονος διασωθεὶς, καὶ Νέρων ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τῇ Σαβίνων
 φωνῇ, καὶ Νάσων ὁ εὐρινος, καὶ Τούγκας ὁ κρεωβόρος, ὃν οἱ
 ἰδιῶται Ζικκᾶν ἐκάλεσαν καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ Βᾶρος καὶ Βλαῖσος ὁ 10
 πλαγιόσκελος, καὶ Σερρανὸς ὁ γεωργικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπεῖρειν, καὶ
 Αὐγουστος ὁ καλοιδώνιστος, καὶ Βιτέλλιος ὁ κροκοειδὴς τὴν ὄψιν
 ὅτι βιτέλλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν λέκιδον τοῦ ψοῦ ἐπικαλοῦσιν, καὶ
 Βάρρων ὁ κατὰ μὲν Φοίνικας Ἰουδαῖος, κατὰ δὲ Κελτοὺς ἀν-
 δρεῖος. καὶ πολλὰ ἂν τις τοιαῦτα συνάγοι κατὰ σχολὴν εἰ τυχὸν 15
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα ὃ τι πράττοι ἀφρόντιδα συμβαίνοι διαβιοῦν
 καὶ τοιοῦτοις ὁποίοις ἐγὼ καίπερ μυρίαίς συμπεπλεγμένους φρον-
 τίσιν ἐναγρυπνῶ μωραίνοντα ἀθύρμασιν.

ΤΡΙΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῆ Οἱ ΚΥΑΪΣΤΩΡΕΣ

〈24〉 Τὸ πιστὸν τοῖς γράφουσιν ἡ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτίθησι μαρ- 20
 τυρία. Ἰούνιος τοίνυν Γρακχίανδς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐξουσιῶν αὐτοῖς
 ῥήμασι περὶ τοῦ καλουμένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κυαίστωρος· 'προε-
 χωρήσαντο ψήφῳ τοῦ δήμου. Τοῦλλος δὲ ὁ ῥῆξ μετὰ τούτους

1 εὐσώματον P f b w ἐνσώματον A 3 Πεινάριος w πειναγύ|ιος P πεινάνιος
 A πινάριος f Πειναγύιος b πεινῶν f w πειῶν P A b Στάτις by στάτης P Στάτης
 f b fort. leg. βάλης f Στάτιος w 4 Φαῦστος (ὁ εὐδαίμων) w Φάβιος by φλάβιος
 P Φλάβιος f b w 6 Ἀππίος b w ἀππίος P Ἀππίος f 7 ἐστὶν ἐπίσημος in
 rasura P 10 Ζικκᾶν w ζικκᾶν P b Ζικκᾶν f Βᾶρος w βᾶρος P Βᾶρος f b
 Βλαῖσος w βλέσος P Βλαιοδς f b 11 ἀπὸ τοῦ σπεῖρειν P f b w ἀπὸ τοῦ (σέρερε
 οἶονεἰ) σπεῖρειν ? b 13 βιτέλλον w βιτέλλιον P βιτέλλον f b λέκιδον by λέκυ|κυ-
 δον P λέκυθον P₂ A f b w ψοῦ b ῶου P ῶου P₂ f w 14 Βάρρων b w βόρρων P
 Βάρρων f Κελτοὺς w P Κέλτας f b 15 συνάγοι P f b w συναγάγοι
 P₂ A 17 καὶ P f b w κᾶν ? b μυρίαίς (quod corr. in μυρίαίς) P 18 μωραίνοντα
 w μωραίνων P f b 19 κυαίστωρες f b ΚΥΕΣΤΩΡΕΣ P κοιαίστωρες P₂ A
 κυαίστορες w 21 Γρακχίανδς w γραγκχίανδς P Γραγκχίανδς f Γρακχίανδς b
 22 κυαίστωρος f b κυέστο|ρος P κοιαίστωρος P₂ A κυαίστορος w προεχωρήσαντο
 P₂ f προεχωρήσαντω P προεχειρίζοντο b προεχώρησαν τῇ w 23 Τοῦλλος w
 τοῦλλος P τοῦλλος P₂ Τοῦλλος f b

second, one who had curly hair on top, and the third, one who was fleshy and well bodied. For one who was by nature fat of body was called by the Italians of an older day *Crassus*; one who was hungry, *Pinaris*; one who was well statured, *Statis*; one who was favorable, *Faustus* and *Favius*; one who was delightful, *Gaius*, that is, *Gaudius*; one who was born by the Tiber river, *Tiberius*; one who was descended from Tatus the Sabine, *Titus*; one who was living on the Appian Way (it is a well-known highway), *Appius*; one who was delivered alive when his mother had died while pregnant, *Servius*; one who was strong, in the language of the Sabines, *Nero*; one who was well nosed, *Naso*; one who was a meat-eater, *Tucca*, whom the uneducated among us called *Zicca*; one who was crooked-legged, *Varus* and *Blaesus*; one who was skilled in farming (from "to sow"), *Serranus*; one who was favorably omened, *Augustus*; one who was saffron-colored in mien, *Vitellius*, because the Romans call the yolk of an egg *vitellus*; and one who was a Jew in the language of the Phoenicians but manly in that of the Celts, *Varro*. And one could be collecting at leisure many such examples if perchance one should happen to be living carefree, not having anything to do and childishly playing with such amusements as those over which I, though involved in countless cares, am vigilant.

[8.] *Third Institution: the* QUAESTORES

24. The testimony of the ancients lends credibility to the writers. Now, Junius Gracchanus in his work *On Powers* says with these very words about the *quaestor*, as he is called by the Romans.

They instituted him by vote of the people. Tullus the *rex* decided

ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν κυαιστῶρων ἀρχὴν ἔκρινεν, ὥς τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἱστορικῶν αὐτῷ τὴν τοιαύτην προαγωγὴν ἀναγράψαι καὶ μόνῳ. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ζητήσεως οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς Ἰούνιος καὶ Τρεβάτιος καὶ Φενεστέλλας εἶπον· καὶ μεθ' ἑτερα· πλὴν ὕστερον ἐξηρέθησαν οἱ κανδιῶται τοῦ βασιλέως κυαιστῶρες οἱ πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ μόνῃ ἐσχόλαζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψήφους ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκον ὑπὲρ τῶν|εἰς ἀξιώματα προαγομένων· ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰούνιος, ὁ νομικὸς δὲ Οὐλπιανδὸς ἐν τῷ De Officio Quaestoris, ἀντὶ τοῦ <Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυαιστῶρος Τάξεως,> περὶ κυαιστῶρος ἀποχρών- τως διαλέγεται.

<25> Ζητῆσαι δὲ ἀξιόλογον εἶναι νομίζω τί μὲν ἐστὶ κυαιστῶρ, τί δὲ κυαισίτωρ· καὶ τί μὲν σημαίνει διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου γραφόμενον, τί δὲ ψιλῆς. κυαιστῶρ τοῖνυν ὁ ζητητὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ quaerere, οἷον ἐρευνᾶν· οἱ γὰρ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐρευνάδες παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κυαιστῶρες ὠνομάσθησαν. κυαισίτωρ δὲ ὁ τιμωρός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτόν ἐστι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δισύλλαβον, τὸ δὲ τρισύλλαβον. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ μόνου Μίνως τοῦ Κρητός, ὃς γενέσθαι τιμωρὸς κατὰ τὸ μυθικὸν τῶν ἐν Αἰδοῦ ψυχῶν ἐνομίσθη, τὸ κυαισίτωρος ὄνομα ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητὴς ἐν ἔκτῳ τῆς Αἰνήϊδος τέθεικεν. ὅθεν καὶ κυαισίτῳνας τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ κυαιστιωναρίους τοὺς τῶν ποινῶν ὑπηρέτας Ῥωμαῖοι ἐγνώσαν καλεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κυαιστῶρ ζητητὴς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ὁ δὲ κατ' ἐπέκτασιν καὶ συλλαβῆς προσθή-

1 ἀναγκαίαν P f b w ἀναγκαῖον A κυαιστῶρων f b κυεστόρων P κοιαιστῶρων P₂ Κοιαιστῶρων A κυαιστῶρων w 4 Φενεστέλλας w φενεσετέλλ^u P Φενεστέλα f b 5 κυαιστῶρες f b κυέστῶρες P κοιαιστῶρες P₂ A κυαιστώρες w 7 ψήφους P₂ f b w ψή|φος P ψήφω A κοινοῦ P f b w 8 προαγομένων f b w προσαγομένων P 9 De Officio Quaestoris by δεΟΦΙΟΥΟΓΓΑ ΕΣΤΟΓΟΣ P de officio quaestoris A de Officio Quaestoris f de officio quaestoris b w 10 <Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυαιστῶρος Τάξεως> by <περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυαιστῶρος (κυαιστώρος w) τάξεως> b ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ Κοιαιστώρος ἀποχρώντως διαλέγεται A κυαιστῶρος f b κυεστώρος P κοιαισίτωρος P₂ Κοιαιστώρος A κυαιστώρος w 12 κυαιστῶρ f b w κυέστῶρ P κοιαιστῶρ P₂ 13 κυαισίτωρ A f b w κυεσίτωρ P κοιαισίτωρ P₂ 14 ψιλῆς P₂ f b ψηλῆς P <διὰ> ψιλῆς ? b an ψιλῆ ? b <διὰ> ψιλῆς w κυαιστῶρ f b w κυεσί|τωρ P A quaerere f b w ΨΙΕΓΕΓΕ P 16 κυαιστῶρες f b κυέστῶρες P κοιαιστῶρες P₂ A κυαιστώρες w ὠνομάσθησαν P₂ f b w ὀνομάσθη|σαν P κυαισίτωρ f b w κυεσίτωρ P A 17 δισύλλαβον P A f b δισσύλλαβον (sic) w τρισύλλαβον P A f b τρισύλλαβον (sic) w 18 τοῦ μόνου P f b w 19 Αἰδοῦ b w ἄδου P ἄδου f κυαισίτωρος f b κυεσίτωρος P κυεσίτωρ A κυαιστώρος w 20 Αἰνήϊδος f b w αἰνήϊδος P αἰνήϊδος P₂ 21 κυαισίτῳνας f b w κυεσίτῳνας P A κυαιστιωναρίους w κυεστιωναρίους P A κυαιστιωναρίους f b 22 κυαιστῶρ f b w κυέστῶρ P κοιαισίτωρ P₂ A

that after these [magistrates] the magistracy of *quaestores* was necessary; consequently, the majority of the historians have attributed to him and to him alone such an institution. Junius, Trebatius, and Fenestella said that they had been named thus from their function of investigating.

And after other statements [he says],

But afterwards the *candidati* of the emperor were set apart as *quaestores*, who devoted themselves to reading, and that alone, of imperial letters; and these same persons read also decisions from the body of the senate on behalf of those being advanced to dignities.

While such are the statements of Junius, the jurist Ulpian sufficiently speaks about the *quaestor* in his work *De Officio Quaestoris*, namely, *On the Office of Quaestor*.

25. I deem it to be worthwhile to consider what a *quaestor* is and what a *quaesitor*; and what the word signifies whenever written with the diphthong and what with an epsilon. Now, *quaestor* is an "investigator," being derived from *quaerere*, that is, "to investigate," for those known by the Greeks as investigators were called by the Romans *quaestores*, whereas *quaesitor* is a "punisher," for the first word is among the Romans disyllabic, while the second is trisyllabic. For the Poet of the Romans in Book VI of his *Aeneid* applied the word *quaesitor* to the unique Minos the Cretan, who, according to legendary tradition, had been believed to have been a punisher of the departed spirits in the abode of Hades. For this reason the Romans became accustomed to call not only punishments *quaestiones* but also the ministrants of punishments *quaestionarii*. For the word *quaestor* means an "investigator in respect of money," while by the extension and addition of a syllable it means an "investigator in

κην ἐπ' ἐγκλήμασιν· ἐκάτερον δὲ διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου γραφήσεται, κἂν εἰ τὸν ταμίαν διασημαίνει, ὅτι κυαίστους ὁ πόρος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖται. ὅτε δὲ μὴ δίφθογγος ἢ ἐν προοιμίῳ ἢ λέξις ἀλλὰ ψιλῇ γράφεται, οὐδέτερον μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων σημαίνει, τὸν δὲ μεμψίμοιρον καὶ βλάσφημον διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἐπιδείξει, ὅτι queror 'μέμφομαι' ῥήματι κοινῷ πάθος ἅμα καὶ ἐνέργειαν παραδηλοῦντι λέγουσιν, καὶ κυεριμωνίας καὶ κυερήλας τὰς μέμψεις.

〈26〉 Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τυχὸν τεχνολογίαις τάληθες δόξωμεν σοφίζεσθαι, πρὸς τῶν περὶ ταῦτα ἡσυχολημένων μάθωμεν. Γάιος τοίνυν ὁ νομικὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ Ad Legem XII Tabularum, οἷον Εἰς τὸν Νόμον τοῦ Διοκαϊδεκαδέλτου, αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ταῦτά φησιν· 'ὥς δὲ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τοῦ δήμου εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἦλθεν, προεχειρίσθησαν κυαίστωρες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ φροντίδος ἀπὸ τῆς περιποιήσεως καὶ φυλακῆς τῶν χρημάτων οὕτως ὀνομασθέντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ κεφαλικῆς τιμωρίας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῖς ἄρχουσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίου πολίτου ψηφίσασθαι, προεβλήθησαν κυαίστωρες παρρικιδίου, ὥς ἂν εἰ κριταὶ καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνελόντων.' παρρικίδας δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ὁμωνύμως τοὺς τε γονέων τοὺς τε πολιτῶν φονέας ἀποκαλοῦσιν, παρέντης ἐκατέρους προσαγορεύοντες. διαφορὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτην παρέχουσί τινα· συστέλλοντες γὰρ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν καὶ βραχεῖαν ποιοῦντες τοὺς γονέας, ἐκτείνοντες δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σημαίνουν.

〈27〉 Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ καὶ 〈τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ〉 διακοσιοστῷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτῷ, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Ῥηγούλου καὶ Ἰουλίου, κρινάντων Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν τοῖς συμμαχήσασιν Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἠπει-

2 διασημαίνει P διασημαίνῃ P₂ A f b w κυαίστους f b w κνέστους P 5 μεμψίμοιρον w μέμψιμον P f b an μεμψίμοιρον ? b 6 queror A f b w QUEROG P 7 κυεριμωνίας w ἐριμονίας P κυεριμονίας f b κυερήλας f b w κυερίλλας P κυερίλλε A 11 Ad Legem XII Tabularum by ad LECETH XN TAbUIdΓΓIII P heceur χῆ tabular qum A ad legem XII Tabularum f ad legem 12 tabularum b ad legem XII tabularum w 12 Εἰς τὸν Νόμον τοῦ Διοκαϊδεκαδέλτου by εἰς τὸν νόμον τοῦ διοκαϊδεκα δέλτου P εἰς τὸν νόμον τοῦ διοκαϊδεκαδέλτου f b w 14 κυαίστωρες f b κνέστωρες P κοιαίστωρες P₂ A κυαίστορες w 18 κυαίστωρες f b κνέστωρες P κοιαίστωρες P₂ A κυαίστορες w παρρικιδίου w παρακιδίους P παρρῖκιδίιοι f παρρικιδίιοι b ὥς ἂν εἰ by ὡσάει P ὡσάνει P₂ ὡσανεῖ f b w 19 παρρικίδας P₂ b w παρρικιδας P Παρρῖκιδας f 21 παρέντης b παρέντες P f w 23 βραχεῖαν f b w βροχὴν P βραχὺ A ποιοῦντες A f b w ποροῦντες P 25 <τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ> w 26 ὑπατείας P₂ b w ὑπατίας P f Ἰουλίου by ἰουνίου P Ἰουνίου b w ἰουνίου f

respect of crimes"; both, however, are to be written with the diphthong, even if they signify "treasurer" because "a gaining" is called by the Romans *quaestus*. Whenever, however, the word does not have a diphthong at the beginning but is written with an epsilon, it signifies neither of the two aforementioned meanings but by such spelling it will indicate "a complainer and reviler," because they render "I complain" as *queror*, by a verb which jointly indicates passivity and at the same time activity; and "complaints," as *querimoniae* and *querelae*.

26. In order, however, that I may not by chance seem to trifle with the truth by means of verbal subtleties, let us learn from those who have dealt with these matters. Now, Gaius the jurist in the work titled by him *Ad Legem XII Tabularum*, that is, "On the Law of the Twelve Tables," says the following with these very words in translation.

When, however, the public treasury reached the point of increase, *quaestores* were appointed for its administration; they were named thus from their care and custody of its funds. Since, however, it was not permitted the magistrates to vote for capital punishment against a Roman citizen, *quaestores parricidii* were appointed, "adjudicators and judges of those who killed citizens," as it were.

The Romans call both the murderers of parents and the murderers of citizens homonymously *parricidae*, because they call both [parents and citizens] *parentes*. This, however, is the sort of distinction which they exhibit with respect to the word: namely, by contracting the first syllable and making it short they mean "parents," but by lengthening it they mean "subjects."

27. In the two hundred and forty-third year of the consuls, during the consulship of Regulus and Julius, when the Romans had decided to wage war against those who had been allies of Pyrrhus the Epirote, a

ρώτη, κατεσκευάσθη στόλος καὶ προεβλήθησαν οἱ καλούμενοι κλασσικοί, οἷον εἰ ναύαρχαι, τῷ ἀριθμῷ δυοκαίδεκα κυαίστωρες, οἷον ταμίαι καὶ συναγωγεῖς χρημάτων. τίνι δὲ διαφέρει κυαίστωρ κυαισίτωρος προειρήκαμεν. καὶ διεφυλάχθη ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια καὶ συναγωγή τῶν πόρων τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τοῖς τε 5 πραιτῶρσιν ἐκδημοῦσιν.

〈28〉 Περί δὲ τῶν τοῦ παλατίου κυαιστώρων πυθέσθαι χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν Οὐλπιανοῦ τοῦ νομικοῦ. λέγει δὲ ὥδε ἐν μονοβίβλῳ Περί τῆς τοῦ Κυαίστωρος Τάξεως· ‘πλὴν ἐξήρηντο οἱ κυαίστωρες οἱ 10 κανδιδᾶτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος· οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοις τοῖς βιβλίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγινωσκομένοις ἐσχόλαζον καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τῶν βασιλέων ὑποῦργουν.’ κανδιδάτους δὲ τοὺς λευχείμονας Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος καλεῖν. οὐδεὶς δὲ λόγον ὄντινα οὖν ἀναγνώσκων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ προσώπου βασιλέων, μὴ λευχείμων ἐπέβη 15 τῆς ἀναγνώσεως· κανδιδᾶτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες εἰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν παριέναι ἐλέγοντο, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ λευχειμονοῦντες προήεσαν, ταύτη παραδηλοῦντες ὡς ἀρχοντιῶσιν. καὶ τούτων μάρτυς πᾶς ὁ Ῥωμαϊκῆς οὐκ ἄμοιρος ιστορίας. τὸ γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐτέρα παρὰ τὴν ἐν ἐορταῖς στολῇ χρήσασθαι πᾶσιν 20 ἐστὶ γνωριμώτατον. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης μόνης ἀλλὰ μὴν κἂν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τοῦτο κρατῆσαν αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ διαμέμνημαι, ἕως ἂν τὰ βουλευτήρια διώκουν τὰς πόλεις, ὧν ἀπολομένων συνεξώλισθε τοῖς ἐν γένει τὰ ἐν εἵδει.

f 45v 〈29〉 Τοσοῦτους ἄρχοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων | ἰθύναι ὑπὸ τοῖς ῥῆξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἐνιαυτοὺς 25 ἐφ’ ὅσους οἱ ῥήγες ἐκράτησαν, ἡ καθ’ ὅλου ιστορία παραδέδωκεν· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐξέλαμψεν ὄνομα.

1 προεβλήθησαν b w προσεβλήθησαν P f προσεκλήθησαν A 2 κλασσικοί w κλασσικοί P κλασσίκοι A κλασσικοὶ fb δυοκαίδεκα P fb δυοκαίδεκα (sic) w κυαίστωρες f b κυέστωρες P κοιαιστωρες P₂ A κυαιστωρες w 3 συναγωγεῖς f b w συναγωγῆς P συναγωγῆς P₂ 4 κυαίστωρ f b w κυέστωρ P κοιαιστωρ P₂ A κυαισίτωρος f b κυεσίτωρος P A κυαισίτωρος w 6 πραιτῶρσιν f b πραιτόρσιν P w πράκτορσιν A 7 κυαιστώρων f b κυεστώρων P κοιαιστώρων P₂ κυαιστώρων w 9 κυαίστωρος f b κυέστωρος P κοιαιστωρος P₂ κοιαιστωρος (ex κοιαιστώρων) A κυαιστωρος w κυαιστωρες f b κυέστωρες P κοιαιστωρες P₂ A κυαιστωρες w 10 κανδιδᾶτοι w κανδιδάτοι P f b κανδιδάτοι (ex κανδιδάτοι) A μόνοις f b w μόνοι P 11 ἀναγινωσκομένοις A f b w ἀναγινωσκόμενοι (ς postea additum) P 13 ὄντινα οὖν f b ὄντινα οὖν P ὄντιναοῦν P₂ ὄντιναοῦν w 17 ἀρχοντιῶσιν f b w ἀρχοντιῶσιν P ἀρχοντιῶσι P₂ 21 κἂν P₂ f b w κἂν P 24 ἰθύναι f b w ἡθύναι P ἰθύναι P₂ τοῖς f b w τοῦς P τοῦς P₂ A 26 καθ’ ὅλου by καθόλου P f b w

fleet was fitted out and the so-called *classici*, that is, “naval commanders,” *quaestores*, namely, “treasurers and collectors of money,” twelve in number, were advanced to office. How *quaestor* differs from *quaesitor*, I have already explained. In fact, such practice of collecting revenue was preserved by both the consuls and the *praetores* whenever they were abroad.

28. It is not at all difficult to learn about the *quaestores* of the *palatium* from Ulpian the jurist. In a one-volume work *On the Office of Quaestor* he says as follows.

But the *candidati* of the *Caesar* had been set apart as the *quaestores*, for they devoted their time only to the documents that were read in the senate and ministered to the letters of the emperors.

The Romans had the custom of calling those clad in white *candidati*. No one who was to read any speech whatsoever, and especially on behalf of the emperors, undertook this reading unless clad in white; and even those who had in mind to be admitted into magistracies of the provinces used to be called *candidati* because they themselves, too, used to appear in public clad in white, indicating in this way that they were desirous of being magistrates. In fact, everyone who is not unversed in Roman history attests this. For the fact that none of the magistrates utilized any other dress than that worn during festivals, is quite well known to all. And I myself clearly remember that this custom prevailed not only at Rome but, indeed, even in the provinces so long as the curial councils were governing the cities; when they had been done away with, the species slipped away along with the genera.

29. General history has handed down that such was the number of magistrates that had governed the state of the Romans under the *reges* for the two hundred and forty-three years during which the *reges* had held sway, and thereafter, as if in darkness, freedom's name beamed forth.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤῇ
ΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ

〈30〉 Ὑπάτους Ἕλληνες τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους λέγουσιν, οὐ στοχασάμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς τοῦ ὀνόματος προσηγορίας· τὸ γὰρ κώνσουλ, ὡς Ἱταλοῖς ἢ φύσις παραδεδωκεν, οὐ τὸν ὑψηλὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν πρύτανιν σημαίνει. Κώνσος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐνομήσθη· κρύφιος δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ὑποβρύχιος καί, ὡς τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἤρεσεν, ἐννοσίγαιος καὶ ἐννοσίχθων. εἴ τι δὲ κρύφιον, τοῦτο λεληθός· ταύτη καὶ κωνσίλια τὰ βουλευματα καὶ μυστικὰ σκέμματα λέγεται παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀπὸ τοῦ κόνδερ, ὅλον εἰ τοῦ κρύπτειν· καὶ κώνσουλ ὁ κρυψίνους ἀπὸ τοῦ προνοεῖν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν σκεπτόμενον ἀγρυπνεῖν. ταύτη καὶ Κωνσουάλια τὰ ἵπποδρόμια καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι· Ἴππιον γὰρ ὁ μῦθος τὸν Ποσειδῶνα λέγει.

〈31〉 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα περὶ τῆς Ἱταλικῆς τῶν ὑπάτων προσηγορίας. ὅτι δὲ τῶν πάντων ἠγγνόησεν οὐδεὶς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πρώτως ὑπατευσάντων, μέτριά τινα περὶ Βρούτου λεκτέον. Τοῦνιος μὲν κύριον ὄνομα τάνδρι γέγονεν, Βρούτον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τρόπον ἔλεγον ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκεκριμένης αὐτῷ μωρίας· βρούτον γὰρ τὸν μωρὸν ἐπεχωρίαζον Ἱταλοὶ τὸ πάλαι ἀπὸ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν φρενῶν. οὗτος, ὡς ἔφην, εὐήθειαν σκηνεύμενος ἐζήτει καιρὸν τὸν Ταρκύνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν πώποτε τυράννων ἀπηνέστατον, ἐξωθήσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὡς δὲ βραδύνων Ἀθήνησι διὰ τοὺς νόμους σὺν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο στα-
f 46^r λείσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἦται τὸν θεὸν ὁδὸν ὑποδείξει καὶ|συλλα-
βεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον 〈ὅτι〉 εἰ τῆς

1 ΥΠΑΤΕΙΑΣ f 296 ΥΠΑΤΙΑΣ P ὑπατίας A ΥΠΑΤΙΑΣ f ὑπατείας w 4
οὐ στοχασάμενοι P₂ A f b w· οὐστοχασαμενοι P 5 κώνσουλ by κόνσουλ P f b w
κόνσουλ (λ in litura) A 6 Κώνσος by κόνσον P Κόνσος f b w γὰρ f b w Γ P
γὰρ deest in A 7 αὐτὸς f b w αὐτός P οὗτος ? b 8 εἴ τι f¹ 19 ιτι P f b ιτι P₂
εἴτι A fort. leg. ἔστι f ὅτι w 9 λεληθός A f¹ 19 w λεληθώς P f b leg. fort.
λεληθώς f an ἀληθώς ? b κωνσίλια by κονσιλια P κονσίλια P₂ A f b w 10
κόνδερ f b w κονδορε P 11 κώνσουλ by κονσουλ P κόνσουλ P₂ f b w 12
Κωνσουάλια by κονσουαλια P κονσουάλια P₂ f b Κονσουάλια w 13 ἵπποδρόμια
P₂ A f b w ὑπποδρομία P Ἴππιον by ἵππιον P ἵππειον P₂ A f b ἵππιον w 16 ab
ὅτι paragraphum ordiuntur f b τῶν πρώτως A f b w τῶν πρώτως P τῶν πρώτως
P₂ 18 τάνδρι b w τάνδρι P τ' ἀνδρὶ f 19 ὑποκεκριμένης b w ὑποκεκρυμμένης
P ὑποκεκρυμμένης P₂ f αὐτῷ f b w αὐτῷ P 21 σκηνεύμενος f b σκηνεύμενος
(super u adscriptum o) P σκηνικευόμενος f¹ 19 w 22 καιρὸν f b w καιρὸ- P
26 <ὅτι> b w

On the Consulship and its Insignia

30. The Greeks call lofty and great men *hypatoi*, not having aimed at a strict application of the word, for the term *consul*, as its origin has handed it down to the Italians, does not signify "the lofty one" but "the chief magistrate." Poseidon, for example, was considered by them as *Consus*; he was hidden and beneath the surface of the sea, and, as it pleased the poets to call him, "earthshaker" and "earthquaker." Whatever is hidden has escaped notice; it is precisely for this reason that resolutions and secret deliberations are called by them *consilia*, derived from *condere*, that is, "to hide"; and "a hider of one's thoughts" is called *consul* from the fact that he takes forethought and is vigilant, pondering by himself on behalf of the common good. For this reason, too, the ancients call the races at the Hippodrome *Consualia*, for legend calls Poseidon *Hippios*.

31. Such are some points regarding the Italic title "consuls." Because, however, absolutely no one is ignorant of the names of those who had first served as consuls, I must say a few things about Brutus. Whereas Junius was this man's proper name, they called him Brutus, in accordance with the custom of giving a cognomen, because of the simple-mindedness feigned by him, for the Italians in days of old used to call a moron *brutus* in the language of their country from the dullness of his wit. By staging simplemindedness, as I said, he was seeking an opportunity to drive Tarquinius from his rule, a man most ruthless of those who had ever yet been tyrants. When, however, while tarrying at Athens with a view to getting its laws in company with those who had been sent by the Romans along with him for that purpose, he asked the god to point out to him a course of action and to assist him to this end, the divinity declared to him that, if, upon setting foot on his native soil,

πατρίδος ἐπιβὰς πρὸ πάσης τάξεως τὴν μητέρα περιπτύζεται καὶ
 λιπαρῶς περιβάλοι, περιέσται τοῦ σκοποῦ. καὶ δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐν
 τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν γῆν περιβαλὼν (αὕτη δὲ μήτηρ τῶν πάντων),
 ἡλευθέρωσε Ῥωμαίους τυραννίδος, ἀρχὴν ἐξευρὼν παρ' οὐδενὶ
 τῶν ἐθνῶν γνωριζομένην, καὶ εἰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις Δανιὴλ ὁ προφη- 5
 τῶν θειότατος ὑπᾶτων παρὰ Ἀσσυρίοις γενομένων ποτὲ μνημο-
 νευεῖ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος ἀπέθετο φωνῆς,
 ὡς Ἀριστέας λέγει, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐρμηνεύσαντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ
 λόγια ποτε ἀντὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βουλευτῶν ὑπᾶτους εἶπον, μήπω
 τότε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνισχύσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ 10
 τῷ καινῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς θαυμαζομένης. τούτων οὕτως ἔχον-
 των, περὶ τῶν τῆς ὑπατείας συμβόλων ῥητέον.

〈32〉 Λευκοὶ φαινόλαι ποδήρεις καὶ κολοβοὶ μετρίως παρὰ
 τοὺς φαινόλας ἀνεσταλμένοι πλατύσημοι (πορφύρα διάσημος ἐξ
 ἑκατέρων τῶν ὤμων, τοῖς μὲν φαινόλαις πρόσθεν, τοῖς δὲ κολο- 15
 βοῖς καὶ ἐξόπισθεν) καὶ ὑποδήματα λευκὰ (ἀλοῦταν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ
 στυπτηρίας δέρμα καλοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι ἀλοῦμεν κατ' αὐτοὺς
 ἡ στυπτηρία λέγεται) καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἀπὸ λίνου
 λευκὸν τὰ ἐπίσημα τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἦν (μάππαν καὶ φακίολην ἐπιχω-
 ρίως ὠνόμασαν, ὅτι φακίης κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὄψις λέγεται), καὶ πε- 20
 λέκεις ἡγούμενοι εἰς ὕψος ἀρθέντες καὶ πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ῥάβδους
 ἐπιφερομένων, ἐξ ὧν ἱμάντες φοινικῷ χρώματι βεβαμμένοι ἐξήρ-
 τητο (μὴ Σερρανοῦ τοῦ δικτάτωρος, ὃς ἐν ὕλαις ξυλοτομῶν
 καὶ ἐλέγκυν εἰκότως ἐπιφερόμενος ῥάβδον τε ἐξηρητημένην ἡνίας

1 τάξεως P₂ f b w ταξεως P τοξέως A πράξεως mal. b μητέρα f b w μῤα P
 περιπτύζεται P f b w περιπτύζεται P₂ A 2 λιπαρῶς P f b w λιπαρῶ A περιβάλοι
 P f b w an περιβάλλη? w 3 αὕτη δὲ P f b w αὕτη δὲ A 5 Δανιὴλ f b w δανιὴλ
 P δανιὴλ P₂ 〈ὁ〉 Δανιὴλ A προφητῶν f b w προφητῶ~P 7 οὕτως w οὗτος P f b
 οὕτως? b ἀπέθετο b ἐπέθετο P f ἀπεθετο (sic) w 8 Ἀριστέας by ἀρισταῖος P
 Ἀρισταῖος f Ἀρισταῖος b w 9 λόγια ποτε f b w λόγια ποτὲ P μήπω τότε P f b
 immo μήποτε b μήποτε τότε w 11 τῆς ἀρχῆς P w del. f b θαυμαζομένης P₂
 f b w θαυμαζομένης P θαυμαζομένοις A 12 ὑπατείας b w ὑπατίας P ὑπατίας
 P₂ f 14 πορφύρα b w πορφυρα P πορφυρὰ P₂ πορφυρᾶ A f διάσημος b w
 διασημα P διάσημα P₂ A f 16 ἀλοῦταν w αλοῦταν P ἀλούταν P₂ f b 17
 ἀλοῦμεν w αλουμον P ἄλουμον P₂ ἄλουμεν f b 18 στυπτηρία f b w στυπτηρια P
 στυπτηρία P₂ 19 ὑπᾶτων f b w ὑπατῶ P ὑπάτῶ P₂ ἦν f b ἦν P ἦν P₂ A ἦν,〈ἦν〉w
 μάππαν b w μάππαν P A f φακίολην P f b φακίολιν w 20 φακίης P₂ f b w
 φακίης P 21 πλήθος f b w πληθος (super o adscriptum u) P πλήθους P₂ A 23
 μὴ Σερρανοῦ by μησεραννου P μησεράννου P₂ ἡ ἀπὸ Σερανοῦ f b 〈μνή〉μη Σε-
 ρανοῦ w δικτάτωρος f b δικάτορος P δικτάτορος w ξυλοτομῶν f b w ξυλοτομῶν
 P ξυλοτόμων P₂ A 24 ῥάβδον P₂ bw ραβδον P ῥάβδου f ἡνίας P₂ f b w ἡνίας P
 ἡνίαν f 296

before settling anything, he put his arms around his mother and earnestly embraced her, he would gain possession of his aim. And, just as soon as he had returned to Rome and embraced his land (she was the mother of all), he liberated the Romans from tyranny by having devised a magistracy known in none of the nations, even though among the Hebrews Daniel, the divinest of prophets, mentions *hypatoi* as having once existed among the Assyrians. By no means did he himself record it so in the Hebraic language, as Aristéas says, but those who had once translated the scriptures at the court of Ptolemy used the term *hypatoi* for “rulers” and “councillors,” this magistracy not yet at that time emerging among the Romans and being admired by all for the singular greatness of the office. This being so, I must speak about the symbols of the office of consul.

32. White, ankle-length *paenulae*; broad, purple-striped *colobi*, moderately girt up as compared with the *paenulae* (whereas the *paenulae* had a conspicuous purple stripe on both shoulders in front, the *colobi* had it also in back); white shoes (the Romans call a hide processed with alum *aluta* because “astringent” is called by them *alumen*); and a white napkin of linen on the right hand (they called it in the language of their country *mappa* and *faciola* because “face” is called by them *facies*) were the insignia of the consuls. They also had axes raised to a height preceding them; a multitude of men carrying rods from which scarlet-dyed straps had been suspended (I suspect that this is from Serranus the *dictator*, who, while hewing lumber in the woods and naturally carrying an ax and a rod furnished with reins for driving the oxen of his cart, was

f 46^v πρὸς ἔλασιν τῶν βοῶν τῆς ἀμάξης ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων|ἀρχὴν με-
τεστάλη, ὡς Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος σατυρικός ἐφη, ἡ καὶ ὅτι πέ-
λεкус ἐξουσίας ἐστὶ δεικτικός· πρὸς τοῦτοις καθέδρα (σέλλαν
αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι καλοῦσιν) ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐφ' ἣ καθήμενον τὸν ὑπα-
τον οἱ πολῖται σχίδακας ὑπομήκεις ὑποβάλλοντες ἔφερον 5
προϊόντα.

〈33〉 Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τῇ τοῦ ἐνδὸς ἐξουσίᾳ ἀδυσώπητος ἡ ἀρχὴ
τοῦ ὑπάτου γένοιτο, δύο καὶ ἐπὶ μόνον ἐνιαυτὸν προεχειρίσαντο,
ὡς εἴρηται, Βροῦτον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκδικὸν <καὶ> σὺν αὐτῷ
Πουπλικόλαν (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸν δημαγωγὸν σημαίνει), οἷς ἐξήν 10
καὶ νόμους γράφειν καὶ αὐτοκρατῶς τοὺς πολέμους διοικεῖν,
οἷα τὴν τῶν ὅλων διοίκησιν ἀνημμένους· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸν
βίον τοῦ Βρούτου, δημοσίῳ πένθει ἐτίμησαν τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ
βρούτας τὰς σφῶν γυναῖκας ὠνόμασαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν σωφρο-
σύνην. τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ὁ θῦατος ἐτι περὶ τῶν ἐπικηδεῖω πρῶτος 15
ἐτίμησεν. λέγεται δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐπιτάφιον νηνία, ἐξ Ἑλλη-
νικῆς μᾶλλον ἐτυμολογίας, ὅτι νήτην τὴν ἐσχάτην τῶν ἐν καθάρᾳ
χορδῶν Ἑλληνες καλοῦσιν.

ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓὴ Οἱ ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ Ὁ Τῆς Πόλεως ὙΠΑΡΧΟΣ

20

〈34〉 Γάιος ὁ νομογράφος μετὰ τὴν τῶν κυαιστῶρων τὴν δε-
κανδρικὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναφέρει ῥήμασι πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν τούτοις· ‘πολ-
λῆς δὲ συγχύσεως τῶν νόμων, οἷα μὴ γράμμασι τεθειμένων, τοῖς
πράγμασι γινομένης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαφο-
ρᾶς, δόγματι κοινῷ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου πάντες μὲν οἱ ἄρ- 25
χοντες ἐκινήθησαν, δέκα δὲ μόνοις ἀνδράσι τὴν φροντίδα τῆς
πολιτείας παρέδωσαν.’ αὐτοὶ δὲ στέλλουσιν (ἡ ἱστορία φησὶν) εἰς
Ἀθήνας Σπούριον Ποστούμιον, Αὔλον Μάρκιον καὶ Πούπλιον

5 σχίδακας P₂ f b w σχη|δακας P ἐχίδνας A ὑπομήκεις P₂ A f w υπομηκης P ἐπι-
μήκεις b ὑποβάλλοντες P₂ ὑποβαλλόντες P ὑποβαλόντες f b w 6 προϊόντα f b w
προσιόντας P 9 <καὶ> f w 10 οἷς P f b w οἷς P₂ 11 νόμους (super o adscriptum
u) P 14 σφῶν P₂ f b σφων P w 18 καλοῦσιν νήτην P νήτην del. P₂ A f b w
19 ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ by ΠΕΜΠΤΗ P τετάρτη A ΠΕΜΠΤΗ f Πέμπτη w ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩ-
ΤΟΙ-by ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΙ P ΔΕΚΑ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ f δεκάπρωτοι w 21 κυαιστῶρων
f b κυεστῶρων P κοιαιστῶρων P₂ κυαιστῶρων w δεκανδρικὴν P₂ f b w δεκάν|δρι-
κην P 22 post ἐρμηνείαν tres litteras del. P 26 ἐκινήθησαν P₂ f b w ἐκινήθησαν
P ἀπεκινήθησαν ? b

summoned to the magistracy of the Romans, as Persius the Roman satirist said, or, too, because an ax is indicative of authority); and, in addition to these, a chair (the Romans call it *sella*) of ivory, under which the citizens placed longish shafts and carried the sitting consul when he was appointed to office.

33. In order, however, that the consular magistracy might not become inexorable by reason of the authority of one person, they appointed two, and for only a year, as I have stated: Brutus, the champion of freedom, and along with him Publicola (the name signifies "popular leader"), who had the power both to draft laws and to manage wars with supreme power, inasmuch as they had been invested with the management of all things. When Brutus had died, however, they honored the dead man with a public mourning and named their own wives *brutae* after him on account of their discretion; and the consul who was still alive was the first to honor the decedent consul with a funeral oration. The funeral dirge is called by them *nenia*, which is rather of Greek etymology because the Greeks call the last of the chords on a cithara *nete*.

[9.] *Fourth Institution: the DECEMVIRI and the Prefect of the City*

34. Gaius, the writer of legal treatises, mentions the decemviral magistracy after that of the *quaestores* with these words in translation.

As, however, much confusion regarding the laws, inasmuch as they had not been set down in writing, kept occurring for the republic as a result of the discord between the magistrates and the plebs, by a joint decree of the senate and of the plebs all the magistrates were removed, and they turned over the care of the state to only ten men.

The latter (history says) sent Spurius Postumius, Aulus Marcius, and Publius Sulpicius to Athens. As these men, however, tarried there for a

Σουλπίκιον. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τριετῇ χρόνον ἐκεῖ βραδυνόντων, ἕως
 f 47^r καὶ τοὺς λειπομένους Ἀθηναίων νόμους ταῖς δέκα δέλτοις ἀνα-
 λάβωσιν, δέκα προεβάλετο ὁ δῆμος ἄνδρας ἀνθεξομένους τῶν
 πραγμάτων, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως φύλαξ προσηγορεύθη, ὁ
 καθ' ἡμᾶς πολίάρχος. ἐπίσημα δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἦν αὐτῷ δυοκαί- 5
 δεκα ῥάβδοι· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς οὐχ οὕτως, ὅπλοφόρος δὲ ἀν' ἑκα-
 στον εἷς καὶ μόνος. τῷ γε μὴν πολιάρχῳ καὶ τάξις ἀνδρῶν το-
 γατηφόρων καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοι καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ ὅσα ἴσμεν παρῆν. ἀπέ-
 τρεφον δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ κτῆσιν εὐφορον κεκτημένοι· ὅθεν τὸ γλήβης
 προσέλαβον ὄνομα, ὅτι γλήβαν τὴν λείαν γῆν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν 10
 κάρπιμον, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων σκρινίον
 οὐκ ὄν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ Αὐγουστος προσένειμε τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὴν ἐν τῇ
 Ῥώμῃ βασιλικὴν ἀνεγείρων, ὡς ὁ Τράγκυλλος εἶπε φιλολόγως.
 τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων ἀρχόντων πρὸς ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀρθέντων καὶ τυ-
 ραννικῶς διαγινομένων, ταραχθεῖς ὁ δῆμος τὴν πόλιν ἀπέλιπε 15
 καὶ περὶ τὸν βουνὸν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀβεντίνον ὥκησεν (ὁ δὲ τόπος
 ἔλκει τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐξ ἐνδὸς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ὡς ὁ Ῥω-
 μαίων ποιητὴς παραδέδωκεν) καὶ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ ὁ δῆμος ἀγα-
 νακτῶν πλείστων μὲν ἔνεκα, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Βεργίνιου χάριν καὶ
 τῆς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἔναγχος βιασθέντων. τὴν δὲ ἱστορίαν οἶμαι 20
 πρόδηλον εἶναι.

〈35〉 Ἀρχοντες μὲν οὗτοι, πλὴν εἰ μή τις καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ποντίφικας, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς νεωκόρους, εἰς ἄρχον-
 τας ἀριτυμεῖν ἐθελήσοι· γνώμη γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ κρίσει τοὺς νόμους 25
 ἔγραφον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὰ ὦνια διετύπου· ὅθεν aediles τοὺς
 ἀγορανόμους ἔτι καὶ νῦν συμβαίνει καλεῖσθαι, καθ' ὃ τοὺς ναοὺς
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰδῆς καλοῦσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν ῥηγῶν
 καὶ προβολὴν τῶν ὑπάτων, θυροῦβων ἐνισταμένων, ὡς εἴρηται

1 ἕως καὶ f b w [.] P ἕως καὶ desunt et pro his loc. vac. A 2 δέκα P f b w
 δώδεκα f¹ 20 ταῖς δέκα δέλτοις desunt et pro his loc. vac. A ἀναλάβωσιν by ανα-
 λαβουσιν P ἀναλάβουσι P₂ A ἀναλάβωσι t b w 4 ὧν ὁ πρῶτος τῆς desunt et pro
 his loc. vac. A 9 γλήβης w γλέβης P f b 10 γλήβαν by γλέβαν P f b γλήβαν w
 11 σκρινίον P f b w 13 Τράγκυλλος b w τράκυλλος P Τραγκύλιος A Τράκυλλος
 f φιλολόγως by φιλολόγῳ P φιλόλογος P₂ A f b w 15 ἀπέλιπε P₂ A f b w
 ἀπέλειπεν P 17 Ἡρακλειδῶν b w ηρακληδῶν (quod corr. in ηρακλειδῶν) P
 Ἡρακλειδῶν f 19 ἐξερétως (quod corr. in ἐξαιρέτως) P 23 ποντίφικας P f b w
 ἀρχιερεῖς <καὶ> νεωκόρους f praestat fort. γεφυραῖους b 25 διετύπου f b w διε-
 τύπου (v postea additum) P ἀedILES P aedile καὶ A 26 καθ' ὃ by καθ' ὃ P
 καθὸ f b w 27 αἰδῆς b αειδεις P αειδεις P₂ αείδεις A αἰδεις f w

period of three years until they collected also the laws of the Athenians which were missing in their *Ten Tables*, the people appointed ten men to take charge of the republic, the first of whom was styled "the guardian of the city," called in our day "prefect of the city." He had as insignia of his office twelve rods, yet that was not the case with the others, but each had one and only one armed man. The prefect of the city, however, had at his disposal even a staff of toga-clad men, lictors, fetters, and all else with which we are acquainted. The owners of prosperous estates supported them; for this reason they received the name *glebes*, because the Romans call "level land" *gleba*, namely, "fertile." As for the *scrinium* of public works, since it did not exist from the beginning, Augustus assigned it to this magistracy when he was erecting the basilica at Rome, as Tranquillus learnedly stated. Since, however, the aforementioned magistrates had been exalted to the point of arrogance and were behaving tyrannically, the people, because they had been disturbed, left the city and dwelt around the hill called the Aventine (this place derives its name from one of the sons of Hercules, as the Poet of the Romans has handed down), and the people continued to live there, vexed for very many reasons but especially because Verginius and his daughter had been recently violated. I believe, however, that the story is well known.

35. These men were magistrates, unless one should also wish to reckon into the ranks of magistrates those who were called by them *pontifices*, namely, "sacristan pontiffs"; for on the basis of their opinion and judgment the ancients enacted laws and regulated things for sale; for this reason it happens that the market-overseers still even to this day are called *aediles*, insofar as the Romans call their temples *aedes*. After, however, the expulsion of the *reges* and the appointment of consuls, because disorders began to set in, as the historians in both languages

f 47^v | τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ἑκατέρας φωνῆς, ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα σύνεγγυς ἐνιαυτοὺς χιλίαρχοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξηγήσαντο· εἶτα ἐπὶ πενταετίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐδυστύχει τὸ πολίτευμα· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τρεῖς νομοθέτας καὶ δικαστὰς προβληθῆναι πρὸς βραχὺ συμβέβηκε διὰ τὰς ἐμφυλίους στάσεις.

5

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓὴ Ἡ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΥΡΑ

〈36〉 Οὕτως οὖν Ῥωμαίοις ταραττομένων τῶν πραγμάτων συνήρεσε τὸν καλούμενον προστήσασθαι δικτάτωρα· ἐπεὶ ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.’ δισσαῖς οὖν ταῖς φροντίσιν ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ τὸ βασιλέων δεδιότες ὄνομα, μὴ λάθοιεν αὐτῆς Ταρκυνίους 10 καινοῖς περιπίπτοντες ἢ πολλοῖς καὶ μὴ συμφωνοῦσιν ἄρχουσι διασπαθιζόμενοι. ἔδοξε τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῖς, ὥς εἴρηται, τὸν καλούμενον δικτάτωρα, ἀντὶ τοῦ μεσοβασιλέα, προστήσασθαι, ἕξ καὶ μόνοις μῆσι τοῦ κράτους αὐτῷ περιγραφομένου. καὶ τέως ἀρμόδιον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ἐρμηνεύσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸ δικτάτωρος 15 ὄνομα. πατρίως τοίνυν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐπὶ καιρὸν μονάρχην οὕτω καλοῦσι, τὸν μὴ νόμων γραφαῖς τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων διατιθέντα προῖστάμενα, οἷα ἐν βραχεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παυόμενον. δικτατοῦραν γὰρ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐ τὴν καθ’ ὅλου ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπὶ χρόνου βραχὺν διδομένην, ὥστε, λόγῳ καὶ 20 μόνῳ διορθωθέντων τῶν μὴ καθεστηκότων, τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν προαγόμενον εἰς τὴν προτέραν τύχην ἀναστρέφειν. ἅμα γὰρ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ δικτάτωρ, ἅμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεπαύσατο.

〈37〉 Χειροτονοῦσι τοίνυν δικτάτωρα πρῶτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Τίτον Μάρκιον, ὃς ἅμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπελάβετο 〈ἅμα〉 δύο ὑπάτους 25 προεστήσατο. οὐ μὴν χρόνον ὥρισεν, καθ’ ὃν ἂν χειροτονοῖντο οἱ ὑπατοὶ· νεώτερον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον μῆνα

1 συγγραφεῦσιν P b w συγγράφουσιν f πεντήκοντα f b w πεντηκοντῆ P 6 ΠΕΜΠΤΗ by ἙΚΤΗ P πέμπτη A ἙΚΤΗ f Ἑκτη w ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΥΡΑ P f ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΥΡΑ P₂ δικτατοῦρα w 8 προστήσασθαι P₂ A f b w προσετήσαντο (quod corr. in προστήσασθαι) P δικτάτωρα P f b δικτάτορα w 11 καινοῖς w κοινοῖς P f omis. b 12 διασπαθιζόμενοι f b w διασπαθιζόμενοις P διασπαθιζομένοις P₂ 13 δικτάτωρα f b δικτάτορα P w 14 περιγραφομένου f b w περιγραφομενω P περιγραφομένω P₂ 15 δικτάτωρος f b δικτάτορος P w 17 διατιθέντα f b διατεθέντα P διατεθέντα P₂ διατιθέναι w προῖστάμενα b προῖσταμενα P προῖστάμενον P₂ A f w an πράγματα ? w 18 δικτατοῦραν w δίκαιον P b Δικαίαν f δικτατοῦραν ? b 19 αὐτοὶ f w αὐτὴν P αὐτὴν P₂ b καθ’ ὅλου by καθόλου P καθόλου f b w 20 χρόνου P χρόνον P₂ f b w 25 〈ἅμα〉 w 26 καθ’ ὃν P₂ f b w καθ’ ὃν P

have said, military tribunes headed the republic for approximately fifty years. Then, for a period of five years the government suffered the ill fortune of anarchy; and thereafter it happened that three legislators and judges were appointed for a short time on account of the intestine discords.

[10.] *Fifth Institution: the so-called* DICTATURA

36. Thus, then, since their republic was in a state of disturbance, the Romans agreed to appoint one who was called *dictator*, since "rule by many is not a good thing." Twofold, therefore, were the anxieties with which they were distressed, besides dreading the name "kings," lest they should unawares again fall into the hands of new Tarquins or be cut up by many magistrates who were at variance. Accordingly, they decided, as I have said, to appoint one called *dictator*, namely, "interim regent," his sovereign power being limited to only six months. And it seems to me to be fitting at this point to explain the term *dictator* to the Greeks. Now, the Romans in their ancestral language call thus the temporary sole ruler who sets right the obstacles of the subjects without the enactment of laws inasmuch as he is deposed from his magistracy in a short time. For they call *dictatura* not the power which is absolute but which is granted for a short time for the purpose of benefiting the republic, so that, after the issues that are not in a settled condition have been set right by word and that alone, whoever is [so] elevated thereafter returns to his former station in life. For, as soon as the *dictator* had cured the ailing issues, he immediately resigned from the magistracy.

37. Now, the Romans appointed Titus Marcius as first *dictator*, who, as soon as he had assumed the magistracy, immediately appointed two consuls. He did not, in fact, fix the time at which the consuls should be appointed, for the appointment of the consul in the month of January

f 48^r προῖεναι τὸν ὑπατον. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ μόνῳ | τὴν ὑπατον ἐπίστευσε
τιμὴν, πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαίων ταῖς ἐναλλαγαῖς χαιρόντων. πάντα δὲ
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα παρῆν τῷ δικτάτωρι στεφάνου χωρίς·
οἱ τε δυοκαίδεκα πελέκεις, πορφύρα καὶ σέλλα καὶ δόρατα καὶ
ὅσοις ἐπισήμοις οἱ ῥῆγες ἐγνωρίζοντο. ἱπάρρχην τε πρῶτον Σπου- 5
ριον Κάσιον ὑπαρχον ἐαυτῷ προεβάλετο, καθάπερ Ῥωμύλος τὸν
Κελέριον τριβοῦνον τῶν ἱππέων. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῷ ῥάβδοι ἐπι-
μήκεις λοφίων χωρίς, ὅπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος καίπερ ἡγνοημένον
φυλάττεται. κινουμένοις γὰρ τοῖς τῶν ἱππέων στρατηγοῖς οὐκέτι 10
μὲν ῥαβδοῦχοι ἡγοῦνται αὐτῶν, ὡς τὸ πάλαι, ἐξόπισθεν δὲ δο-
ρυφόρος εἰς ῥάβδους ἐπιμήκεις καθ' ὁμαλοῦ συνδῆσας εἰωθεν
ἐπιφέρεισθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φορᾶς, μόνη δὲ
συνηθεῖα ἀκολουθῶν. πασῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς πολιτείας ὁ ἱπ-
παρχος ἐκράτει καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐφετόν τι, αὐτοῦ δικάζοντος, ἐπὶ
ἔφεσιν χωρεῖν. πλεον δὲ ἐξ μηνῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν δικτατῶρων τοῦ 15
κράτους τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντελάβετο ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ ἔλαττον,
καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν μόνην ἡμέραν. καὶ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν τῶν δικτα-
τῶρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι, καὶ ὅσοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ ἐπὶ πόσον χρόνον.
<38> Πρῶτος δικτάτωρ Τίτος Μάρκιος, ὁ τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ ὑπά-
τους Τίτον καὶ Βαλέριον αὐθις προαγαγών. στάσεως δὲ γενο- 20
μένης καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναχωρησάντων, ὁ δικτάτωρ ἑτέρους ἀντ'
ἐκείνων προεβάλετο καλένδαις Σεπτεμβρίαις. {ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΠΡΟ-
ΑΓΩΓῇ ΔΥΟ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΙ} τῷ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν ὑπά-
των, στάσεως γενομένης οὐ μικρᾶς τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ τῷ τε δήμῳ,
δύο τὸ πλῆθος προεχειρίσατο δημάρχους, ὥστε αὐτοὺς διαιτᾶν 25
τοῖς δημόταις καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, οἱ πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν
f 48^v ἀρθέντες οὐκ ἡρυθρίων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πατρικίων|καταψηφίζε-

1 ὑπατον P₂ f b w ὑπατον P ὑπάτων A ἐπίστευσε P₂ f b w ἐπίστευσεν P
ἐπίστευετο A 4 πορφύρα f b w πορφυρα P πορφυρά P₂ πορφυρά A 7 αὐτῷ
b w αὐτῷ P αὐτῷ (sic) f ῥάβδοι f b w ραβδοῦχοι P ῥαβδοῦχοι P₂ ἐπιμήκεις P₂
f b w ἐπιμηκεῖς P 8 λοφίων f b w λοφίων P 10 ῥαβδοῦχοι f b w ραβδοι P
ῥάβδοι P₂ ἡγοῦνται A b w ἡγοῦντο P f ὡς τὸ πάλαι ante ἡγοῦντο transponere
mal. f¹ 20 11 ῥάβδους f b w ραβδοῦχους P καθ' ὁμαλοῦ b w καθομαλους P καθ'
ὁμαλοῦς P₂ f 14 ἐφετόν w ἐφιτόν P f b ἐφειτόν P₂ A leg. ἐφετόν aut ἐφικτόν f¹ 20
θεμιτόν mal. b 15 δικτατῶρων f b δικτατόρων P w 17 δικτατῶρων f b δι-
κτατόρῳ P δικτατόρων w 19 δικτάτωρ f b v δικτατορ P δικτάτορ P₂ πρὸ
τοῦ w πρῶτους P πρῶτους P₂ f b 20 Βαλέριον f b w βελέριον P 21 δικτάτωρ
f b w δικτάτορ P 22 καλένδαις w καλενδαις P καλάνδαις P₂ f b ΕΒΔΟΜΗ
ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῇ ΔΥΟ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΙ P₂ f del. b w ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῇ ΔΥΟ
ΔΕΙΜΑΡΧΟΙ P ἔκτη προαγωγή δύο δήμαρχοι A 25 αὐτοὺς P₂ f b αὐτοὺς P
αὐτοὺς (sic) w 27 ἡρυθρίων P b w ἐρυθρίων (sic) f

was instituted later. He did, however, entrust the consular office to only one year, as the Romans delighted in changes everywhere. All the symbols of the regal office, with the exception of the crown, were at the disposal of the *dictator*: the twelve axes, purple robe, *sella*, spears, and all the insignia by which the *reges* were identified. And first he appointed Spurius Cassius cavalry commander as his lieutenant, just as Romulus [had appointed] Celer *tribunus* of the cavalry. Long rods without crests used to precede him, a custom which, though not understood, is still preserved even to this day. For, whereas lictors no longer precede the commanders of the cavalry whenever they set out, as they did in days of old, one guardsman from behind is wont to bear long rods evenly bound together, though he himself does not know the reason for carrying them but merely follows custom. The cavalry commander was superior to all the magistracies of the state, and it was not permitted anyone to proceed to an appeal of his judgment. None of the *dictatores*, however, retained the sovereignty of sole rule more than six months but even much less, even for only one day. And it is not at all difficult to mention the *dictatores* themselves, both how many there have been and for what length of time.

38. The first *dictator* was Titus Marcius, the one who had again elevated Titus and Valerius who had been consuls previously. When, however, discord had arisen and the consuls had retired, the *dictator* appointed others in their place on the September *calendae*. {*Seventh Dignity: Two Tribunes*} In the seventeenth year of the consuls, when no small discord had arisen between both the senate and the plebeian assembly, the plebs appointed two tribunes so that they might arbitrate for the plebeians and might supervise the market, who, exalted to the point of arrogance, were not ashamed to condemn even the *patricii* themselves. In the

σθαι. τῷ δὲ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔτει εἰς τρεῖς μοῖρας τὰ
 τῆς ἀρχῆς διηρέθη· εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους, εἰς τὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχον
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ διώκουν τοὺς πολέμους, ὁ δὲ
 δῆμος ἐστρατεύετο, ὃ γε μὴν ὑπαρχος τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττεν, *custos*
urbis προσαγορευόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰ φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως. τῷ δὲ
 ὀγδῶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔτει, διαφερομένων τοῦ δήμου
 καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, Αὔλος Σεμπρώνιος προσηγορεύθη δικτάτωρ, ὃς
 ἐκ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς Γάϊον Ἰούλιον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δήμου Κόϊντον
 Φάβιον χειροτονήσας ὑπάτους ἀπέθετο τὴν δικτατοῦραν. αὐθις
 ἐπὶ τοῦ τεσσαρακοστοῦ καὶ ὀγδοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔτους προεβλήθη
 δικτάτωρ Γάϊος Μάμερκος. τοῦ δὲ δήμου παλινστατουῦντος, προ-
 εβλήθησαν χιλίαρχοι τρεῖς· ὧν σαλευόντων τὰ πράγματα, ἀνη-
 γορεύθη δικτάτωρ Τίτος Κύντιος, ὃς ἐν μόναϊς τρισὶ καὶ δέκα
 ἡμέραις, κατευνασθεύσας τῆς στάσεως, ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν. τῷ
 δὲ ἑβδομηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτῷ, τῶν Τυρρηνῶν
 ταραττόντων τὰ πράγματα, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου ἀνηγο-
 ρεύθη δικτάτωρ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος· μεθ' ὃν Πούπλιος, ὃς ἐν ἑξ
 καὶ δέκα μόναϊς ἡμέραις τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς διοικήσας
 πόλεμον ἀπέθετο. αὐθις δέ, τοῦ δήμου προστησαμένου χιλίαρχους
 καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνθισταμένης, ἀνηγορεύθη δικτάτωρ Κόϊντος,
 ὃς ἐν ὀκτῷ ἡμέραις διαλλάξας τὴν πόλιν ἀπεπαύσατο· μεθ' ὃν
 Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Κόσσο· μεθ' ὃν Τίτος Κύντιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ
 ἑκατοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἔκτου τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτοῦ, τρίτης καὶ
 ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνισταμένης, ἀναρχος ἡ πόλις διετέλει
 ἐπὶ πενταετῇ χρόνον. αὐθις δὲ προαχθέντων ὑπάτων, προεβλήθη-
 σαν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀγορανόμοι τέσσαρες καὶ ταμίαι δύο καὶ
 f 49^r πραιῖτωρ, | οἷον εἰ στρατηγός, <καὶ> ληγᾶτοι, οἷον εἰ ὑποστράτηγοι,
 καὶ δυοκαίδεκα χιλίαρχοι διὰ τὸ προσδοκᾶσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
 Μακεδόνα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύειν. ταραχθέντες δὲ οἱ Ῥω-
 μαῖοι Παπίριον μὲν Κούρσωρα στρατηγὸν ἀπαντῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 30

4 ὃ γε μὴν P₂ f b w o γεμην P ὅτε μὴν (v in rasura) A *custos urbis* f b w
 CaSubis P *edsu:bis* A 5 ὡς ἂν εἰ by ὡσανεῖ P ὡσανεῖ P₂ f b w 7 Αὔλος
 f b w ἰλός sequentes litteras in rasura (fuerat γαιον ιουλιον) P 8 Κόϊντον b w
 κοῖνθον P κοῖνθον P₂ Κόϊνθον f 9 δικτατοῦραν f b w δικτατοῦραν P 11 πα-
 λινστατουῦντος b πάλιν στατουῦντος P πάλιν στατουῦντος f fort. leg. πάλιν στρατεύον-
 τος f πάλιν στατεύοντος f¹ 20 πάλιν ἀστατουῦντος w 16 τὸ μέγεθος b w του
 μεγέθους P τοῦ μεγέθους P₂ f 17 μεθ' ὃν f b w μεσον P μέσον P₂ 20 Κόϊντος b w
 κοῖνθος P Κόϊνθος f 22 Τίτος w τίτος P omis. f b ἐπὶ P₂ ἐπει P ἀπό f b w
 23 ἑκατοστοῦ P₂ f b w ἑκαστου (to postea additum super α) P 26 πατρικίων
 f b w πατριων P πατρίων P₂ πατριῶν A 27 <καὶ> w ληγᾶτοι w ληγάτοι P f b
 κτάτοι A 29 Μακεδόνα A f b w μακίδονα P μακεδόνα P₂

twenty-third year of the consuls matters of rule were divided into three parts: the consuls, the prefect of the city, and the plebs; and the consuls managed wars, but the plebs served as soldiers; the prefect, however, protected the city and was called *custos urbis*, “guardian of the city,” as it were. In the twenty-eighth year of the consuls, when the plebs and the senate were at variance, Aulus Sempronius was designated *dictator*, who, after appointing Gaius Julius from the senate and Quintus Fabius from the plebeian assembly as consuls, laid aside the *dictatura*. Again, in the forty-eighth year of the consuls, Gaius Mamercus was appointed *dictator*. However, when the plebs were again factious, three tribunes were appointed. Because they were disturbing the republic, Titus Quintius was declared *dictator*, who, after the discord had been quelled in only thirteen days, laid aside the magistracy. In the seventy-fourth year of the consuls, when the Tyrrhenians were troubling the republic, Marcus Aemilius was declared *dictator* on account of the magnitude of that conflict. After him Publius was appointed, who, after managing the war against the Tyrrhenians in only sixteen days, resigned. Again, when the plebs had appointed tribunes and the senate opposed them, Quintus was declared *dictator*, who, after reconciling the city in eight days, resigned; after him Publius Cornelius Cossus was appointed, after whom Titus Quintius. In the hundred and thirty-sixth year of the consuls, when the hundred and third Olympiad began, the city was in a state of anarchy for a period of five years. When consuls had again been elevated, there were appointed from the ranks of the *patricii* four aediles, two quaestors, a *praetor*, that is, “general,” *legati*, namely, “lieutenant-generals,” and twelve military tribunes on account of the fact that Alexander the Macedonian was being expected to wage war against the Romans. Because they had become terrified, the Romans voted Papirius Cursor general to encounter Alexander but also appointed augurs and

ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ προεβάλλοντο οἰωνοσκοποὺς καὶ ἱεροφάντας·
 σαφῆς δὲ προσδοκία ἥτης τοῖς ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου πρὸς λιτὰς
 καταφεύγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ ἐξηκοστοῦ καὶ διακοσιο-
 στοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ πραίτωρ ἕτερος προεχειρίσθη, ὁ λεγόμενος οὐρβα-
 νός, ἀντὶ τοῦ πολιτικός, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος περεγρῖνος, οἷον εἰ 5
 ξενοδίκης. τοῦ δὲ δήμου εἰς μέρη μὲν τέσσαρα, εἰς πέντε δὲ καὶ
 τριάκοντα φυλὰς διηρημένου, τοῖς μνημονευθεῖσι τρεῖς ἕτεροι
 προσετέθησαν πραίτωρες. τῷ δὲ ἐνενηκοστῷ <καὶ διακοσιοστῷ>
 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτῷ, Ἀννίβου ἐνσκήψαντος τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, διὰ τὸν
 ὄγκον τοῦ πολέμου οὐ μόνον δικτάτωρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιδικτάτωρ, 10
 ἱππάρχης τε καὶ ἀντιπάρχης προεχειρίσθησαν, ὥστε θάτερον
 τῇ θατέρου γνώμῃ ἐπόμενον μὴ ἐκ μονήρους αὐθεντίας βλάβην
 ἐπενεγκεῖν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. τούτων καὶ μόνων τῶν δικτατῶρων, ἡ τοι
 μεσοβασιλέων, μνήμην ἀναφέρει ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία. μετὰ δὲ
 τούτους Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, κατὰ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Πομ- 15
 πηίου τὸν ὀλέθριον τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναζωσάμενος πόλεμον,
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μόναρχον ἀπέδειξεν, Λεπίδῳ ἱππάρχῃ χρησάμενος.

ΚΗΝCOΥΡΑ

<39> Ὁ δῆμος ἀνέκαθεν καὶ σύμπαν ἀπλῶς τὸ πολίτευμα
 ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξιόντων· 20
 καὶ πάντες ἀπέτρεφον ἑαυτοὺς. ἐδέησε τοίνυν Ῥωμαίοις προβα-
 λέσθαι τοὺς λεγομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς κήνσωρας, οἱ τὰς τῶν πο-
 λιτῶν οὐσίας ἀπεγράφοντο διὰ τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ· οὐπω γάρ, ὥς νῦν,
 f 49^v τὸ δημόσιον/ἐχορήγει δαπάνας τοῖς στρατιώταις, οἳ αὐκ ὄντων
 αὐτοῖς τέως ὑποτελῶν. ὄθεν τοὺς κήνσωρας Ἑλλήνες τιμητὰς 25
 καθ' ἐρμηνείαν ἐκάλεσαν.

<40> Τότε Τιτίνιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος κωμικός μῦθον ἐπεδείξατο ἐν
 τῇ Ῥώμῃ. ὁ δὲ μῦθος τέμνεται εἰς δύο, <εἰς τραγωδίαν καὶ κω-
 μωδίαν· ὧν ἡ τραγωδία καὶ αὐτὴ τέμνεται εἰς δύο>, εἰς κρηπι-

2 ἥτης f b ἥτας P ἥτας P₂ w 5 περεγρῖνος P₂ (corr. in margine) f b w
 περεγρηνος P 6 ξενοδίκης by ξενοδοκῆς P ξενοδόκης P₂ f b w 8 πραίτωρες f b
 πραίτορες P w <καὶ διακοσιοστῷ> f¹ 21 w 10 δικτάτωρ f b w δικτάτορα P ἀντι-
 δικτάτωρ f b w ἀντιδικτάτορα P 11 ἀντιπάρχης f b w ἀντιπαρχῆς P ἀντιπ-
 άρχης P₂ 12 τῇ f b w τῇ P τῇ P₂ 13 δικτατῶρων f b δικτατορων P δι-
 κατῶρων P₂ w 21 ἀπέτρεφον f b w ἀπεστρεφον P ἀπέστρεφον P₂ A 22 κήνσω-
 ρας P f b κήνσορας w 24 δαπάνας post πολέμῳ in precedente versu transponunt
 f b w οἳ P₂ f b w οἳ P ὅρα A ὄντων f b w ὄντος P ὄντος P₂ 25 κήνσωρας
 P f b κήνσορας w 27 Τότε Τιτίνιος w τότε Τιμίος P τότε Τιμίος A Τότε Τίνιος
 f b fort. leg. Τότε Τιτίνιος f 28 <εἰς τραγωδίαν καὶ κωμωδίαν· ὧν ἡ τραγωδία καὶ
 αὐτὴ τέμνεται εἰς δύο> w 29 κρηπιδᾶταν w κρηπιδῶτην P κρηπιδῶτην P₂ κρη-
 πιδᾶταν f b

pontiffs; those who in a time of war have recourse to prayers clearly expect defeat. In the two hundred and sixty-third year another *praetor* was appointed, who was called *urbanus*, namely, "over citizens' affairs," as well as one who was called *peregrinus*, that is, "judge over resident foreigners' affairs"; but, when the people had been divided into four classes and into thirty-five tribes, another three *praetores* were added to the aforementioned ones. In the two hundred and ninetieth year of the consuls, when Hannibal had swooped into Italy, on account of the massiveness of the war not only a *dictator* but even a deputy dictator, a cavalry commander and also a deputy cavalry commander, were appointed, so that the one, by following the judgment of the other, might not from a solitary authority bring about harm to the state. Roman history mentions these, and only these, *dictatores*, or "interim regents." After them, however, Gaius Julius Caesar, when he had undertaken against the senate and Pompey a war which was disastrous to the republic, proclaimed himself sole ruler, having employed Lepidus as cavalry commander.

[11. *Sixth Institution:*] *the* CENSURA

39. From the beginning the people, namely, the entire body of citizens, in a word, served as soldiers; even the priests themselves used to go out against the enemy; and all used to support themselves. It became necessary, therefore, for the Romans to appoint those styled by them *censores*, who registered the property of the citizens because of the needs in time of war, inasmuch as the public treasury was not yet granting rations to the soldiers, as it does now, because up to that time the Romans did not have tribute-paying subjects. For this reason the Greeks called the *censores* by way of translation *timetai*.

40. At that time Titinius, the Roman comic poet, presented a play in Rome. A play is divided into two types: into tragedy and comedy, of which tragedy itself also is divided into two types: into *crepidata* and

δᾶταν καὶ πραιτεξῆταν· ὧν ἡ μὲν κρηπιδᾶτα Ἑλληνικὰς ἔχει
 ὑποθέσεις, ἡ δὲ πραιτεξῆτατα Ῥωμαϊκὰς· ἡ μὲντοι κωμῳδία τέ-
 μνεται εἰς ἑπτὰ· εἰς παλλιᾶταν, τογᾶταν, Ατελλάνην, ταβερναρίαν,
 Ῥινθωνικήν, πλανιπεδαρίαν καὶ μιμικήν· καὶ παλλιᾶτα μὲν ἐστὶν
 ἡ Ἑλληνικήν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσα κωμῳδία, τογᾶτα δὲ ἡ Ῥωμαϊκήν, 5
 ἀρχαίαν· Ατελλάνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ἐξοδιαρίων· τα-
 βερναρία δὲ ἡ σκηνωτὴ ἡ θεατρικὴ κωμῳδία· Ῥινθωνικὴ ἡ ἐξω-
 τικὴ· πλανιπεδαρία ἡ καταστολαρία· μιμικὴ ἡ νῦν δῆθεν μόνη
 σφωζομένη, τεχνικὸν μὲν ἔχουσα οὐδέν, ἀλόγῳ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος
 ἐπάγουσα γέλῳτι.

10

〈41〉 Ὅτι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον οἶμαι ἐμβραδῦναι τῷ λόγῳ, προσθήσω
 καὶ τοῦτο. Ῥίνθωνα καὶ Σκίραν καὶ Βλαῖσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 τῶν Πυθαγόρων ἴσμεν οὐ μικρῶν διδαγμάτων ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλ-
 λάδος γενέσθαι καθηγητάς, καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν Ῥίνθωνα, ὃς
 ἐξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρῶτος κωμῳδίαν· ἐξ οὗ πρῶτος λαβὼν τὰς 15
 ἀφορμὰς Λουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἡρωϊκοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκωμώδησεν.
 μεθ' ὃν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι σατυρικοὺς,
 οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος χαρακτῆρα ζηλώσαντες
 τοῖς μὲν Ῥίνθωνος μέτροις, τοῖς δὲ τῶν μνημονευθέντων διασυρ-
 μοῖς χρησάμενοι, τὴν σατυρικὴν ἐκράτουν κωμῳδίαν. Ὅρατιος 20
 μὲν οὐκ ἐξω τῆς τέχνης χωρῶν, Πέρσιος δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν Σώ-
 φρονα μιμήσασθαι θέλων τὸ Λυκόφρονος παρῆλθεν ἀμαυρόν.
 Τοῦρνος δὲ καὶ Ἰουβενάλιος καὶ Πετρώνιος, αὐτόθεν ταῖς λοι-
 f 50^r ποῖαις ἐπεξελθόντες, τὸν σατυρικὸν νόμον παρέτρωσαν.

〈42〉 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας τε καὶ τρα- 25
 γωδίας. τῆς δὲ Τύχης τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ὕψος ἀναφερούσης, ἡκο-
 λούθησεν εἰκότως καὶ πταίσματα, καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσωτία, ὥστε

1 πραιτεξῆταν w πρετεξαντα P πρετέξαντα P₂ πραιτεξῆτᾶταν f b κρηπιδᾶτα
 w κρηπιδῶτη P κρηπιδῶτη P₂ κρηπιδᾶτα f b 2 πραιτεξῆτα w πρετέξατα P
 πραιτεξῆτα f b 3 παλλιᾶταν w παλλιᾶταν P παλλιᾶταν P₂ παλιᾶταν f παλ-
 λιᾶταν b τογᾶταν w τογατᾶν P τογάταν f b Ατελλάνην b w αντελλάνη-P άντελ-
 λάνη (alterum λ additum videtur) A ἀτελλάνην f 4 παλλιᾶτα w παλλιᾶτᾶ P
 παλιᾶτα f παλλιᾶτα b 5 τογᾶτα w τογαταν P τογατᾶν P₂ τογάτα f b 6
 Ατελλάνην b w ἀτελ|λάνη P ἀτελλάνην f 9 οὐδέν, ἀλόγῳ w οὐθὲνα λόγῳ P οὐθὲνα
 λόγῳ P₂ οὐδέν, λόγῳ f b 10 -γουσα γέλῳτι deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 12 Σκί-
 ραν w ασκηραν P άσκηραν P₂ Άσκήραν f Ασκήραν b Βλαῖσον w βλεσον P
 Κλέσον A Βλέσον f b 13 Πυθαγόρων b πυθαγόρων P Πυθαγορείων f μυθη-
 γόρων w 15 πρώτος P₂ A f b πρώτως P πρώτως w 24 ἐπεξελθόντες A f b w
 ἐπεξελθόντος P ἐπεξελθόντος P₂ παρέτρωσαν deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 26 ab
 τῆς paragraphum ordiuntur f b

praetextata, of which the *crepidata* has Greek plots, while the *praetextata* has Roman plots. Comedy, however, is divided into seven types: into *palliata*, *togata*, *Atellana*, *tabernaria*, *Rhinthonica*, *planipedaria*, and miming. *Palliata* is a comedy which has a Greek plot, while *togata* is one which has a Roman plot of the ancient type. *Atellana* is that of the so-called *exodiarii*. *Tabernaria* is one that has scenery or is designed for its spectacle. *Rhinthonica* is one that has foreign flavor. *Planipedaria* is one that is named after the dress worn. Miming is the only one that is obviously being preserved nowadays; though it has nothing artful, it attracts the common people only by irrational laughter.

41. Because I consider it necessary to dwell on the subject, I shall add also the following. We know that Rhinthon, Sciras, Blaesus, and the others of the sort like Pythagoras had been teachers of no insignificant precepts in "Great Greece," and especially Rhinthon, who was the first to write comedy in hexameters. Lucilius the Roman took his start from him and became the first to write comedies in heroic verse. After him and those who came after him, whom the Romans call *saturici*, the later poets, because they had emulated the style of Cratinus and Eupolis and had used Rhinthon's meters and the caustic railleries of those mentioned above, strengthened the satiric comedy. Horace did not deviate from the art, but Persius in his desire to imitate the poet Sophron surpassed Lycophron's obscurity. Turnus, Juvenal, and Petronius, however, because they had capriciously made abusive attacks, marred the satiric norm.

42. And so much concerning both ancient comedy and tragedy. As Fortune, however, was raising the affairs of the Romans to prominence, naturally faults, too, followed, and particularly dissolute living, so that

μετὰ τὸν δυοδεκάδελτον καὶ τὸν περὶ ἀσωτίας νόμον, παρὰ Κοριν-
θίων πάλαι τεθέντα, γράψαι Ῥωμαίους· τίτλος δέ, ἥτοι προγραφῇ,
τῷ νόμῳ De Nepotibus, οἷον εἰ (Περὶ Ἀσώτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ διπλῇ)
ἡ σημασία τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐστὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις (νέπωτας
γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσιν), 5
ἤρρεσεν ἐμοὶ διὰ βραχέων τὴν διαφορὰν εἰπεῖν. νέπως, ὁ νέος
παῖς ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς ἐτυμολογίας, ὁ ἐγγονος λέγεται καὶ καλῶς
ὁ Φιλόξενος εἶπεν· nepos δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄσωτος, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ τροπι-
κῶς. καὶ κατὰ θεωρίαν τάχα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι παραχωρητέον ὅτι τὸν
σκορπίον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πατριῶς νέπαν καλοῦσιν, οἷον εἰ ἄποδα 10
κατὰ στέρησιν (τὴν γὰρ ‘νε’ συλλαβὴν στερητικῷ τρόπῳ λαμβά-
νουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὥπερ Ἕλληνες νήλιπος, νήχυτος, νήγρετος,
νήδυμος) ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν συμβαίνοντος τῷ θηρίῳ. ὡς σαύρα
γὰρ χειμῶνος καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκότως ὁ σκορπίος τῇ γῇ, καθάπερ καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐρπετῶν, ὑπονεκρωθεὶς κεῖται, μηδὲν ἕτερον παρ’ 15
αὐτὴν ἐσθίων. ἡνίκα οὖν πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐδώδιμον γῆν
ἑαυτῷ δαπανήσῃ, τῶν ιδίων καθάπτεται πλεκτανῶν καὶ πάσας
αὐτὰς ἀνειαισθῆτως καταναλίσκει. ἥρος δὲ ἀνακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς φῶς νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως, ἀναποδοῦται καὶ πρὸς
καλαμίνθην τὸ φυτὸν ἐρχόμενος μόνῃ τῇ ἀφῇ τῆς βοτάνης ἀνα- 20
λαμβάνει τὸ δριμύ καὶ στεγανοῦται, καθάπερ ὄφις τῇ μαράθῳ·
ὅθεν καὶ νέπεταν τὴν καλαμίνθην Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ταύτη
σκορπιστὰς νέπωτας ἀποκαλοῦσιν αὐτοί, οἷα τῶν ιδίων μελῶν
διαφθορεῖς.

f 50^v <43> | Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα παρατραπείς τοῦ σκοποῦ εἵποισι’ ἂν 25
περὶ τούτου. βαρεῖς δὲ τινες καὶ ἀναιδεῖς ἀστεμφεῖς τε καὶ σι-

1 τὸν δυοδεκάδελτον f w τῶν δυοδεκαδελτων P τῶν δύοδεκα δέλτων P₂ b τῶν
δυοδεκαδελτων A νόμον f b w μόνον P 2 ἥτοι by ἥτοι P ἥτοι P₂ f b w
3 De Nepotibus by dENEPOTIBUS P de nepotibus f b w (Περὶ Ἀσώτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
διπλῇ) by (περὶ ἀσώτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ διπλῇ) w (ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐχ ἀπλή (vel οὐ μία)) b 4
τούτου ἐστὶ b τουτεστιν P τουτέστι P₂ f τούτου ἐστὶ (sic) w νέπωτας f b w νωπωτας
P νώπωτας P₂ νεπώτας A 6 ὁ νέος P f b w ὁ (οἶονεῖ ?) νέος b 7 καὶ καλῶς
P₂ f καὶ καλῶς P ὡς καλῶς b w 8 nepos w νέρος P νέρω P₂ νέπως A f b
αὐτὸ A w αὐτὸς P αὐτὸς f b 11 ‘νε’ w νε P νε P₂ b νε f τρόπῳ b w τρόπῳ P
τρόπῳ (sic) f 13 ὡς σαύρα γὰρ by ὡς ἀρα γὰρ P σαύρα γὰρ P₂ A f ὥρα γὰρ b w
17 πλεκτανῶν f b w πλεκτανῶν P πλεκτάνων P₂ A 18 ἥρος P₂ A f b w ηρους
P ἀνακαλοῦντος P₂ A f b w ἀνακαλοῦντων P 20 καλαμίνθην f b w καλαμίν-
θην P Καμίνθην (suprascriptum λα) A 22 νέπεταν P f b νεπέταν w καλαμίνθην
f b w καμίνθην P καλαμίνθην P₂ Καλαμίνθην A ταύτη (τούς) w 23 σκορπιστὰς
P b w σκορπίους f νέπωτας w νεώτας P A f b (τούς) ἀσώτους f (τούς) νεπώτας
f¹ 21 νέπωτας mal. b 26 τούτου w τουτου P τούτων f b ab βαρεῖς paragraphum
ordiuntur f b

after the Law of the Twelve Tables the Romans enacted also the law on profligateness, which in time past had been laid down by the Corinthians; the law had as *titulus*, or heading, *De Nepotibus*, that is, "On Profligates." Since, however, the meaning of this word is twofold with the Romans (for they call both grandsons and profligates homonymously *nepotes*), I should like briefly to explain the difference. "Grandson" is rendered *nepos*, "young boy" by Greek etymology, and Philoxenus stated it well; but "spendthrift," too, is rendered *nepos*, which, itself also, is used figuratively. And by way of speculation one must perhaps concede to the Greeks that the Romans in their native language call the scorpion *nepa*, that is to say, "footless," by reason of what it loses (for the Romans take the syllable *ne* in a negative sense, precisely as the Greeks do *nelipos*, *nechytos*, *negretos*, *nedymos*) as a result of what happens to the poisonous animal in the course of nature. For, as a lizard, so naturally also the scorpion itself, just as even the other reptiles, when it has become torpid during the winter, reposes in the earth, eating nothing other than the latter. Now, when it consumes all the earth around itself that is fit to be eaten by it, it attacks its own appendages and devours them all without sensation. When spring, however, calls it forth along with the other reptiles into daylight by nature's law, it grows new feet and, going to the calamint plant, by merely touching its herbage, regains its sting and consolidates itself, just as a snake does by means of the fennel; it is precisely for this reason that the Romans call even calamint *nepeta*. For this reason they term spendthrifts *nepotes*, just as though they were destroyers of their own limbs.

43. I had to digress from my immediate objective and say some such things about the preceding subject. The *censores* were oppressive and

βαροὶ τὸν τρόπον οἱ κήνσωρες τοῖς ἀσώτοις ἐτύγχανον, μὴ τύχης, μὴ ἀξιώματος ἐξαιρουμένου τὸν αἵτιον. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, μάρτυς ἡ ἱστορία· λέγει δὲ ὧδε· ‘πρῶτος Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος κήνσωρ προεβλήθη. ἀρχὴ δὲ ἦν αὕτη τῶν μεγίστων· καὶ ἔργον ἦν αὐτῇ τοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διερευνᾶσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν βίους, τιμωρίας 5 τε ἐπάγειν τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι κατὰ πάσης δυναστείας· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν ἔξω τῆς τοῦ κήνσωρος ἐξουσίας.’ κύριοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ κήνσωρες καὶ ἔργοις κοινοῖς κατακοσμεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΑ

<44> Οὕτως οὖν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐκταραπτόντων τοὺς ὑπηκόους 10 καὶ πικρότερον ἐπεξιόντων τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ διαφερόντως ἀδυσωπῆτως διακειμένων τῶν δανειστῶν περὶ τοὺς χρήστας, ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος δύο δημάρχους ἑαυτῷ, Γάϊον Λικίνιον καὶ Λούκιον Αλβῖνον διαιτήσοντας τῷ πλήθει καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐποπο- 15 μένους. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ δῆμαρχοι μαχαίρας διεζώννυντο, δημοσίους δὲ οἰκέτας πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν εἶχον, οὓς ἐκάλουν βερνάκλους (σημαίνει δὲ τοῦνομα τοὺς οἰκογενεῖς οἰκέτας)· ἐφ’ ὧν τὸ μέτριον ὁ δῆμος ἐκβὰς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς εὐπατριίδας καλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν βαναύσων εἰς δίκην ἐνομοθέτησεν, ὥστε τὸν ὑπάτον πρὸς θερα- 20 πείαν τοῦ πλήθους νόμον ἐνεγκεῖν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι δίχα ψήφου τοῦ δημάρχου τιμωρεῖσθαι πολίτην.

ΔΕΚΑΝΔΡΙΚῆ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ἩΝ ΕΚΆΛΟΥΝ ΙΤΑΛΟὶ ΔΕCΕΜVIRATUM

<45> Εὗτα αὐθις διαφερομένων τῶν λογάδων πρὸς τὸ πλήθος, ψήφῳ κοινῇ τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους ἀπεκίνησαν, δέκα δὲ νομοθέταις 25 τὴν διάσκεψιν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπέτρεψαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐξηκοστοῦ f 51^r ἔτους τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα|ἐνιαυτούς, ποτὲ μὲν χιλιάρχων,

1 κήνσωρες P A f b κήνσορες w post ἐτύγχανον aliquid erasum A 3 ὧδε P₂ A ὧδε P οὕτως f b omis. w 4 αὕτη P₂ f b w αὕτη P αὐτῇ w αὕτη P αὐτοῖς f b 7 κήνσωρος P₂ A f b κήνσορος P w κήνσωρες A f b κήνσορες P w 14 ἀγορὰν f b w ἀγορὰν ἂν P ἂν del. P₂ f b w 15 μαχαίρας f b w μαχαιραις P μαχαίραις P₂ 22 ΔΕΚΑΝΔΡΙΚῆ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ἩΝ ΕΚΆΛΟΥΝ ΙΤΑΛΟὶ ΨΕCΕΠCΙΠΑΤUM P f del. b w omis. A 27 πεντήκοντα f b w πεντηκὼν P

ruthless men, unflinching and also stern in manner towards profligates; neither fortune nor office excused the guilty. That this is true, history attests; it says thus.

Appius Claudius was the first to be appointed *censor*. This magistracy was one of the greatest; and it had the task of both investigating and judging the lives of the citizens, and also of imposing with total exercise of power punishments upon the wrongdoers; and no one was outside the authority of the *censor*.

The *censores*, however, had the authority even to adorn the city with public works.

[12. *Seventh Institution:*] *Tribunate*

44. Thus, then, since the censors were thoroughly terrifying the subjects and were prosecuting the citizens rather harshly, and since the money-lenders were conducting themselves particularly inexorably towards debtors, the plebs appointed for itself two tribunes, Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus, who were to arbitrate for the plebeians and to supervise the marketplace. The tribunes, however, girded themselves with swords and had public slaves, who were called *vernaculi* (the word means "homeborn slaves"), to render service to them. During their time the plebs, having overstepped moderation, legislated that even the patricians themselves be summoned to trial by laborers, so that the consul, to gratify the plebeians, produced a law that the magistrates not be permitted to punish a citizen without the vote of the tribune.

{*Decemviral Power which the Italians called* DECEMVIRATUS}

45. Then, the patricians being again at variance with the plebeians, by a joint decree they removed the consuls and turned over the care of the republic to ten legislators. However, from the sixtieth year of the consuls the affairs of state were turbulent for fifty years because at one time

ποτὲ δὲ μεσοβασιλέων προβαλλομένων, ἐθορυβεῖτο τὰ πράγματα. τότε σιτηρέσιον τὸ δημόσιον πρῶτως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιδέδωκεν ὠρισμένον, τὸ πρὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀποτρέφουσιν ἐν πολέμῳ. ἔνθεν ἀναρχίαν ἐδυστύχησε τὸ πολίτευμα ἐπὶ πενταετῇ χρόνον· καὶ πάλιν ὑπατοὶ, εἶτα ἀγορανόμοι τέσσαρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ταμίαι δύο καὶ πραίτωρ ἕτερος· καὶ πάλιν ὁ δῆμος προεχειρίσατο πέντε μὲν οἰωνοσκόπους, τέσσαρας δὲ ἱεροφάντας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ ἐξηκοστοῦ καὶ διακοσιοστοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἕτους ἕτερος προεβλήθη πραίτωρ, ὥστε τοῖς ξένοις διαιτᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ πραίτωρες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐχ ὑπερέβαινον. ἄχρι δὲ Καίσαρος ὑπατοὶ μὲν τὰ τῶν πολέμων, τὰ δὲ κατ' οἶκον οἱ πολιτικοὶ διώκησαν ἄρχοντες.

**ΠΟΤΕ ΕΠΕΔΟΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙΣ ΤΑ
ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ ΚΑΠΙΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙ ΤΟ
ΚΑΠΙΤΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ**

15

〈46〉 Τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐξηκοστῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ τῆς πόλεως ἔτει, Λουκίου Γενουκίου καὶ Κοῖντου Σερβιλίου ὑπάτων, πολεμούντων Βηίοις τοῖς γείτοσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀνάγκη γέγονε μὴ διαθερίσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ διαχειμάσαι αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. τότε πρῶτον διωρίσθη τοῖς στρατιώταις παρασχεῖν τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἵππου δαπάνης τὰ λεγόμενα κάπιτα (οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ ράβδων κοφίνους ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κάπερε, οἶον εἰ χωρεῖν), ἔνθεν ὑποκοριστικῶς τὰ λεγόμενα καπίτουλα πατριῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὀνομάζουσιν. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἀνέκαθεν στρατευομένου παντός, συνεῖδον ὠρισμένην καὶ εὐτρεπῇ συστήσασθαι βοήθειαν· σπεύρας μὲν ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ἀσπιδιωτῶν, ἃς καλοῦσι

1 προβαλλομένων P₂ A f b w προσβαλλομένων P 2 πρῶτως w πρῶτος P
πρῶτος P₂ πρῶτον f b 7 τέσσαρας P₂ A f b w τεσσαρες P 10 πραίτωρες P A f b
πραίτορες w 11 μὲν τὰ τῶν πολέμων f b μῆτων πολέμων P μετῆρχοντο τὰ τῶν
πολέμων P₂ μετῆρχοντο τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν A μὲν τὸν πόλεμον w 12 κατ' οἶκον P₂
A f b w καθοικίων P 14 κάπιτα A κάπητα P καπιτὰ f καπητὰ w 15 κάπιτον
P A καπιτὸν f καπητὸν w 17 Κοῖντου b w κοῖνθου P Κοῖνθου f 21 κάπιτα
P A καπιτὰ f b καπητὰ w 22 κάπερε P f b w 23 καπίτουλα w καπιτουλία P
καπιτούλια P₂ f b

military tribunes, at another interim regents were being advanced to office. At that time the public treasury for the first time granted definite rations to the soldiers, whereas formerly they used to support themselves in time of war. Thereafter the government suffered the ill fortune of anarchy for a period of five years. And again consuls were advanced to office, then four aediles from the ranks of the *patricii*, two quaestors, and another *praetor*; and again the plebs appointed five augurs and four pontiffs. In the two hundred and sixty-third year of the consuls, however, another *praetor* was advanced to office so as to arbitrate for the foreigners. The *praetores* did not exceed one year in their magistracy. Down to the time of Caesar, however, the consuls attended to matters pertaining to wars, whereas the civil magistrates handled matters at home.

*When the so-called CAPITA were first granted to the soldiers
and what the word CAPITUM signifies*

46. In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, when the Romans were waging war against Veii, their neighbors, it became necessary for them not only to spend the summer but, in fact, also to pass the winter in the vicinity of the enemy. At that time it was decreed for the first time that the public treasury provide the soldiers also with the so-called *capita* for the expense of a horse (thus they called baskets made of twigs, derived from *capere*, that is, "to contain"), whence the Romans in their native language by a diminutive form speak of *capitula*, as they are called. However, since the entire populace from the beginning served as soldiers, they decided to set up a definite, action-ready military force: units of three hundred shield-bearers, which they call *cohortes*, and *alae*,

κοόρτης, ἄλας δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱλας, ἀπὸ ἐξακοσίων ἱππέων, βηξιλλατίωνας ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων <ἱππέων, τούρμας ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων> τοξοτῶν ἱππέων, καὶ λεγιῶνας ἀπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ ῥητῶν ἱππέων. τομαὶ δὲ ταῖς λεγιῶσιν αὐται·

f 51 ^v	ἄλαι ἀπὸ χ ἱππέων	5
	βηξιλλατίωνες ἀπὸ φ ἱππέων	
	τούρμαι ἀπὸ φ τοξοτῶν ἱππέων	
	λεγιῶνες ἀπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων πεζῶν	
	τριβοῦνοι, δῆμαρχοι	
	ὀρδινάριοι, ταξίαρχοι	10
	σιγνιφέροι, σημειοφόροι	
	ὀπτίωνες, αἰρετοὶ ἢ γραμματεῖς	
	βηξιλλάριοι, δορυφόροι	
	μήνσωρες, προμέτραι	
	τουβίκινες, σαλπισταὶ πεζῶν	15
	βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἱππέων	
	κορνίκινες, κεραῦλαι	
	ἀνδαβάται, κατάφρακτοι	
	μητάτωρες, χωρομέτραι	
	ἀρκύτης καὶ σαγιττάριοι, τοξόται καὶ βελοφόροι	20
	πραιτωριανοί, στρατηγικοί	
	λαγκιάριοι, ἀκοντοβόλοι	
	δεκέμπριμοι, δεκάπρωτοι	
	βενεφικιάλιοι, οἱ ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν βετερανῶν τεταγμένοι	
	τορκουᾶτοι, στρεπτοφόροι, οἱ τοὺς μανιάκας φοροῦντες	25
	βραχιᾶτοι, ἢ τοι ἀρμιλλίγεροι, ψελιοφόροι	

1 κοόρτης P f b w ἄλας f b w ἄλλας P ἱλας P₂ f b w εἱλας P βηξιλλατίωνας b w βιξαλλατιωνας P βιξιλλατίωνας f 3 λεγιῶνας f b w λεγειωνας P λεγεῶνας P₂ A 4 λεγιῶσι w λεγεῶσιν P A f b 5 ἄλαι by εἶναι P ἱλαι A f^l 21 σπεῖραι f ἱλαι b Ἄλαι w χ P f χ' b w 6 βηξιλλατίωνες b w βιξελλατίωνες P A βιξιλλατίωνες f 8 λεγιῶνες w λεγεωνες P λεγεῶνες P₂ f b ἐξακισχιλίων A f b w εξαχιλιών P ἐξαχιλίων P₂ 11 σιγνιφέροι by σιγνηφέροι P f b σιγνηφόροι P₂ A σιγνηφέροι w 14 μήνσωρες by μήνσορες P f b w 15 τουβίκινες w τούβικες P f b 16 βουκινάτωρες by βουκινάτορες P f b w 17 κορνίκινες w κορνικες P κόρνικες P₂ f b 18 ἀνδαβάται f^l 21 w ἀνδοβάται P ἀνδοβάται P₂ ἀνδραλλάται A ἀνδραβάται f b leg. ἀνδαβάται f 19 μητάτωρες by μητατορες P μητᾶτορες P₂ f b w 20 ἀρκύτης by αρκυτεις P ἄρκοτεις A ἀρκύτεις f b ἄρκυτες w σαγιττάριοι f b w σαγγιττάριοι P A 23 δεκέμπριμοι A f b δεκεμπριμοι P δεκεμπριμοι w δεκάπρωτοι f b w δεκαπρώτοι P A 24 βετερανῶν f b w μετερανων P μετεράνων P₂ 25 τορκουᾶτοι w τουρκουᾶτοι P f b μανιάκας φοροῦντες f b w μανιακ' φόρρ P 26 ἀρμιλλίγεροι A w ἀρμιλλιγεροι P ἀρμιλλιγέροι f b

namely, “troops,” of six hundred horsemen; *vexillationes* of five hundred horsemen; *turmae* of five hundred archer-horsemen; and *legiones* of six thousand foot soldiers and the same number of horsemen. The *legiones*, however, had the following parts:

alae, of six hundred horsemen

vexillationes, of five hundred horsemen

turmae, of five hundred archer-horsemen

legiones, of six thousand infantrymen

tribuni, “tribunes”

ordinarii, “company commanders”

signiferi, “standard-bearers”

optiones, “chosen men or registrars”

vexillarii, “ensigns”

ensores, “camp-surveyors”

tubicines, “infantry buglers”

bucinatores, “cavalry buglers”

cornicines, “hornblowers”

andabatae, “mailed troops”

metatores, “land-surveyors”

arquites and *sagittarii*, “archers and arrow-bearers”

praetoriani, “praetorians”

lanciarrii, “lance-throwers”

decemprimi, “heads of cavalry troops of ten”

beneficiales, “those who are charged with giving medical aid to the
veterani”

torquati, “torc-wearers,” those who wear necklaces

brachiati or *armilligeri*, “bracelet-wearers”

- ἀρμίγεροι, ὄπλοφόροι
 μουνεράριοι, λειτουργοί
 δηπουτᾶτοι, ἀφωρισμένοι
 ἀύξιλιάριοι, ὑπασπισταί
 κουσπάτωρες, φυλακισταί· κούσπους γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ξυ- 5
 λοπέδας καλοῦσιν, ὥς ἂν εἰ κουστῶδης πέδουμ, οἶον εἰ
 ποδοκάκας καὶ ποδοφύλακας
 f 52^r | ἱμαγινιφέραι, εἰκονοφόροι
 ὀκρεᾶτοι, πεζοὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς κνήμας περιπεφραγμένοι
 ἄρματοῦρα πρίμα, ὄπλομελέτη πρώτη 10
 ἄρματοῦρα σημισσάλια, ὄπλομελέτη μείζων
 ἄστᾶτοι, δορυφόροι
 τεσεράριοι, οἱ τὰ σύμβολα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συμβολῆς τῷ
 πλήθει περιφημίζοντες
 δρακωνάριοι, δρακοντοφόροι 15
 ἀδιούτῳρες, ὑποβοηθοί
 σαμιάριοι, οἱ τῶν ὅπλων στιλπνῶνται
 βαγινάριοι, θηκοποιοί
 ἀρκουάριοι, τοξοποιοί
 πιλάριοι, ἀκοντισταί 20
 βερουτάριοι, δυσκοβόλοι
 φουνδίτῳρες, σφενδονῆται
 βαλλιστάριοι, καταπελτισταί (καταπέλτης δὲ ἐστὶν εἶδος
 ἐλεπόλεως, καλεῖται δὲ τῷ πλήθει ὄναγρος)
 βινεάριοι, τειχομάχοι 25

1 ἀρμίγεροι w αρμιγερροι P deest in A ἀρμιγέρροι f ἀρμιγέρροι b 2 μουνεράριοι f b w μοννευράριοι P μοννευράριοι (o in rasura) A 3 δηπουτᾶτοι w δηπουτατοι P δηπουτάτοι f b 4 ἀύξιλιάριοι b w αυξηλιαριοι P αυξηλιάριοι P₂ f 5 κουσπάτωρες A κουσπατορες P κουσπάτορες P₂ f b w 6 κουστῶδης P f b w κουστωδίας A πέδουμ by πεδῶ P πεδῶν f w ποδῶν b 7 ποδοκάκας P₂ A f b w ποδοκοκας P 8 ἱμαγινιφέραι by ιμαγινιφερης P ιμαγινιφερέρης A ιμαγινιφερέρης f b ιμαγινιφέροι w 9 ὀκρεᾶτοι w οκραιατοι P ὀκρεᾶτοι f b περιπεφραγμένοι f b w περιπεφθραγμένοι P desunt omnia et pro his loc. vac. A 10 ἄρματοῦρα P f b w πρίμα by πρίμα P f b w 11 σημισσάλια b w σσιμισσάλια P σαμινσαλτᾶ A σιμισσάλια f 12 ἄστᾶτοι w ἄστατοι P κουαρτατοι A ἄστᾶτοι f b 13 τεσεράριοι f b w τεσσαράριοι P A συμβολῆς f b w συμβουλῆς P 14 πλήθει P₂ f b w πληθει P πελέκει A 15 δρακωνάριοι by δρακονάριοι P f b w 16 ἀδιούτῳρες by ἀδιούτορες P f b w 19 ἀρκουάριοι f b w ἀρκουάρεις P 20 πιλάριοι b w πηλάριοι P A f 22 φουνδίτῳρες by φουνδάτορες P φουνδίτορες f b w σφενδονῆται f b w σφενδονῆ P σφενδονισταί A 23 καταπέλτης f b w καταπελτῖ P 24 ὄναγρος P f b w ὄνειρος A

armigeri, “arms-bearers”

munerarii, “servants”

deputati, “those appointed for a specific task”

auxiliarii, “auxiliary troops”

cuspatores, “gaolers,” for the Romans call wooden fetters *cuspus*, *custodes pedum*, as it were, that is to say, “foot-binders” and “foot-wardens”

imaginiferi, “image-bearers”

ocreati, “infantrymen whose calves are fortified with iron greaves”

armatura prima, “first arms practice”

armatura semissalis, “advanced arms practice”

hastati, “spearmen”

tesserarii, “those who announce the watchwords to the soldiery at the time of encounter”

draconarii, “bearers of the dragon standard”

adiutores, “adjutants”

samiarii, “the polishers of the arms”

vaginarii, “scabbard-makers”

arcuarii, “bow-makers”

pilarii, “javelin-men”

verutarii, “quoit-throwers”

funditores, “slingers”

ballistarii, “catapult-men” (a catapult is a kind of siege-engine; it is called by the soldiery “wild ass”)

vinearii, “wall-fighters”

πριμοσκουτάριοι, ὑπερασπισταί, οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι πρωτή-
κτωρες

πριμοσαγιττάριοι, τοξόται πρῶτοι

κλιβανάριοι, ὀλοσίδηροι· κηλίβανα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σιδηρᾶ
καλύμματα καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κηλάμινα 5

φλαμμουλάριοι, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τοῦ δόρατος φοινικᾶ ῥάκη
ἐξήρτηντο

ἐξπεδίτοι, εὐζωνοί, γυμνοί, ἔτοιμοι πρὸς μάχην

φερεντάριοι, ἀκροβολισταί

κιρκίτωρες, οἱ περὶ τοὺς μαχομένους περιϊόντες καὶ χορη- 10
γούντες ὄπλα μήπω ἐπιστάμενοι μάχεσθαι

ἀδωράτωρες, βετεράνοί, τείρωνες, περὶ ὧν εἰς πλάτος οἶμαι
δεικτέον.

〈47〉 Ἀδωράτωρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπομάχους καλοῦσιν
(ἀδωρέα γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ τοῦ πολέμου λέγεται δόξα ἀπὸ τῆς 15
ζειᾶς καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ποτε τιμηθέντων αὐτοῖς), βετεράνοὺς

δὲ τοὺς ἐγγεγηρακότας τοῖς ὅπλοις (μάρτυρες Κέλσος τε καὶ
Πάτερνος καὶ Κατιλίνας, οὐχ ὁ συνωμότης ἀλλ' ἕτερος, Κάτων
〈τε〉 πρὸ αὐτῶν ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Φροντίνος, μεθ' οὗς καὶ Ῥενᾶτος,

f 52^v Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες· Ἑλλήνων δὲ Αἰλιανὸς καὶ Ἀρριανὸς, Αἰνείας, 20

᾽Ονήσανδρος, Πάτρων, Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Πολιορκητικοῖς,
μεθ' οὗς Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς Μηχανικοῖς, ὧν ὁ Φρον-

τίνος ἐν τῷ De Officio Militari, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Στρα-
τηγίας, μνήμην ποιεῖται, καὶ Κλαυδιανὸς δὲ οὗτος, ὁ Παφλαγών,
ὁ ποιητῆς, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Στιλικῶνος Ἐγκωμίων), τείρωνας 25

1 πρωτήκτωρες by προτιχοκτορες P προτίκτορες A f b w 3 πριμοσαγιττάριοι
f b w πριμοσαγιττάριοι P A 5 κηλάμινα f b w κηλ[. . .]να P καλαμήνα A 6
φλαμμουλάριοι w φλαμουλάριοι P A f b φοινικᾶ b w φοῖνικα P φοινικᾶ P₂ f
8 ἐξπεδίτοι w εξπεδιτοι P εξπέδιτοι P₂ ἐξπέδιτοι A ἐξπεδίτοι f b εὐζωνοί P₂ f b w
ευζωνοί P μάχην f b w μά P 9 φερεντάριοι f b w φερεντάρριοι P φερενταρά-
ριοι P₂ 10 κιρκίτωρες by κιρκιτορες P κιρκίτορες P₂ f b w κιρκήτορες A 12
ἀδωράτωρες by αδωρατορες P ἀδωράτορες P₂ f b w fort. scrib. ἀδωρεάτορες f¹ 22
βετεράνοι f b w βετεράνοι P A τείρωνες by τρωνες P τήρωνες P₂ A τίρωνες f b
w 14 Ἀδωράτωρας w αδωρατορας P ἀδωράτορας P₂ Ἀδωράτορας f Ἀδωράτο-
ρας b 16 ζειᾶς w ζειας P ζείας f b βετεράνοὺς f b w βετεριανοὺς P 17 ἐγ-
γεγηρακότας f b w ενεγεγηρακότας P εγγεγηρακότας P₂ 19 〈τε〉 w Ῥενᾶτος
w ρενατος P Ῥενᾶτος f Ῥενᾶτος b 21 ᾽Ονήσανδρος w ὀνήσανδρος P ὀνή-
σανδρος A Ὀνήσανδρος f ᾽Ονόσανδρος b 22 Μηχανικοῖς f b μηχανικοῖς P w
Φροντίνος f b w φροντινος P Φροντινὸς A 23 De Officio Militari by dEOFI[FOCI]A TI
P de Officiati f fort. leg. de Officio Legati f de officati b de offici(o leg)ati
w -icio legati desunt et pro his loc. vac. A 24 Παφλαγών b w παμφλάγων P
παφλαγών P₂ Παφλαγών A f 25 τῶν Στιλικῶνος f b w τῶν στιλικωνος P τῷ
ινστιλικωνῶς P₂ A τείρωνας P A τίρωνας f b w

primoscutarii, “defenders,” who are now called *protectores*
primosagittarii, “first archers”
clibanarii, “those who wear coats of mail,” for the Romans call iron coverings *celibana*, namely, *celamina*
flammularii, “those at the end of whose spear scarlet banners were suspended”
expediti, “well-girt, lightly clad, ready for battle”
ferentarii, “skirmishers”
circitores, “those who go about the fighters and give them arms since they themselves do not yet know how to fight”
adoratores, *veterani*, *tirones*, about whom, I believe, I must explain in detail

47. The Romans call the honorably retired soldiers *adoratores* (for glory gained in war is rendered in their language *adorea*, derived from the spelt and the honor given to those who formerly were revered by them); but they call those who have grown old in arms *veterani* (attestors are both Celsus and Paternus, and Catiline, not the conspirator but another, and the first Cato before them, and Frontinus, after whom also Renatus – all Romans; and of the Greek writers, Aelian and Arrian, Aeneas, Onesander, Patro, Apollodorus in his *Siege Engines*, after whom Julian the emperor in his *Military Engines* – of which Frontinus makes mention in his work *De Officio Militari*, namely, “On the Office of General” – and also the celebrated Claudian, that “Paphlagonian,” the poet, in the first of his *Panegyrics on Stilicho*); and they call the lowly *tirones*, such as

δὲ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς, ὁποίους εἶναι συμβαίνει καθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 λεγομένους Τριβαλλοὺς· οὕτως δὲ τοὺς Βέσσους Ἀρριανὸς ἐν
 τοῖς Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου προσηγόρευσεν. διὰ γὰρ πενίαν καὶ μόνην
 διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ λεγόμενοι τείρωνες εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν
 ἀληθῶς στρατευομένων, οὐ μὴν ἄξιοι τέως στρατιῶται καλεῖσθαι 5
 ἢ ὅλως ἐν ἀριθμῷ τέως τετάχθαι διὰ δὴ τὸ πτωχὸν τῆς τύχης
 καὶ ἄπειρον τῆς μάχης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐφετὸν ἦν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος εἰ
 μὴ γε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἀγωνίσασθαι. Διδώρος γ' οὖν ἐν δευτέρᾳ
 Βιβλιοθηκῶν φησι Σόλωνα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μαθόντα νόμον Ἀθη-
 ναίοις γράψαι τοιοῦτον, ὥστε εἰς τρεῖς μοῖρας τὴν πολιτείαν 10
 διατάττεσθαι· εἰς εὐπατρίδας, οἱ περὶ σοφίαν καὶ λόγους ἐσχό-
 λαζον, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν γεωργικὴν ἅμα καὶ πρόμαχον, τρίτην
 τὴν βάνανσον καὶ τεχνουργόν· τὴν δὲ μετὰ ταύτας ἄτιμον, ἐξ
 ἧς οἱ δῆθεν χρειωδέστεροι ἐν τοῖς γεωργικοῖς ἅμα καὶ μαχίμοις
 προσήδρευον, δουλεύοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ γεωργεῖν 15
 διδασκόμενοι· τούτους Ἰταλοὶ τείρωνας ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τείρεσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐν τῷ δουλεύειν. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐν
 ἅπασιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ζηλώσαντες οὕτως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν δῆμον
 διέθηκαν. ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τρίβους τὰς φυλὰς ἐπωνόμασαν ἐκ
 τῆς εἰς τρεῖς μοῖρας τῆς πολιτείας διανομῆς. 20

〈48〉 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ προσθήκης ἐτάχθησαν, ὥς τινες τῶν
 ἱστορικῶν φασιν, ὑπὸ Μαρίου τοῦ ὕστερον τυραννήσαντος, οἱ
 δὲ ἀνέκαθεν τῷ ἱπάρχῳ ἐπόμενοι προμῶται καθ' ὁμαλοῦ προ-
 ηγορεύθησαν, συνεστῶτες εἰς τάγματα τέσσαρα· βιάρχους, δου-
 κηναρίους, κεντουρίωνας, |〈κεντηναρίους〉 . . . 25

f 53^r . . . 〈ἐκ τούτων〉|μὲν πάντων δέκα μὲν δήμαρχοι, δύο δὲ
 ὕπατοι καὶ 〈δέκα καὶ〉 ὀκτὼ πραίτωρες καὶ ἐξ ἀγορανόμοι ἐπὶ

2 οὕτως P f b w Βέσσους w βέσους P Κέσους A Βέσους f b Ἀρριανὸς ἐν
 A b w αρριανῶθεν P ἄρριανὸς ἐν P₂ Ἀρρίανδς ἐν f 3 προσηγόρευσεν by προηγό-
 ρευσεν P προσηγόρευσε f b w 4 διδόασιν by διδω[σιν] P διδω[σιν] P₂ διδοῦσιν
 f b w τείρωνες P A τίρωνες f b w ὑπηρεσίαν P₂ f b ὑπηρεσίαν P ὑπερησίαν (sic) w
 6 τέως P₂ f w τεως P del. b δὴ by δε P δὲ P₂ τε f w del. b 7 ἐφετὸν w
 ἐφίτδν P ἐφίτδν f b leg. ἐφετὸν aut ἐφικτὸν f¹ 20 θεμιτὸν mal. b 8 γ' οὖν by γουν
 P γοῦν f b w 16 τείρωνας P w τίρωνας f b 18 οὕτως P οὕτω f b w 19
 τρίβους f b w τριβούς P 23 ἀνέκαθεν f b w ἀνέθηκαν P προμῶται P₂ f b w
 προμῶται P καθ' ὁμαλοῦ P₂ f b w καθομαλοῦ P προσηγορεύθησαν f b w προηγο-
 ρευθησαν P προηγορεύθησαν P₂ προ(σ deest et pro hoc loc. vac.) ηγορεύθησαν A
 24 δουκηναρίους P A f b δουκίναρίους w 25 κεντουρίωνας b w κεντουρίονας P
 κεντυρίονας P₂ A κεντυρίωνας f 〈κεντηναρίους〉 by 〈κεντιναρίους〉 w 26 〈ἐκ
 τούτων〉 w 27 〈δέκα καὶ〉 by πραίτωρες f b πραιτορες P πραιτορες w

happen in our day to be the so-called Triballians; thus Arrian called the Bessians in his work *On Alexander*. For on account of poverty, and only that, the so-called *tirones* give themselves for service to those who are truly soldiers because they are not, in fact, worthy up to this point to be called soldiers or to have been stationed at all up to this point in any military register, manifestly on account of the beggarliness of their station in life and inexperience in fighting; for no one was permitted to fight for the fatherland except, that is, the patricians. Diodorus, in fact, in Book II of his *Libraries* says that Solon enacted for the Athenians a law which he had learned in Egypt to the effect that their state be drawn up into three classes: into patricians, who had leisure for wisdom and learning; the second, that of both farmers and warriors; and the third, that of artisans and industrials. The class after these, however, was excluded from civic rights, of which [class] those who were manifestly the more useful waited upon both those skilled in farming and those fit for battle, serving them and being taught fighting and farming. These the Italians called *tirones* from *teiresthai* and *talaiporein* while serving. For, since the Romans had emulated the Athenians in all things, they also themselves classified their people in this way. For it is precisely for this reason that they termed also their tribes *tribus*, from the division of their state into three classes.

48. These, too, were enrolled by way of addition, as some of the historians say, by Marius, who later became a tyrant, but those who from the beginning accompanied the cavalry commander were uniformly termed *promotae* and were organized into four orders: *biarchi*, *ducenarii*, *centuriones*, *centenarii* . . .

[13. *Eighth Institution: the* PRAETORES]

. . . out of all of these, ten tribunes, two consuls, eighteen *praetores*, and six aediles rendered justice in the city, and they alone." These are the

τῆς πόλεως <δίκαια> ἀπένειμαν καὶ μόνοι.' ταῦτα ὁ Πομπώνιος, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ποικίλον τῆς ιστορίας διαφυγών. ὁ γε μὴν Οὐλπιανὸς ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις Προτριβουναλίοις λεπτοτέρως τοὺς περὶ τῶν πραιτῶρων διεξῆλθε λόγους, τοὺς μὲν tutelarios, τοὺς δὲ fideicommissarios ὀνομάζων· ὧν ἅπαξ 5 σχολαζόντων οὐ συνείδον μνησθῆναι.

<49> Τοσοῦτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας μέχρι τῆς ἐπεικεστοῦτης βασιλείας Τίτου μνήμην ἐν ταῖς ιστορίαις εὐρών, πέρας ἐπιθήσω τῷ λόγῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν Δομιτιανοῦ δυοκαίδεκα πολιάρχων οὐδὲ μὴν τῶν Βασιανοῦ τὸ ἐπί- 10 κλην Καρακάλλου νεωτερισμῶν μνήμην ποιήσασθαι συνείδον· τὰ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν κακῶς βεβασιευκότων γενόμενα, κἂν ὥσι χρηστά, καταφρονεῖσθω.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ὙΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΝΥΚΤΩΝ

<50> Τρίβυρες, ἔθνος Γαλατικόν, ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ῥήνου 15 παρανεμόμενοι, ὅπου καὶ Τρίβυρις ἡ πόλις (Συγάμβρους αὐτοὺς Ἰταλοί, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Φράγγους καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιφημίζουσιν), ἐπὶ Βρέννου ποτὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων σοποράδην ἀλώμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξηνέχθησαν διὰ τῶν ἀνοδεύτων καὶ ἀκανθωδῶν ἐρημιῶν, ὥς φησιν Οὐεργίλιος. εἶτα καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐπελ- 20 θόντες τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκράτησαν ὅτε, τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χηνῶν ταραχθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκράτῳ νυκτὶ φανέντων, διεγερθεὶς Μάλλιος ὁ στρατηγὸς (γεῖτων δὲ ἦν) τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξώθησεν, τοῖς δὲ χησὶν ἐορτὴν καὶ ἱπποδρομίαν ἄγειν Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ κυσὶν ὀλεθρον κατὰ τὸν 25

1 <δίκαια> by ἀπένειμαν by απειμειναν P ἀπέμειναν P₂ f b w 2 διαφυγών f b w διαφυγών P διαφυγών P₂ nonne διαφεύγων ? b 3 Προτριβουναλίοις f b προτριβουναλίοις P πρὸς τριβουναλίοις P₂ προτριβουναλίοις w 4 τοὺς μὲν f b w τοῦ μὲν P τὸν μὲν A 5 tutelarios w TUTELΔΓΙΥS P τουτελαρίους f b τοὺς δὲ f b w ΤΟΥCΔO P fideicommissarios w FIDEICOMMISSΔΓΙΥS P φιδεῖκομ- μισαρίους f b post μὲν et ante ὀνομάζων loc. vac. A 9 Δομιτιανοῦ w δομιτιανοῦ P δομετιανοῦ P₂ Δομετιανοῦ A f b 10 πολιάρχων f b w πολιάρχων P 12 γενόμενα P₂ f b w γεναμενα P 15 Τρίβυρες f b w τριβῦρες P τριβῦρες P₂ 16 Τρίβυρις b w τριβύρις P τριβυρίς P₂ Τριβύρις f Συγάμβρους f 296 b w συναβρους P συγάβρους P₂ Συγάβρους A Συγγάμβρους (sic) f 17 οἱ f b w οἶον P οἶον P₂ 19 ἐξηνέχθησαν P₂ f b w εξενεχθησαν (η adscriptum super e) P 20 Οὐεργίλιος f b ουεργίλιος P οὐεργίλιος P₂ Βεργίλιος w 21 Καπιτώλιον w καπετώλιον P Καπετώλιον f b 25 Ῥωμαίοις b w ρωμαῖοις P ῥωμαῖοις P₂ Ῥωμαίοις f Ῥωμαίους mal. f¹ 23

statements of Pomponius, who, as it seems, avoided the mass and complexity of history. Ulpian, however, in his work titled *Protribunalia* discussed the *praetores* with more detail, calling some *tutelarii* and others *fideicommissarii*, whom, once inoperative, I have resolved not to mention.

49. Since such is the number of magistrates that I have found mentioned in the histories from the beginnings of the Roman state down to the most clement reign of Titus, I shall put an end to this part. For I have resolved not to make mention of Domitian's twelve city prefects, nor, in fact, of the innovations of Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla; for the things that have been done, even if they are useful, by those who have reigned badly should be despised.

[14. *Ninth Institution:*] *On the Prefect of the Night Watches*

50. The Treveri, a Gallic tribe, who dwelt by the banks of the Rhine, where also the city of Treveris is situated (the Italians call them *Sygambri*, but the Gauls call them in our day *Franci*), while wandering about once in scattered fashion through the Alps in the time of Brennus, broke forth into Italy through trackless and thorn-covered wildernesses, as Vergil says. Then, they not only came upon Rome through the sewers but also gained possession even of the *Capitolium* itself, at which time Mallius the general, awakened because the geese in the temple (he lived in the neighborhood) had been aroused by the appearance of the barbarians in the dead of night, drove away the barbarians and decreed that the Romans celebrate a feast and a horse-race for the geese but slaughter for the dogs, when the sun was in the constellation of Leo.

ἐν λέοντι ἥλιον διώρισεν. τούτων οὕτως τότε γενομένων, νόμος
 ἐτέθη ὁ προάγων τοὺς φύλακας τῶν νυκτῶν. καὶ ὅσον μὲν πρὸς
 τὸ μήκος τοῦ χρόνου, ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ἔμπροσθεν τούτων ἐπιμνησθῆ-
 ναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τουτὶ συν-
 f 53^v αριθ|μεῖσθαι τὸ φρόντισμα νόμος, σύστημα δὲ καὶ σῶμα τυγχάνει 5
 λειτουργίας χάριν ἐπινοηθέν, εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς γ' οὖν πέ-
 ρας τι τῶν ἀρχῶν παραθεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἐξ
 ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ λανθανούσης ἐφόδου πολεμίων ἀπήμαντον καὶ
 ἀστασίαστον ἐμφυλίου βλάβης φυλάττουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐμπρησμῶν βλαπτομένοις ἀμύνουσιν. καὶ μάρτυς Παῦλος ὁ 10
 νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι καθ' ἐρμηνείαν οὕτως· 'τὸ τριανδρικὸν
 σύστημα παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς διὰ τοὺς ἐμπρησμοὺς προεβάλλοντο,
 οἱ καὶ νυκτερινοὶ ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐλέγοντο. συνῆσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς
 καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι καὶ δήμαρχοι· ὑπουργεῖ κολλήγιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ
 σύστημα, ὃ περὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὥκει καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, ὥστε, 15
 τῆς χρείας καλούσης, εὐχερῶς εὐρισκομένους συντρέχειν.' οὕτως
 μὲν ὁ Παῦλος, ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν. τοιοῦτου
 τινὸς (ἀπείη!) συμβαίνοντος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τυχὸν ἐπικαίρως
 ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι βοῶντες τῇ πατρίῳ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ
 'omnes collegiati <concurrite>,' οἷον εἰπεῖν, 'πάντες ἐταῖροι συν- 20
 δράμετε.'

<51> Τούτων οὕτως προαχθέντων, ἔκτον καὶ ἑπτακοσιοστὸν
 ἔτος τῇ πόλει ἐκεχωρήκει. Καῖσαρ δὲ μοναρχῶν πάσας μὲν
 ἀπέπαυσε τὰς ἀρχάς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων δύναμιν ἀρχῶν ἀνεξώσατο
 μόνος. καὶ τρισὶν ἐνιαυτοῖς διαρκέσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ 25
 κατεσφάγη, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου,
 μεθ' ὃν τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς Καίσαρας περιέστη.

1 ἐν λέοντι P₂ A f b w ἐλεοντι P 5 φρόντισμα P₂ A f b w φροντισμα P τυγχά-
 νει P f b w τυγχάνων A 6 λειτουργίας P₂ A f b w λειτουργις P γ' οὖν by γοῦν
 P f b w πέρας τι w περατι P πέρατι f b 11 καθ' ἐρμηνείαν P₂ f b w κατερμινιαν
 P 14 δήμαρχοι· ὑπουργεῖ by δήμαρχοι ὑπουργοὶ P δήμαρχοι ὑπουργοί· f δήμαρχοι
 ὑπουργοί, b an δήμαρχοι, ὑπουργεῖ δὲ ? b δήμαρχοι ὑπουργῶν τε w 15 ὃ περὶ w
 ὅπερ P f b ὃ περὶ aut παρὰ b 16 οὕτως P οὕτω f b w 17 ἐστὶ by ἐστὶν P f
 ἐστί, b <ἐστίν, ἰδεῖν> ἐστι w 18 ἀπείη P₂ ἀπίει P A ἀπει f b leg. ἅμα f¹ 23 ἀεὶ
 w 20 omnes collegiati f b w OΘNIS COLLICIA TΔS P <concurrite> by
 <adeste> w 22 οὕτως P οὕτω f b w προαχθέντων f b w προαχθέντων P 23
 ἐκεχωρήκει w κεχωρηκει P κεχωρήκει P₂ f b

Because these things had happened thus at that time, a law was laid down instituting the guards of the night watches. And, though, so far as regards the length of their temporal existence, I ought to have mentioned them before this, yet, because it is not a custom for this office, too, to be counted in with the magistracies of the state but happens to have been devised as an organized body, that is, a corps for the sake of public service, it was fitting also to have set it aside as a conclusion at least to the magistracies. For not only do they keep the city unharmed by invasion and clandestine attack by the enemy and untorn by intestine harm, but they also render aid to those who are harmed as a result of conflagrations. And Paulus, the compiler of laws, testifies as follows with these very words in translation.

They appointed the triumvirate among the ancients for handling conflagrations, who were also called “nocturnal ones” as a result of this fact. Both the aediles and tribunes joined with them. A *collegium*, namely, “corps,” which was stationed around the gates and the walls of the city, assisted them, so that, when necessity required, being in a state of readiness, they might run to the rescue.

So wrote Paulus, but it is clear that his statement is true even today. Whenever some such emergency (may it be absent!) occurs in the city, those of them who chance to be on hand shout in the native speech of the Romans: “*Omnes collegiati, concurrite*,” that is to say, “All colleagues, run to the rescue!”

51. By the time these magistrates had been instituted thus, the city’s seven hundred and sixth year had come to an end. Caesar, however, while he was sole ruler, stopped all the magistracies and vested himself alone with the power of the totality of the magistracies. And, after lasting for three years, he was assassinated in the senate, and thereafter his young nephew became *Caesar*, after whom sovereign power devolved upon the *Caesares*.

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β̄
ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΪΣΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΪΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ

<1> Οἱ τυραννίδα καθ' ὄντινα οὖν καιρὸν τολμήσαντες οὐ
 μόνον τοὺς ἐν οἷς ἐγένοντο καιροῖς ἐλυμήναντο ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 μεταγενεστέροις πρὸς βλάβης ἐγένοντο, ζηλωτὰς κακῶν τοῖς
 ὑπηκόοις ἀπολιμπάνοντες. Μαρίου τοίνυν τυραννήσαντος καὶ
 ὑπουργήσαντος, Σύλλας ἀναστὰς ἀντετυράννησεν· αὐτῶν δὲ ἀλλή-
 f 54^r λοις|ἀντιφερομένων, ἡ Ῥωμαίων μεταίχμιον οὔσα τοῖς τυράννοις
 ἐσπαθίζετο πολιτεία. καὶ Μάριος μὲν ἐν προοιμίῳ τῶν Σύλλου
 ἐκράτει δυνάμεων, τῆς δὲ Τύχης ἐκάτερον διαφθεῖραι σπουδα- 10
 ζούσης, νῦν μὲν ὁ Σύλλας, νῦν δὲ ὁ Μάριος ἐκράτει· πέρας δὲ
 ἐκατέροις ὁλεθρὸς. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐλαττωθεὶς εἰς τεμάχη λεπτά
 πρὸς τοῦ Σύλλου κατετεμήθη, Σύλλας δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην σκώλη-
 κας ἀναβλύσας καὶ ἕτερον οὐδὲν παρὰ τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς προση-
 γορίαν ἐκ τῆς νίκης λαβὼν ἀπεφθάρη. περιόντι δὲ ἔτι τῷ Σύλλᾳ 15
 προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐζήλου τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸς ἐγένετο,
 Ἀντιστίαν τὴν ἐγγόνην αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον ἐλὼν, καὶ ὅλος ἦν
 ἐκείνου. νοσῶν δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς Πομπήϊον, Ἰουλίας
 ἤδη τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς τελευτησάσης, ἦν ἔτυχε πρὸς γάμον
 Πομπηῖῳ δοῦς, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἡσπάσατο καὶ Μάριον ἐτίμα καὶ 20
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ τρόποις ἀπήγετο. συγχέονται οὖν ἄμφω κατ' ἀλλήλων
 ὥς εἰ κληρονόμοι τῶν τυράννων, ἔθνους μὲν παντὸς ὅσον ἦν
 πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, Πομπηῖῳ, βαρβάρων δὲ πάντων ὅσοι
 πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐνέμοντο, τῷ Καῖσαρι ἅμα
 τῷ στρατιωτικῷ συναιρομένων· καὶ δῆλα τὰ λοιπά. 25

<2> Κρατεῖ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις αἰχμα-
 λώτοις θριαμβεύων βασιλεῦσιν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ βασι-
 λέως (τί δ' ἂν εἴη μεῖζον;) ἢ γ' οὖν μονάρχου τινὸς ὑπέμεινεν
 ὑπελθεῖν προσηγορίαν, ἄλλην δέ τινα καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ ἡγνοημένην
 ἐζήτει τιμὴν. ὥς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον 30
 ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐφέρετο, ἐκδραμόντος τινὸς τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆς

3 καθ' ὄντινα οὖν f καθοντιναοῦν P καθ' ὄντιναοῦν P₂ b w 9 ἐσπαθίζετο
 P₂ f b w εσπαθειζετο P ἀπαθίζετο A 12 εἰς τεμάχη A f b w εἰστε μάχην P εἰστε
 μάχην P₂ 16 τε αὐτὸν f b w τὰ αὐτῶν P 17 ὅλος P f b w 18 νοσῶν P b w
 Νοσῶν f νεύων ? b 22 ὥς εἰ P ὥσει P₂ f b w 23 ἀνίσχοντα f b w ανισχοῦ P
 ἀνίσχοῦ P₂ 25 συναιρομένων b w συναιρουμενων P συναιρουμένων P₂ f 28
 ἢ γ' οὖν by ἡγουν P ἡγουν f b w 30 Καπιτωλίου f b w καπιτουλίου P καπι-
 τωλίου P₂ 31 ἐκδραμόντος P₂ A f b w εκδραμοῦντος P

Part II
On Caesar and Caesar's Insignia

1. Those who had ventured upon tyranny at any time whatsoever not only harmed those during the times in which they had lived but also became a source of harm to posterity because they left behind emulators of their evils to the subjects. Now, after Marius had become a tyrant and had assisted Sulla, the latter arose and became a counter-tyrant; but, while they were fighting against one another, the state of the Romans, because it was the object of dispute, was being mangled by the tyrants. And in the beginning Marius prevailed over Sulla's forces; but, since Fortune was eager to destroy each singly, at one time it was Sulla, at another time it was Marius who prevailed; both, however, had ruin as their end. For Marius, after he had been defeated, was cut up by Sulla into thin slices; whereas Sulla, after his victory, spouted out worms and wasted away, having gotten from his victory nothing else but the title of "Fortunate." Pompey, however, when he had associated with Sulla, while the latter was still alive, both emulated him and became his son-in-law, having taken his granddaughter Antistia to marriage, and was wholly of his party. Caesar, on the other hand, though he was impassioned for Pompey in the beginning, just as soon as his daughter Julia had died, whom he had happened to give to Pompey in marriage, embraced the opposite faction and began to revere Marius and to be captivated by his ways. Both men, therefore, entered into conflict with one another as if they were heirs to the tyrants, every nation that lived towards the East espousing the cause of Pompey, and all the barbarians who dwelt towards the West and the North espousing that of Caesar and his soldiery; and the rest is well-known.

2. Caesar got possession of them all; and, when he was holding a triumph over three hundred captive kings, after he had returned to Rome, he did not submit to adopt the title of king (what, however, would be more exalted?) or at least of some sort of sole ruler, but he was seeking some other sort of honor, unknown even to Fortune. For, when someone of the commanders of the army had run forth and placed a

στρατιᾶς καὶ στέφανον ἀγνοοῦντι περιθεμένου, λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἔρριψεν ἀγανακτῶν, ὡς ὕβριν ὑπομένειν ὑπολαβὼν εἰ βασιλεὺς χρηματίσοι ὁ τοσοῦτους βασιλέας εἰς δουλείαν ὑπαγαγὼν καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Τύχην ἐλὼν. οὕτως ἐμφορηθεὶς ταῖς εὐπραγίαις f 54^v ἡξίωσε μόλις θεὸς τε ἅμα|καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὑπατος καὶ μόν- 5
 αρχος ἐς αἰεὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν πρῶτος, ἐπίτροπος δὲ τῶν ἀπαν-
 ταχοῦ βασιλέων καὶ ἱππαρχος καὶ πατήρ πατρίδος καὶ στρατηγὸς
 καὶ φύλαξ πόλεως καὶ πρῶτος δημάρχων χρηματίσαι, στολὴν
 ταῦτα πάντα σημαίνουσιν ὑποδύς. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν αὐτῇ τριουμ-
 φάλια (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εὐπορον οὕτω πολυσήμαντον ἐξευρεῖν τῇ 10
 στολῇ προσηγορίαν), χιτῶν δὲ ἦν, ἔνδον μὲν ἐκ πορφύρας, ἐξωθεν
 δὲ χρυσὸς ὅλος, ὥσπερ ἐλασθέντος διεστηκῶς τοῦ χρυσοῦ· καὶ
 λῶρος ἄνωθεν· οὕτω δὲ τὴν χρυσήλατον ἐπωμίδα Ῥωμαίοις
 ἀρέσκει καλεῖν. ταύτην τὴν στολὴν ἔθος ἐκράτησεν ἐξ ἐκείνου
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορας ἀμπέχεσθαι ὅταν ἐπὶ βασιλεῦσιν 15
 αἰχμαλώτοις θριαμβεύσωσιν· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεδείχθη
 ὅτε Γελίμερα τῶν Βανδίων καὶ Λιβύης βασιλέα πανθενεὶ θεὸς
 αἰχμάλωτον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρεστήσατο βασιλείᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν
 ὁμοσχήμενα τὸν νικητὴν πορφύραν περικειμένῳ γίνεσθαι τῷ
 κρατηθέντι. τοιοῦτοις τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς Τύχης ἐπὶ τριετὴ χρόνον 20
 διαπαιζούσης φρυάγμασιν, ἡ φύσις ἐπεισεν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι.

〈3〉 Ὀκταβιανὸς δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐξ Αἰτίας τοῦνομα
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ θετὸς παῖς, διαδεξάμενος τὴν
 αυτοκράτορα τιμήν, θεὸς μὲν δῆθεν εὐσεβῶς μετριάζων ὀνομά-
 ζεσθαι παρητεῖτο, θεὸς δὲ μᾶλλον· καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς μετ' 25
 αὐτόν τὸ ἀξίωμα περιετέθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων
 ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ τῶν θέσει, τιμῆς ἢ μᾶλλον βλασφήμου κολακείας
 χάριν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι περιτιθέμενον. τοῖς δὲ ἐπισήμοις χρήσασθαι,
 οἷς Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας, τέως οὐκ ἔσχεν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι κοινωνοῦς
 εἶχε τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Λέπιδον, νέος δὲ ὢν κομιδῇ καὶ 30
 τὴν λεγομένην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις βοῦλλαν, οἷον εἰ ψῆφον, 〈φορῶν〉,

5 ἀρχιερεὺς deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 9 τριουμφάλια P₂ f b w τριουμφαλία P
 10 εὐπορον P₂ f b w ευπορον P ἄπορον A τῇ στολῇ f b w τῇ στολῇ P τῇ στολῇ
 P₂ τῆς στολῆς A 11 ἐξωθεν f w ἄνωθεν P b 12 χρυσὸς f b w χρυσός P χρυ-
 σοῦς ? b ὅλος P₂ A w ὅλως P f b ὅλος ? b 16 θριαμβεύσωσιν P θριαμβεύσωσι P₂
 f b w nonne θριαμβεύωσι ? b 17 Γελίμερα f b w γελίμερ P τῶν P₂ των P τὸν
 f b w Βανδίων f βανδήλων P Βανδήλων b w πανθενεὶ P₂ f b w πανθενει P
 πανθενει A 21 ἄνθρωπον f b w ἀνὸν P ἀνὸν P₂ 31 βοῦλλαν b w βουλλαν P
 βοῦλλαν P₂ f 〈φορῶν〉w 〈φέρων〉f 〈φορῶν〉? b

crown on him without his knowledge, as he was being borne from the *Capitolium* to the senate after his triumph, he himself took it and threw it away indignantly as though he had supposed that he would be sustaining an insult if he who had reduced to servitude so great a number of kings and had captured even Fortune itself should be styled a king. Glutted thus with his successes, he well-nigh deemed it right to be called at the same time both a god and an archpriest, consul and sole ruler for life, first among the Romans and guardian of kings everywhere, cavalry commander, father of his country, general, guardian of the city, and first among the tribunes, because he had donned a garb symbolizing all these titles. And its name was *triumphalia* (it was by no means easy to find for this garb a designation denoting so many high stations), but it was a tunic of purple on the inside and all gold on the outside, rigid as though of beaten gold, and there was a *lorus* on its upper part; thus the Romans like to call the epaulette of beaten gold. From that time on it became an established custom for the emperors of the Romans to put on this kind of an attire when they celebrate a triumph over captive kings; and this was made clear to us when God presented Gelimer, king of the Vandals and of Libya, with his entire nation as a captive to our empire. For it was not possible for the victor to be dressed the same as the vanquished who wore purple. While Fortune was laughing at Caesar for a period of three years for such acts of arrogance, nature convinced him that he was human.

3. When Octavian, a nephew born of his sister named Atia, and his adopted son, had succeeded to the imperial dignity after him, he asked not to be called a "god" but rather "divine," manifestly because he was piously humble; and this honor was conferred upon all those who came after him. For the former belongs to those who are such by nature, whereas the latter belongs to those who are so by adoption and is conferred upon the emperors for the sake of honor or rather blasphemous flattery. For a while, however, he was not able to make use of the insignia which the great Caesar had used, first of all because he had Antony and Lepidus as partners in his sovereignty, and because he was graced with the title of *Caesar* when he was altogether young and was

f 55^r τῆς Καίσαρος ἡξιοῦτο προσηγορίας. ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς εἰς
 βασιλείαν προαγομένοις οὐ πρότερον|τὰ ταύτης ἐπιτίθεται σύμ-
 βολα πρὶν στρεπτόν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιθέντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τέλει
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφῆνωσιν, Καίσαρα
 δεικνύντες αὐτὸν καθάπερ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρώτου 5
 Καίσαρος ἄξιον τιμῆς τε καὶ προσηγορίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ Πέρσαις
 ἐστὶ νόμιμον τὸν ἐκ βασιλέως τεχθέντα προάγειν ἑαυτοῖς εἰς
 βασιλείαν, οὕτω Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς τὸ πάλαι μὴ τῷ τυχόντι ἀλλὰ
 μόνοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος σειρᾶς κατιοῦσιν ἐγχειρίζειν τὸ 10
 κράτος. μέσος οὖν ἦν ὁ νέος Καῖσαρ, μήτε τῆς ὅλης ἐπειλημ-
 μένος τοῦ κράτους τιμῆς διὰ τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς, μήτε
 μὴν ἀμοιρῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἔχων παρ' ἐκείνοις διὰ τὸ Καίσαρος
 ἐπώνυμον, ὃ περιῶν ἔτι <ὁ> θεῖος αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν, διάδοχον
 ἑαυτοῦ καταλείψαι ψηφισάμενος. ὥς δὲ Λέπιδος μὲν ἐτελεύτα,
 Αντώνιος δὲ πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν ἔρρεψεν, Φουλβίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν 15
 τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ τὸ πρὶν ἀποπτύσας,
 Αἴγυπτόν τε εἴλε μετ' Αντωνίου καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους ἔπαυσε
 θορύβους τῆς Ῥώμης, ὀγκωθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς τε ἐξημέτισεν
 ὁ ἄρτι μετριάζων καὶ ναοὺς ὠσιωμένους πρὸς τιμῆς αὐτῷ ἀπε-
 δέξατο καὶ ἀρχιερέα ὥς εἰ θεὸς ἐπεμβόλιμος προεχειρίσατο, 20
 πρῶτον αὐτὸν τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τότε νομισθέντων θεῶν ἀποδείξας,
 ἐπιστήμοις τε πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο, οἷς ὁ πατήρ, καὶ στρατεῖαις καὶ
 τάξεσι καὶ δορυφόροις, ὅσοις ὁ Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ μέχρι τούτων ἐχρήσαντο, μόνον τὸν ἱππαρχον εἰς ἐπαρχον
 μεταβαλὼν, ὀχῆματι τιμήσας ὑπερηφάνῳ ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένῳ, 25
 καὶ τάξιν πολιτικὴν ἀπονεύμας αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν, Αὐγουσταλίους
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ καλέσας αὐτούς, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν
 ὑπάρχων μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. ἡπίως δὲ ὁμῶς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς
 ὑπηκόοις, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ πατρίῳ
 φωνῇ· *utinam nec natus nec mortuus fuisset*. ἀπηύχοντο γὰρ 30
 αὐτοῦ τὴν γένεσιν, ὅτι μόνος ἐστήριξε τὴν τῶν Καيسάρων

2 τὰ ταύτης b w ταῦτα τις P ταῦτά τις P₂ f 8 τοῖς by οἷς P ἦν f w οἷς
 del. b τὸ f b w τῷ P 12 ἀμοιρῶν b w ἀμοιρον P ἀμοιρος f ἐκείνοις P ἐκεί-
 νους f b w 13 ὃ περιῶν ἔτι <ὁ> θεῖος P₂ A f b w ὃ περιῶν ἐπιθείως P 14 ψη-
 φισάμενος P₂ f b w ψηφισάμενος P 15 ἔρρεψεν by ἔρεψεν P ἔρεψε f b ἔρρεψε P₂ w
 19 αὐτῷ f b αὐτῷ P αὐτῷ P₂ αὐτοῦ mal. f αὐτοῦ w 20 ὥς εἰ by ὡσεῖ P ὡσεὶ P₂ f
 b w 21 τῶν τῶν alterum del. P₂ A f b w 23 Ῥωμύλος b w ρώμυλος P ῥωμύλος P₂
 Ῥωμύλος f 26 Αὐγουσταλίους A f b w ἀγουσταλίους P 27 αὐτοῦ P f w αὐτοῦ b
 30 *utinam nec natus nec mortuus fuisset* f b w *UTINAM INNECATOYSECPIOGTUUS*
FUISSSET P *utinaminecatousei mortuus fuisset* A

wearing that which the Romans call *bullæ*, that is to say, "locket." For this reason still even to this day the symbols of the imperial office are not placed upon those who are elevated to it until the commanders of the army place a torque around his neck and declare him to be worthy of the imperial office, showing him as *Caesar*, precisely as the young *Caesar*, and as worthy of both the honor and title of the first *Caesar*. For, just as it is customary for the Persians to elevate one born of a king to reign over them, so it was for the Romans of old to entrust sovereign power not to any chance person but only to those who were descended from Caesar's lineage. The young *Caesar*, therefore, ranked halfway because he had neither assumed the entire dignity of sovereign power on account of his partners in his sovereignty, nor, indeed, was he without a share in it but had the advantage among them on account of the surname of *Caesar*, which his uncle, while still alive, had bestowed upon him since he had decreed to leave him behind as his successor. When Lepidus, however, died and after Antony had inclined toward Cleopatra, having repudiated Fulvia, the sister of the young *Caesar*, who hitherto had been living in wedlock with him, he both captured Egypt and Antony and brought to an end the intestine disturbances at Rome. Having become conceited, he himself, too, who recently was humble, both assumed the title of "god" and accepted temples dedicated to himself by way of honor and, as an intrusive god, appointed an arch-priest, whom he made foremost among the priests of the gods who had been in fashion at that time. He also made use of all the insignia which his father had used, and all the military services and staffs and body-guards which both Romulus and all from the latter down to his day had employed. He altered only the cavalry commander to prefect; he honored him with a sumptuous chariot made of silver, assigned to him a civilian staff to obey his commands, and called them *Augustales* after himself, about whom I shall speak a little later in the part concerning the staff of the prefects. Nevertheless, however, he did treat his subjects benignantly, so that the Romans said with reference to him in their native language: *utinam nec natus nec mortuus fuisset*, for they deprecated his birth because he alone had established the rule of the *Caesares*, and

f 55^v ἡγεμονίαν|καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν τελευταίην διὰ τὸ ἥπιον ἅμα καὶ τὸ
τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων ἀναιρετικόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐμφύ-
λιος ἀνήφθη πόλεμος.

〈4〉 Ἐχρήτο δὲ στολῇ ἐπ' εἰρήνης, οἷα ποντίφεξ, ἀντὶ τοῦ
ἀρχιερεὺς γεφυραῖος, πορφυρᾷ, ποδῆρει, ἱερατικῇ, χρυσῷ λε- 5
λογχωμένη, ἀμφιβλήματι δὲ ὁμοίως πορφυρῷ, εἰς χρυσοῦς αὐλα-
κας τελευτῶντι, τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἔσκεπε δι' ἃς ἐν τῇ γραφείῃ
μοι Περί Μηνῶν πραγματεία ἀποδέδωκα αἰτίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
πολέμων παλουδαμέντοις· αἱ δὲ εἰσι δίπλακες ἀπὸ κόκκου,
πρωτείας μετάξης κλωστής, χρυσῇ περόνῃ λιθοκολλήτῳ ἀναρ- 10
παζόμεναι τοῖς ὤμοις, 〈ἦν〉 ἡμεῖς μὲν φίβουлан ὥς Ἴταλοι
καλοῦμεν, κορνοκόπιον δὲ ἰδίᾳ πῶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔτι καὶ
νῦν λέγουσιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐωχίαις λιμβοῖς (πορφυροῖ δὲ εἰσι
τρίβωνες ποδῆρεις Μαιανδρίοις γραμμαῖς, ἐπὶ 〈δὲ〉 τῶν ὤμων 15
χρυσοῖς τουβουλαμέντοις, οἷον εἰ σωληνωτοῖς, ὑφάσμασι διαλάμ-
ποντες) καὶ παραγῶδαις αὐριγάμμοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ χιτῶσι χρυσοῖς
γαμματίσκοις ἀναλελογχωμένοις, ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τοὺς πόδας ῥας
καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ἐσθήματος ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν πλαγίων εἰς γάμμα
στοιχεῖον διαζωγραφοῦσι χρυσῷ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ
χλαμῦσι, πορφυραῖς μὲν (πῶς γὰρ οὐχί:), πρὸς δὲ τὸ πέρας τῆς 20
ποδῆρους ῥας γραμμαῖς τετραγώνοις δι' ὅλου χρυσῷ κοσμου-
μέναις (σηγμέντα αὐτὰς 〈οἱ〉 τῆς αὐλῆς καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ
χρυσόσημα· τὸ δὲ πληθὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ιδιωτικῶν χλαμύδων σημέντα)
βραττεολάτοις καὶ γεμμάτοις καὶ λαγκιολάτοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ χρυσο-
πετάλοις διαλίθοις καὶ λογχωτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῆς βασιλείας 25
ἐπισήμοις, περὶ ὧν κατὰ λεπτὸν ἀφηγεῖσθαι περιττὸν ὑπολαμ-
βάνων πάρεμι, τοῦ λόγου με τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῆς
ποτε πρώτης τῶν ἀρχῶν κατὰ τάξιν ἄγοντος.

4 ποντίφεξ P₂ f b w ποντιφεξ P 5 πορφυρᾷ f b w πορφυρας P πορφύρας P₂
8 ἀποδέδωκα P₂ A f b w αποδωδεκα P 10 ἀναρπαζόμεναι b w αναπαζομεναι P
ἀνασπαζόμεναι P₂ A f 11 〈ἦν〉 w φίβουлан P f b w φιβούλαν A 12 κορνοκό-
πιον by κορνοκόπιον P f b w 14 Μαιανδρίοις by μαιανδριοις P μαιανδρίοις P₂
μαιανδρίαίς f b Μαιανδρίαίς w 〈δὲ〉 f w 15 τουβουλαμέντοις by τουβαλαμεν-
τοις P τουβαλαμέντοις P₂ f b w τουμαλαμέντοις A 16 παραγῶδαις f b πα-
ραγῶδαις P παραγῶδαίς P₂ A παραγᾶδαις w 17 γαμματίσκοις b γαμματισκοῖς
P f γαρματισκοῖς A γαμματισκίους ? an γαμματισμοῖς ? b γαμματισκίους w ῥας
P₂ ῥας P ῥας f b w 19 ἐν f b w εἴη P εἴη A 21 ῥας by ῥας P ῥας P₂
f b w 22 σηγμέντα P f b w αὐτὰς f b w αυταρ P αὐταρ P₂ 〈οἱ〉 f b w 23
σημέντα P₂ f b w σημεντα P 24 βραττεολάτοις P βραττεολάταις f b w γεμμάτοις
by γεμματοῖς P A γεμμάταις f b w λαγκιολάτοις by λακιολατοις P λακιολάτοις P₂
λαγκιολάταις f b w 25 λογχωτοῖς P₂ λογχωτοις P λογχωταῖς f b w 27 πάρεμι w
πάρεμι P παρήμι P₂ f b

likewise his death on account of his gentleness and at the same time his ability to do away with their intestine discords; for after him no civil war flared up.

4. In time of peace, as *pontifex*, namely, "archpriest of the bridge," he wore a purple, ankle-length, sacerdotal robe which was trimmed with spearheads in gold, and a pallium, likewise purple, which ended in golden flutings; and he covered his head for the reasons that I have explained in the treatise which I wrote *On Months*. In time of wars he wore *paludamenta*. These were double-folding mantles of scarlet, of choicest spun silk, and drawn up at the shoulders by a golden, jewel-studded brooch, which we call *fibula*, as do the Italians, but at the palace it is called still even to this day somewhat specially *cornucopium*. At the time of festivals he wore *limbi* (they were purple, ankle-length cloaks which were ornamented with meandrous lines and glittered at the shoulders with golden, tubulated, that is, "fluted," materials) and aurigammous *paragodai*, namely, "tunics trimmed with golden little gammas," decorating the tunic all over with the letter gamma in gold on both of its sides from the hem around the feet and the edge of the garment. In the senate he wore mantles which were purple (how, indeed, could they not have been?) but towards the bottom of the ankle-low border were adorned with rectangular outlines thoroughly in gold (the courtiers call them *segmenta*, namely, "golden devices," while the common people call them *sementa* after the mantles of private persons); they were bracteolate, gemmate, and lanceolate, namely, "gold-petaled," "gem-studded," and "lancet-trimmed." He also wore the remaining insignia of the imperial office, but, because I deem it excessive to explain in detail about them, I shall go on since my account leads me next in order to the explanation of the once highest of the magistracies.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΩΝ

- f 56^r <5> | Τὸ μὲν περίβλεπτον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ μόνῳ τῷ σκήπτρῳ
 παραχωροῦν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀμυδρᾶς σκιᾶς ἦν ἔτι καὶ μόνην
 δοκεῖ διασφῆζειν ἱκανοῖς ἂν τις καταλάβοι γνωρίσμασιν· πέφυκε
 γὰρ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπέροπτα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς καταλαμβάνεσθαι 5
 τῆς ἐλαττώσεως· δεινὸς δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐκφαγεῖν τε καὶ ὑπεργάσα-
 σθαι τὰ γενέσιν ἅμα καὶ φθορὰν εἰληχότα. ἀλλ' ἡ βασιλέως
 ἀρετὴ τοσαύτη τίς ἐστίν, ὥστε παλιγγενεσίαν δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὶν
 ἐξολωλότα καραδοκεῖν.
- <6> Οὕτως οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν ὡς ἔφθην εἰπὼν ἄχρι τῆς Καίσαρος 10
 τοῦ πρώτου ἐπικρατείας προελθουσῶν, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς Τύχης·
 ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι ζύμπαν ἐξηλλοίωσε τὸ πολίτευμα, ὑπάτοις
 μὲν μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπολιπών, εἰς μήνυμα τοῦ
 χρόνου δῆθεν· ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ τάξας τὸν σύμπαντα στρατόν, δέδωκε 15
 τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' ἑαυτῶν (πλὴν εἰ μὴ γε τὸ τρυφᾶν προτιμῶεν)
 ἢ διὰ στρατηγῶν, ὧν ἂν θέλωσιν, ἢ δι' ὑποστρατήγων, τῶν
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λεγομένων ληγάτων, τοὺς ἐνισταμένους διε-
 γάζεσθαι πολέμους, μόνῳ τῷ ἱπάρχῳ, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ Λέπιδος
 μοναρχοῦντι, καταλείπων μετὰ μείζονος αὐθεντίας τὴν δύναμιν· 20
 ὃν μετ' αὐτὸν Ὁκταβιανὸς Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἴρηται, ὑπαρχὸν ἑαυτῷ
 οὐ τῆς αὐλῆς μόνης ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης καὶ πολιτικῆς
 τάξεως, ἦν οὐκ εἶχε πρότερον, ἀναδείξας, ὡς βραχὺ παρατρα-
 πείσης τῆς λέξεως ἐξ ἀφυλάκτου συνηθείας, ἀντὶ ἱπάρχου
 ὑπαρχος προσηγορεύθη. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥώμης (ἐφ' ἧς καὶ 25
 μόνης τὴν αὐλὴν παλάτιον καλεῖσθαι νόμος) ὑπαρχος τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος ἐνόμιζεν, οἷον εἰ δεῦτερος μετ' ἐκεῖνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κάστρων
 (οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ παρεμβολὰς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος καλεῖν)
 प्राईफекτος प्राित्वरीष, οἷον εἰ προεστηκῶς τοῦ प्राित्वरीषου·
 f 56^v τὸ γὰρ στρατηγικὸν ἐπὶ ξένης κατάλυμα | प्राित्वरीषον ἐκεῖνοις
 ἔδοξεν ὀνομάζειν, κἂν εἰ τυχὸν αὐτὸν τὸν Καῖσαρα αὐλίζεσθαι 30

1 ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΩΝ P₂ f ΠΡΑΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ P प्राित्वरीषων w 8 ἀρετὴ f b w ἀρε-
 τήν P 9 ἐξολωλότα P₂ A f b w ἐξωλοτα P 13 ἀπολιπών w απολειπών P ἀπο-
 λιπών P₂ f b 15 τοῖς f b w τοὺς P τοὺς P₂ αὐτὸν f b w αὐτῶν P αὐτῶν P₂
 προτιμῶεν b w προ|τιμῶμεν P προτιμῶσιν f 16 θέλωσιν P₂ f b w θελουσιν P
 ὑποστρατήγων f b w υποστρα|τιγων P ὑποστρα|τηγῶν P₂ 19 καταλείπων by κα-
 ταλε|πτον P κατᾶλε|πτόν P₂ καταλιπών f b w 22 ὡς P₂ f b ὡς P ὃς w 25
 Καῖσαρος <καλεῖσθαι> w 26 ἐνόμιζεν P₂ f b w ἐνόμιζεν P ἐχρημάτιζεν ? b οἷον εἰ
 by οἰονεῖ P οἰονεῖ P₂ f b w 28 प्राित्वरीष f b प्राित्वरीषων P प्राित्वरीषων P₂ w

On the Prefecture of the PRAETORIA

5. One can comprehend by sufficient signs the magistracy's celebrated character and cedence to the scepter alone even from the faint shadow itself which and which alone it seems still to be preserving, for great things are naturally prone to be grasped even from their reduction itself. Time, however, is clever at both eating away and undermining whatever has been allotted generation and at the same time corruption. But the emperor's excellence is such a great thing that whatever has utterly perished in the past awaits regeneration through him.

6. Now, after the magistracies had been produced in such manner as I have already stated down to the dominance of the first *Caesar*, the latter, when set over the affairs of state by the aid of Fortune, utterly altered the entire form of the state because he had left to the consuls nothing but their title, obviously for indicating chronology; and, because he had placed the entire army under himself, he gave his successors the right to work out wars that arise either in person (unless, that is, they should prefer soft living), or through generals, whomever they chose, or through lieutenant generals, whom the Romans call *legati*, leaving behind power with greater authority to the cavalry commander alone, who was Lepidus when he was sole ruler. When Octavian Caesar after him, as I have said, had reconstituted the cavalry commander as a prefect under himself not of the court alone but, indeed, also of the entire army and of the civilian staff, which formerly he did not have, he came to be called *hyparchos* instead of *hipparchos*, as if the word had been slightly distorted from careless usage. And in Rome (where and where alone it was a custom for the court to be called *palatium*) he was accustomed to be called "prefect of the *Caesar*," that is to say, "second after the latter," but in the *castra* (the Romans have the custom to call thus the encampments in war) he was called *praefectus praetorio*, that is to say, "commander of the *praetorium*," for they thought fit to call the general's domicile in a foreign land *praetorium*, even if by chance the *Caesar* himself happens to

ἐπ' ἐκείνου συμβαίνει. ἡῦρον δὲ καὶ στερεὰν αἰτίαν ἥς ἔνεκα
 τῇ τοῦ ἐπάρχου προσηγορίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῶν πραιτωρίων προστίθεται
 γνώρισμα, ὡς εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν πρὸς τι καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀσῆ-
 μαντον ἔχειν τὴν ἐξοχὴν, συνώνυμον δὲ τῷ πολιάρχῳ, ὃν καὶ
 αὐτὸν ὑπαρχον ὀνομασθῆναι προδεδήλωται, πραιτώρα οὐρβανὸν 5
 τὸ πρὶν προσαγορευόμενον. Τράγκυλλος τοίνυν τοὺς τῶν Και-
 σάρων Βίους ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποτείνων Σεπτικίῳ, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος
 τῶν πραιτωριανῶν σπειρῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, πραιφεκτον αὐτὸν τῶν
 πραιτωριανῶν ταγμάτων καὶ φαλάγγων ἡγεμόνα τυγχάνειν
 ἐδήλωσεν. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἂν τις λάβοι τὸν ὑπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς, 10
 ἦν καὶ πραιτώριον πολλαχοῦ καλουμένην κατὰ τὸν ἐνικὸν ἀριθμὸν
 ἐδηλώσαμεν ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸν πληθυντικὸν καλῶς ὠνο-
 μασμένον· οὐ μόνον γὰρ λέγεται πραιφεκτος πραιτωρίου <ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πραιτωρίων>, οἷον εἰ ἡγεμῶν τῶν πραιτωριανῶν, ὑπακουο-
 μένου ταγμάτων ἢ σπειρῶν ἢ στρατευμάτων ἢ δυνάμεων. 15

<7> Αἰτίας μὲν οὖν ἂν τις τοιαύτας οὐκ ἔξω λόγου ἐπὶ τῆς
 προσηγορίας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδοίῃ, ἥτις καθάπερ ὠκεανός τις τῶν
 πραγμάτων τῆς πολιτείας ἐστίν, 'ἐξ ἧσπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ
 πᾶσα θάλασσα.' σπινθῆρες γάρ τινες ὥσπερ ἀφθάρτου πυρὸς
 αἱ λοιπαὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχαὶ ἐκείνης, τῆς ἀληθῶς ἀρχῆς τῶν 20
 ἀρχῶν, δείκνυνται οὔσαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι <ἂν> ἄνευ ἐκείνης
 δύναιντό ποτε, καθ' ὃν δὲ <μηδὲ> αὐταὶ μηδὲ μὴν αἱ τελοῦσαι
 ὑπ' αὐτὰς ὡς ἂν εἰ τάξεις τινὲς συνεστάναι δύναιντο, μὴ τὴν
 δαπάνην αὐταῖς τε καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένοις χορηγούσης
 τῆς ἐπαρχότητος. ὃν γὰρ τρόπον τις σκεῦος μέγιστον ἐξ ἀργυρίου 25
 πεποιημένον οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ἐκ προγόνων ἔχει κεκτημένον,

1 συμβαίνει P συμβαίνει P₂ f b w στερεὰν f b w στερεαν P ἐτέραν P₂ A 5
 πραιτώρα P₂ f b πραιτορα P πραιτορα w 6 Τράγκυλλος b w τράκυλλος P
 Τράκυλλος f 7 ἀποτείνων f αποτινων P ἀπό τινος P₂ A ἀποτίνων b w ὑποτεινων
 ? b Σεπτικίῳ w σεπτιμίῳ P σεπτιμίου P₂ Σεπτιμίου A Σεπτιμίῳ f b 8 πραιτω-
 ριανῶν P₂ f b w πραιτοριανῶν P ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ P w ἐπ' αὐτοῦ f b πραιφεκτον f b w
 πραιφεκτον P αὐτὸν P₂ A f b w αυτων P 11 ἀριθμὸν P f b ἀριθμόν (sic) w
 13-14 <ἀλλὰ καὶ πραιτωρίων> by <ἀλλὰ καὶ πραιφεκτος πραιτωρίων> w 16 ἔξω λόγου
 f b w ἐξω λόγου P ἐξ ἀλόγου A 18 ἧσπερ P₂ b ἧπερ P οὔπερ f ἧσπερ w
 19 ἀφθάρτου by αετοῦ P αετοῦ P₂ b ἐκ τοῦ A ταυτοῦ f ὑετοῦ w 21 <ἂν> w
 <ἂν> ? b 22 καθ' ὃν δὲ <μηδὲ> αὐταὶ by καθ' ὃν δε αυται P καθ' ὃν δὲ αυται P₂
 καθ' ὃν δὲ αυται f καθ' ὃν <μηδὲ> αὐταὶ b w 23 ὡς ἂν εἰ by ὡσαν|εἰ P ὡσανεἰ f b w
 συνεστάναι P f 296 b w συνεστάναι (sic) f 24 σὺν αὐτῶν P₂ A f b συναυτων P
 σὺν delend. f γοῦν f¹ 24 σὺν del. w χορηγούσης b w χοριγούσης P χωρηγούσης
 (sic) f 26 πεποιημένον P₂ A f b w πεποιημένου P

be bivouacing therein. I have found, however, that a solid reason, in fact, why the designation *praetoria* was also added to the title of the prefect was so that the magistracy might be one of those with respect to something and might not seem to have an undesignated preeminence and to have the same name as the prefect of the city, who, I have already shown, was himself also called "prefect," though formerly he was titled *praetor urbanus*. Now, Tranquillus, when addressing in writing his *Lives of the Caesars* to Septicius, who was prefect of the praetorian cohorts in his day, indicated that he was a *praefectus* of the praetorian orders and commander of the military ranks. Consequently, one should not take him as the prefect only of the court, which, I have shown in many places, is called also *praetorium* in the singular number but, indeed, correctly designated in the plural, too; for not only is he called *praefectus* of the *praetorium* but also of the *praetoria*, that is to say, "commander of the praetorians," namely, "troops" or "cohorts" or "armies" or "forces."

7. Explanations of this sort, then, one could not unreasonably adduce on the designation of the magistracy, one which is, so to speak, an ocean of the affairs of the state, "from precisely which all rivers and every sea [flow]." For, as sparks of an incorruptible fire, the remaining magistracies of the state are demonstrably dependent upon that which is truly the magistracy of the magistracies. For without that [magistracy] they would not be able ever to exist; and, just as they themselves would not be able to be maintained, nor, indeed, would the considerable staffs, as it were, that function under them, unless the prefecture provided expenditure both to them and to those besides who head them. For, just as one has a very large vessel made out of silver, having acquired it not by himself but from his ancestors, then, when being reduced to

εἶτα πρὸς πενίαν ὑποσυρόμενος καταλύει μὲν τὸ σκεῦος, ὀλίγα
 f 57^r φροντίσας|ισχύος τε καὶ κάλλους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐξ
 αὐτοῦ σκευῦφια κατασκευάζων πολὺν ἄργυρον ἐξ εὐτελείας ἢ
 μέγιστον ἐξ ἐνδὸς καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἔχειν φαντάζεται· οὕτως, τῆς
 μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καταλυομένης, πολλαὶ τινες καὶ τάχα περιτταὶ 5
 ἀνέφυσαν ἀρχαί, μᾶλλον τῆς Τύχης ἀπαρεσθείσης τῷ ποιητῇ
 εἰπόντι ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.’ οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 λεγόμενοι στρατηλάται τὴν τῶν κομίτων ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιότη-
 τος καὶ μόνην τιμὴν (ταύτη καὶ κοιμτιανούς τοὺς δευτεροστρα-
 τηλατιανούς ἢ παλαιότης οἶδεν· κόμιτας δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ 10
 συνεκδήμους Ἱταλοὶ λέγουσι καὶ κοιμτᾶτον ἀπλῶς τὴν βασιλέως
 συνοδίαν), ἡ δὲ τοῦ λεγομένου μαγίστρου φροντίς ἀρχὴ μὲν οὐκ
 ἔστιν οὕτως ἐγκεκριμένη, μεγίστη δὲ ὅμως, καὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς ὑπάρχων
 ἀνίπταται τιμῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως· περὶ ἧς πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆσδε
 τῆς ἱστορίας ἐρῶ· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν νεωτέραν οὔσαν μὴ ταῖς πρεσβυ- 15
 τέραις τῶν ἀρχῶν συναριθμεῖν, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῇ χώρον, ὃν ὁ
 χρόνος αὐτῇ παρεχώρησεν.

<8> Ἐξήρηται δὲ ὅμως καὶ πάσας ἀναβέβηκε τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ
 ὑπατος τιμὴ καὶ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει τῆς ἐπαρχότητος μείων, τῇ δὲ
 τιμῇ μείζων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ὅλην διέπει πολιτείαν, οἰκοθεν μὲν 20
 οὐδὲν παρέχουσα, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον διοικοῦσα· ἡ δὲ πλοῦτόν τε
 βαθὺν οἰκοθεν νυφάδων δίκην ἐξαυλακίζει τοῖς πολίταις καὶ
 τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν προσηγορίαν χαρίζεται κάκ πλάνης ἀπαλλάττει
 τὰ συναλλάγματα, πολέμους μὲν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἀναδεχομένη,
 μήτηρ δὲ ὥσπερ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας τυγχάνουσα· ἐναντίως 25
 γὰρ ἔχει πρὸς τυραννίδα καί, κρατούσης ἐκείνης, οὐχ ὑφίστα-
 ται· τοιγαροῦν ἅμα Βροῦτος ὁ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἔκδικος καὶ
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπέρμαχος τὴν ὑπατον ἐξέλαμψε τιμὴν, ἅμα
 Ταρκύνιος ὁ τύραννος ἀπωλώλει. ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος πατήρ τε ἅμα

3 ἐξ εὐτελείας τινὸς μεγίστης ἐξ ἐνδὸς A 5 καταλυομένης b w καταδυομένης P f
 6 ἀνέφυσαν f b w ανεφυσαν P ἀνεφύσαν P₂ A ἀνεφύσαν ? b 7 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πο-
 λυκοιρανίη P₂ A f b w ουκαθὸν πολλοὶ κυρανοὶ P 8 κομίτων P w κομῖτων P₂ A
 κομήτων f b 9 μόνην P₂ f b w μονην P μόνης f¹ 25 κοιμτιανούς P₂ w κοιμτι-
 ανους P κοιμτιανούς f b 10 κόμιτας P w Κόμητας f κόμητας b 11 κοιμτᾶτον w
 κοιμτᾶτον P f b 13 ἐγκεκριμένη P₂ A w εγκεκρυμμενη P ἐγκεκρυμμένη f b ἐκ-
 κεκριμένη ? b 16 συναριθμεῖν P₂ A f b w συναριθμεῖν P 18 ἀναβέβηκε f b w
 ανεβέβηκεν P ανεβέβηκε P₂ 21 παρέχουσα P f b w παρέχουσα (ex παρασχούσα) A
 23 κάκ πλάνης by κάπλανης P καὶ πλάνης P₂ A f b w 25 μήτηρ f b w μῆρ P
 29 ἀπωλώλει P₂ w απωλώλει P ἀπολώλει A f b

poverty, breaks down the vessel, having thought little of both its strength and beauty, and, constructing many weak small vessels out of it, imagines that a very large and ancient [vessel] has more silver from its reduction than from its unity; so, as the greatest magistracy was being broken down, rather many, and perhaps excessive, magistracies grew up, Fortune having become displeased rather with the Poet's statement, "Rule by many is not a good thing; let there be one ruler." For the so-called army commanders have from antiquity the dignity, and only that, of *comites* (for this reason antiquity knows also the secondary army commanders as *comitiani*; the Italians call friends who are also traveling companions *comites*, and the emperor's retinue simply *comitatus*); while the office of *magister*, so-called, though it is not a magistracy accepted in this way, nevertheless, however, is very great and soars up near both the dignity and power of prefects. I shall speak about this office near the end of this present inquiry; for, since it is rather recent, one ought not to include it with the older of the magistracies but to give it the place which time assigned to it.

8. The consular dignity, nevertheless, however, has transcended and has surpassed all the magistracies; and, though in power it is inferior to the prefecture, in honor it is superior. For the latter administers the entire state, granting nothing from its own financial resources but managing the public treasury; whereas the former pours out vast wealth to the citizens after the manner of snowflakes from its own financial resources and also lends its name to chronology and frees negotiations from error, not undertaking wars any longer, but being the mother, as it were, of the Romans' freedom. For it stands in opposition to tyranny; and, when the former prevails, the latter ceases to exist. For that very reason, as soon as Brutus, the champion of discretion and defender of freedom, flashed forth the consular dignity, at once Tarquinius the tyrant was undone. He who is both our father and at the same time most clement emperor

καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμερώτατος ταῖς μὲν ἐπανορθώσει τῶν πραγμάτων
f 57^v καὶ δωραεῖς|τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπατός ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστίν, τῇ δὲ
στολῇ γίνεται ὅταν κοσμεῖν τὴν τύχην ἐθελήσοι, βαθμὸν ἀνώ-
τερον βασιλείας τὴν ὑπατον τιμὴν ὀριζόμενος.

〈9〉 Ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰρημένον μόνῳ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ 5
ἀνέκαθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ παρεχώρησεν, τὴν ἴσην ἐκείνῳ λαχοῦσα τιμὴν,
ἀντικρυς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἔστι λαβεῖν. συναγομένης γὰρ τῆς
βουλῆς (πάλαι μὲν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις σενάτοις, οἷον εἰ γε-
ρουσίαις, καθ' ἡμᾶς 〈δ'〉 ἐπὶ τοῦ παλατίου), οἱ τῶν ἐκεῖ πρω-
τεύοντες στρατευμάτων, προϊόντες πορρωτέρῳ τῶν οἰκείων 10
ἐδρῶν, ἀποδέχονται γονυπετεῖς τὴν ἐπαρχότητα· ἡ δὲ φιλήματος
ἀξιοῖ προσιόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς θεραπείαν τοῦ στρατοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸς
δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οἷον εἰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, τῆς βασιλείας
ἐκλείπων, πρόσσεισιν ἐκ ποδὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποδεχόμενος τὸν
ἄρχοντα· οὗ ἔνδον ἅμα αὐτοῦ γενομένου, φυλακὴ πᾶσα μηδεμίαν 15
μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσω γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν συγχωροῦσα, ἀλλ' οὐδέ,
διαλυθέντος τοῦ συλλόγου, πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀναχωρεῖν τινα τῶν ἐκ
τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέπουσα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐγκρατῶς ἐφυλάχθη ἄχρι
τῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Νέου καιρῶν, ὅς, ἐπεὶ νέος ἦν καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
προϊὼν κατὰ τὸ συνειδησμένον τὴν τιμὴν προσφέρειν οὐκ ἴσχυε 20
τῇ ἀρχῇ, εἰκόνα στήσας ὥρισεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸν
ὑπαρχον. καὶ τραπέισης τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐκφωνήσεως περσίκιον τὸ
σκῆπτρον ὁ δῆμος καλεῖ, ὅτι πέρ ση κατὰ Ῥωμαίους τὸ 'δι'
ἑαυτοῦ' λέγεται. ταύτης δὲ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως φύλαξ
ἀπολαύει διὰ τοῦ μείζονος ἄρχοντος τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας 25
ἀξιωθεῖς. ξίφος δὲ διεζώννυτο ἀνέκαθεν ὁ ὑπαρχος, οἷα καὶ
f 58^r τῶν ὀπλων ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν·|καὶ τοῦτο δυνατὸν αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εὑρεῖν εἰ γέ τις φιλάρχαιος ὢν ἐπὶ τὴν Καλη-
δόνα περαιωθεῖς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ ὑπάρχου εἰκόνα καταμάθοι.

2 τῇ δὲ στολῇ f b w τῇ δε στολῇ P τὴν συστολὴν A 4 ὀριζόμενος P f b w
ὀρισάμενος A 5 μόνῳ f b w μόνως P μόνῳ P₂ 7 ἀντικρυς P w ἀντικρὺς f b
ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας P f b w an fort. ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ? b 8 σενάτοις P f b w σενάτω f^l
25 9 〈δ'〉 f b w 12 αὐτοὺς f b w αὐτοῖς P A 13 τῆς βασιλείας P b τὴν
βασιλείαν f w 14 δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποδεχόμενος bis scriptum (post βασιλεὺς et post ποδὸς)
P priore loco del. f b w 15 αὐτοῦ P₂ αὐτοῦ P αὐτῷ f b w 17 αὐτῆς P₂ αὐτῆς
P αὐτοῦ f b w 20 ἴσχυε P₂ A ἴσχυεν P ἴσχυσε f b w 22 περσίκιον P₂ f b w
περσικιον P 23 πέρ ση w πέρση P πέρσικα P₂ A περ ση f b 25 τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ
A f b τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ P τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ P₂ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ? b τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν w 26
δὲ διεζώννυτο P₂ A δε διεζόννυτο P δὲ ἐζώννυτο f b w 28 εἰ γέ τις P εἶγε τις f b
εἰ γε τις (sic) w φιλάρχαιος b φιλαρχαῖος P f w ὢν P₂ f b w ὢν P 29 τὴν ante
Φιλίππου deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A

by his reforms of affairs and bounties to his subjects is a consul for as long as he is in office, yet he becomes one in vesture whenever he should wish to embellish his station, taking the consular dignity unto himself as a rank higher than the imperial office.

9. That the magistracy from the beginning ceded to the scepter alone, as I have stated earlier, having been allotted an honor which was equal to it, can be clearly discerned from the imperial residence. For, whenever the senate is convened (in days of old in the so-called *senati*, that is to say, “councils of elders” but in our day in the *palatium*), those who head the troops there come forth rather far from their own stations and, falling on their knees, welcome the prefect; and he graces them with a kiss when they approach in order to court the army’s favor; and even the *Caesar* himself, that is to say, “emperor of the Romans,” departs from the imperial residence and approaches on foot, welcoming in person the magistrate. As soon as the latter himself has entered, every precaution prevails, allowing none of the magistrates to enter after him but, even after the meeting has been adjourned, not permitting any of the members of the senate to depart before him. And this procedure was steadfastly observed down to the times of Theodosius the Younger, who, because he was a child and did not have the strength to come forth in person in accordance with what had become the custom and render his homage to the magistrate, set up an image and ordained that it welcome the prefect in his stead. And, the correct pronunciation having been altered, the common people call the scepter *persicium* because the phrase “through oneself” is rendered *per se* by the Romans. The guardian of the city, too, however, enjoys this honor, having been deemed worthy of the equality of honor because of the identity of name with the greater magistrate. From the beginning the prefect girded himself with a sword inasmuch, in fact, as he had power over arms; and this can be found out at the present time with one’s very eyes if, that is, one who is a

σῖκαν δὲ τὸ ὑποζώνιον ξίφος Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἐξ οὗ σικαρίους τοὺς κρεουργοὺς, καὶ σικᾶτα τὴν ἐκ σαρκῶν εἰς λεπτὰ κα-
τακοπεῖσαν ἐδωδῆν.

〈10〉 Ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ὅσα λέλογχεν ἔχει τέλος,' τὸ ποιητικὸν εἶπεῖν. Κωνσταντίνου γὰρ μετὰ τῆς Τύχης τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολι- 5
πόντος καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ὅσαι τὸν Ἰστρον ἐφρουροῦν ἐπὶ τὴν
κάτω Ἀσίαν ψήφῳ τοῦ βασιλέως διασπαρεισῶν, Σκυθίαν μὲν
καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων φόρους ἐζημιώθη τὸ δημόσιον,
τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον βαρβάρων μηδενὸς ἀνθισταμένου κατατρε-
χόντων τὴν Εὐρώπην· τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑω παρὰ τὸ πάλαι δασμοῖς 10
οὐ μετρίοις βαρυνθέντων, ἀνάγκη γέγονε τὸν ὑπαρχον μηκέτι
μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ὅπλοις ἄρχειν δυνάμεων (τῆς μὲν
τῷ λεγομένῳ μαγίστρῳ παραδοθείσης, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἄρτι κα-
τασταθεῖσι στρατηγοῖς ἐκτεθεισῶν), τὴν δὲ ἀνατολὴν πρὸς τῇ
κάτω Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ὅσα ταύτης διοικοῦντα, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἀνατολῆς 15
χρηματίζειν ὑπαρχον. διεσῶρη δὲ οὐδὲν 〈ἦττον θανατώσα καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡ〉 τῆς ἀρχῆς δυναστεία ἄχρι τῶν Ἀρκαδίου, τοῦ πατρὸς
Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Νέου, καιρῶν, ἐφ' οὗ συμβέβηκεν Ῥουφῖνον
τὸν ἐπίκλην ἀκόρεστον, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος αὐτῷ, τυραννίδα μελε-
τήσαντα τοῦ μὲν σκοποῦ ὑπὲρ λυσιτελείας τῶν κοινῶν ἐκπεσεῖν, 20
εἰς βάραθρον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταρρῖψαι. αὐτίκα μὲν γὰρ ὁ βα-
σιλεὺς τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἴτα
τῆς τῶν λεγομένων φαβρικῶν, οἷον εἰ ὀπλοποιῶν, φροντίδος,
τῆς τε τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου καὶ πάσης ἐτέρας δι' ὧν τὸ λε-
f 58^v γόμενον|συνέστη μαγιστέριον. ὥς δὲ δύσεργον ἦν ἀποτρέφειν 25
μὲν τὸν ὑπαρχον ἀνὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας τοὺς δημοσίους ἵππους καὶ
τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐφεστῶτας, ἐτέρους δὲ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ διοίκησιν, νόμος ἐτέθη θεσπίζων, ἀντέχεσθαι
μὲν τὸν ὑπαρχον τῆς τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου φροντίδος, τὸν πρῶτον
μέντοι τῶν φρουμενταρίων (πρίγκιπα αὐτὸν σήμερον συμβαίνει 30

1 σῖκαν w σίκαν P Σικὴν f σίκην b 2 σικᾶτα w σικατα P σικευτα in
margine P σικάτα P₂ A σικᾶτα f b 4 ὅσα w ὅσω P ὅσῳ A ὅσα f b an
ὅσα ? b 10 τὴν ante ἑω omis. A 13 παραδοθείσης P₂ b w παραδοθεισης P
παραδωθείσης (sic) f 14 ἐκτεθεισῶν f b w εκταθεισῶν P ἐκταθεισῶν P₂ τῇ f b w
τὴν P τὴν P₂ 15 διοικοῦντα f b w διοικούνται P A 16-17 〈ἦττον θανατώσα καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡ〉 w 〈ἦττον ἡ〉 f b 17 πατρὸς f b w πρὸ P 22 ὅπλων f b w πολλων
P πολλῶν P₂ 23 φαβρικῶν f b w φαβρίκων P A ὀπλοποιῶν P₂ w οπλοποιεῶν P
ὀπλοποιῶν A ὀπλοποιῶν f b 25 μαγιστέριον f b w μαγεστεριον P μαγεστέριον P₂
ἀποτρέφειν f b w ἀποστρέφειν P ἀποστρέφειν P₂ 26 ἀνὰ τὰς P₂ A f b w ἀνασταῖς
P 30 μέντοι f b w μὲν P

lover of antiquities should cross over to Calchedon and observe the statue of Philippus the prefect. The Romans call the sword that is worn under the belt *sica*, from which they call butchers *sicarii* and food consisting of meat cut up into small pieces *sicata*.

10. But “all things that have been allotted a beginning have an end,” to utter a poetic statement. For, after Constantine along with his Fortune had left Rome, and after all the forces that were guarding the Ister had been dispersed over Lower Asia by the decision of the emperor, the public treasury suffered the loss of Scythia and Mysia and of the tribute from them because the barbarians who were living beyond the Ister were overrunning Europe since no one was opposing them. Because, however, the peoples in the East in the course of olden times had been burdened with taxes that were not moderate, necessity arose for the prefect no longer to command the court and the forces under arms. (the former was handed over to the so-called *magister*, while the latter were turned over to the recently established generals) but, because he was administering the East including Lower Asia and all that belongs to the latter, to be called henceforth prefect of the East. The magistracy’s exercise of power, however, although dying every day, was no less broken up until the times of Arcadius, the father of Theodosius the Younger, during whose time it happened that Rufinus, surnamed “the insatiate,” who was his prefect, because he had aimed at a usurpation, lapsed from the objective [of working] on behalf of the advantage of the public good and hurled the magistracy down into a pit. For the emperor immediately deprived the magistracy of its power derived from arms, then of its administration of the so-called *fabricae*, that is to say, “manufactories of arms,” and of that of the public post and of every other through which the so-called *magisterium* became constituted. Since, however, it was impracticable for the prefect to maintain the public horses throughout the provinces and those in charge of them and for others to wield both authority over them and management, a law was enacted which decreed that the prefect retain the administration of the public post but that the chief of the *frumentarii* (today he happens to be

〈καλεῖσθαι〉) παρῆναι διὰ παντὸς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦ τῶν πραι-
τωρίων ὑπάρχου καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνᾶν
ὧν ἕνεκα πολλοὶ ποριζόμενοι παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ λεγόμενα
συνθήματα τῷ δημοσίῳ κέχρηται δρόμῳ (ταύτη καὶ κουριῶσος
ὠνομάσθη, ἀντὶ τοῦ περιεργος· καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ 5
πάντες ὅσοι κἂν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστήκασιν
ἵπποις), προσυπογράφοντος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν δρόμων συνθήμασι καὶ
τοῦ λεγομένου μαγίστρου. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως, αὐτῆς δυνατὸν ἀκοῦσαι
τῆς διατάξεως ἐν μὲν τῷ πάλαι Θεοδοσιανῷ κειμένης, ἐν δὲ
τῷ νεαρῷ παροφθείσης.

〈11〉 Οὕτως οὖν ὥσπερ δι' ὑποβάθρων τινῶν καταφερομένης
τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς μὲν στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους ἔταξεν ἡ βασιλεία
ὑπὸ τοῖς τότε καλουμένοις κόμισιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐν
τῷ παλατίῳ τάξεις ὑπὸ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς αὐλῆς,
περὶ οὗ πρὸς τέλος, ὡς ὑπεσχόμην, ἐρῶ, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα 15
οὐ μικρόν, καθάπερ τοὺς λεγομένους στρατηλάτας, αἱ τῆς ἐπαρ-
χότητος ἐλαττώσεις ἀπετέλεσαν. τὰ γὰρ πολυτελῆ τῶν οἰκοδο-
μημάτων καταλυόμενα πολλοῖς ἐπαρκεῖ πρὸς οἰκοδομήν. καὶ
ἕως μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπεξίεναι δι' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς πολέμοις συν-
έβαιναν, εἶχε τινα ἡ ἀρχή, εἰ μὴ τοσαύτην, πλὴν ὑπὲρ πάσας 20
τὰς ἄλλας ἰσχύν τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἐξ ὅτε δὲ Θεοδόσιος πρῶτος,
τῆς τῶν οἰκείων παίδων ῥαστώνης προνοούμενος, νόμῳ δὲ τὴν
ἀνδρίαν ἐχαλίνωσεν, κωλύσας δι' ἐκείνους τὴν βασιλέως Ῥω-
μαίων ἐπὶ πολέμους ὁρμήν, | τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰ 25
τῶν πολέμων, τῷ δὲ μαγίστρῳ διοικεῖν τὰ τοῦ παλατίου γέγονε
χώρα, ὡς μηδὲν ἕτερον ἔχειν τὴν ἐπαρχότητα ἢ μόνην τὴν ἐπὶ
ταῖς δαπάναις φροντίδα, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐστι γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
περὶ τε τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρχοντας, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους
γε μὴν, 〈ὧν〉 αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν ἐτάχθησαν.

〈12〉 Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προρρήσεων στοχασμούς, 30
οὓς τινες καλοῦσι χρησμούς, ἐν ἀριθμῷ λόγων παραλαβεῖν ὑπο-

1 〈καλεῖσθαι〉 f b w 4 κουριῶσος w κουριῶσος P κουριῶσος A κουριῶσος
f b 7 προσυπογράφοντος by προσεπίγραφοντος P προσεπιγράφοντος P2 b προῦ-
πογράφοντος f w 9 ἐν P2 f b w ἐν P 10 νεαρῷ f b w νεορῶι P νεορῶι P2
παροφθείσης P2 A f b w παρα|οφθείσης P 13 κόμισιν w κομησιν P κόμισι P2
κόμησιν f b καὶ P w ἡ f b 18 πρὸς οἰκοδομήν f b w πρὸς οἰκοδομημάτων P πρὸς
οἰκοδομημάτων P2 21 ἐξ ὅτε by ἐξοτε P ἐξδοτε P2 ἐξδοτε f b w 22 παίδων P2
A f b παιδων P παιδῶν (sic) w δὲ P f w del. b 27 ἦν P w ἄς f b 29 γε μὴν,
w γέ μὴν P γε μὴν f b 〈ὧν〉 f b w 30 τοὺς f b w τοῖς P τοῖς P2 τοὺς (ex
τοῖς) A 31 οὓς P b w ἄς f

called *princeps*) be continually present at the court of justice of the prefect of the *praetoria* and closely scrutinize and investigate the reasons why many procure for themselves from the magistracy the so-called travel warrants and enjoy the use of the public post (for this reason, indeed, he was named *curiosus*, namely, “inquisitive,” and not only he himself but also all who even in the provinces superintended the public horses), the so-called *magister*, too, countersigning the travel warrants for the post-roads. That this is so can be understood from the regulation itself set down in the old *Codex Theodosianus* but omitted in the new one.

11. Thus, then, as the magistracy was being brought down by steps, as it were, the emperor placed the military registers under the authority of those who were called at that time *comites*, that is, generals, and the staffs in the *palatium* under the authority of the head of the forces of the court, about whom I shall speak towards the end, as I promised. The reductions of the prefecture made the latter, too, just as the so-called army commanders, no small magistrate. For the dissolution of costly structures suffices for the construction of many others. And, so long as it was the case that the emperors went out to wars personally, the magistracy had both some might and power, if not so great, nevertheless more than all the others. From the time, however, that Theodosius the First, in providing for the ease of his own sons, had restricted prowess by a law by his having forbidden on their account the setting out of the emperor of the Romans to wars, it became henceforth the province of the generals to manage the business of wars, while that of the *magister* the affairs of the *palatium*; so that the prefecture had nothing else than only authority over expenditures, which naturally occurs of necessity both with regard to the magistrates emanating from it, as I said, and with regard to those, in fact, whom they themselves were appointed to govern.

12. If one should accept to take into account also the speculations from the predictions which some call oracles, whatever had been proclaimed

μένοι, πέρας ἔλαβε <τὰ> Φοντηῖω τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ ῥηθέντα ποτέ·
 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ στίχους τινὰς δοθέντας δῆθεν Ῥωμύλῳ ποτὲ πα-
 τρίοις ῥήμασιν ἀναφέρει τοὺς ἀναφανδὸν προλέγοντας, τότε
 Ῥωμαίους τὴν Τύχην ἀπολείψειν ὅταν αὐτοὶ τῆς πατρίου φωνῆς
 ἐπιδάδωνται. καὶ τὸν μὲν λεγόμενον χρησμὸν τοῖς Περί Μηνῶν 5
 γραφεῖσιν ἐντεθεῖκαμεν, πέρας δὲ μᾶλλον ἔσχε τὰ τοιαῦτα
 μαντεύματα. Κύρου γάρ τινος Αἰγυπτίου, ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ νῦν
 θαυμαζομένου, ἅμα τὴν πολίανρχον ἅμα τὴν τῶν πραιτωρίων
 ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος, καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπισταμένου,
 εἶτα παραβῆναι θαρρήσαντος τὴν παλαιὰν συνήθειαν καὶ τὰς 10
 ψήφους Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ προενεγκόντος, σὺν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ
 καὶ τὴν Τύχην ἀπέβαλεν ἡ ἀρχή.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΧΗΜΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΩΝ

<13> Ὡς οὖν ἔφην, τοῦ μὲν ἱπάρχου πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου 15
 ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν περιαιρεθέντος, τοῦ δὲ ὑπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων
 τὴν ἐκεῖνου δύναμιν διαδεξαμένου, εἰκὸς ὀγκωθῆναι πλέον τὴν
 ἀρχήν, τοῖς ὅπλοις προστεθείσης καὶ τῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγ-
 μάτων διοικήσεως. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον ἵχνη τινὰ τῆς ἱπαρχίας παρ-
 ἀπέμεινεν αὐτῇ, μικρὰς τινος παραλλαγῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης. μαν- 20
 f 59^v δύνῃ | μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐπαρχος περιεβάλλετο Κῶν (ἐπ' ἐκείνης γὰρ
 τῆς νήσου καὶ μόνης ἡ βαθυτέρα βαφὴ τοῦ φοινικοῦ χρώματος
 τὸ πρὶν ἐπηνεῖτο κατασκευαζομένη· <ἡ> γὰρ ἡρέμα πως ἐπὶ τὸ
 φλόγινον καὶ οὐ σφόδρα βαθὺ ἀναπτομένη πρὸς Παρθυαίων
 ἐξηύρηται· ὅθεν καὶ Παρθικὰ τὰ φλογοβαφῇ δέρματα συμβαίνει 25
 καλεῖσθαι)· ὁ δὲ μανδύης χλαμύδος εἰδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ
 πλήθει μαντίον λεγόμενον, μὴ πλέον ἄχρι γονάτων ἐξ ὧμων

1 <τὰ> b w 2 τινὰς δοθέντας A b w δοθεντας τινὰς δοθεντας P posterius
 δοθεντας del. P₂ f 3 τοὺς P f b w αὐτοὺς P₂ A 7 ποιητικῇ f b w ποιητικῇ P
 ποιητικῇ A 8 θαυμαζομένου f b w θαυμαζενου P θαυμαζένου P₂ πραιτωρίων P₂
 f b w πραιτωρίων P 9 μηδὲν παρὰ w μηδενα παρα P μηδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ P₂ A f b
 10 παραβῆναι P₂ f b w παραλαβηναι P τὰς f b w τοὺς P τοὺς P₂ 11 προενεγ-
 κόντος f b w προσηνεγκοντος P προσηνεγκόντος P₂ 12 ἀπέβαλεν P₂ A f b w
 ἀπελαβεν P 20 αὐτῇ f b w αὐτῇ P αὐτῇ P₂ A 21 Κῶν b w κῶαν P Κῶαν
 f 22 χρώματος P₂ f b w χρωματος P ὀνόματος A 23 <ἡ> f b w 24 φλόγινον
 b w φλογινὸν P f ἀναπτομένη P₂ f b w ἀναπτομενη P fort. leg. ἀνασπώμενη f
 βαπτομένη f¹ 25 27 πλέον ἄχρι P b w πλέον <ἡ> ἄχρι f

at one time by Fonteius the Roman attained fulfillment, for he mentions some verses manifestly given to Romulus at one time in his ancestral words which clearly foretold that Fortune would desert the Romans at that time when they forgot their ancestral language. And, while I have inserted the so-called oracle in what I wrote *On Months*, oracles of this sort in truth were fulfilled. For, when a certain Cyrus, an Egyptian, who even today continues to be admired for poetic art, was administering both the city prefecture and that of the *praetoria*, although he knew nothing but poetry, then ventured to transgress the ancient practice and produced his decrees in the Greek language, the magistracy threw away along with the language of the Romans also its Fortune.

On the Insignia of the Prefecture of the PRAETORIA

13. When, then, as I said, the cavalry commander had been removed from the magistracies by Augustus, and the prefect of the *praetoria* had successively received the former's power, it was natural for the magistracy to become more burdened because to its military activities had been added also the administration of civil affairs; nevertheless, however, some vestiges of the office of cavalry commander remained with it, a certain small change having occurred. For the prefect began to wear a Coan cloak, for the rather deep dye of crimson hue which was prepared on that island and that alone was extolled in former times; for the dye which is tintured somewhat gently towards the color of flame and is not exceedingly deep has been discovered by the Parthyaean; for this reason actually flame-colored hides happen to be called "Parthic." His cloak, however, was a kind of mantle, which is called *mantion* by the common people; it was suspended from the shoulders and extended no more than to the knees; *segmenta* were not put on his cloak but those

ἡρτημένον, σηγμέντων οὐκ ἐπιβαλλομένων τῷ μανδύῃ, τῶν
 <δ'> ἐν ἡμῖν λεγομένων ταβλίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ πτυχίων· ἐκείνων
 γὰρ ἐπιτιθεμένων οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐτέρῳ ἢ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι.
 σηγμένα δὲ τὰ χρυσόσημα Ῥωμαίοις <ἔθος> καλεῖν, ὡς προέφα-
 μεν. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ χλαμύς, παραγώδης δέ, χιτῶν καταπόρφυρος, 5
 καὶ ζωστήρ ἐκ φοινικοῦ δέρματος, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀνακεκολλ-
 λημένος, ἐξ ἄκρων δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν εἰς λεπτὴν καταρραφὴν
 ἐσπουδασμένος, καὶ σεληνίσκον μὲν ἔχων τινὰ ἐξ εὐωνύμων,
 χρυσῷ πεποιημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας γλωσσίδα τινὰ ἢ γ' οὖν
 διάβλημα, χρυσοτελὲς καὶ αὐτό, εἰς βότρυος σχῆμα πεποιημένον, 10
 δι' ἣν ἐν τῇ Περι Μηνῶν συγγραφῇ ἀποδεδώκαμεν αἰτίαν· ὅπερ
 διάβλημα ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς φερόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνίσκον βαλ-
 λόμενον διαζώννυσι τὸν περιτιθέμενον ἀσφαλῶς, περόνης καὶ
 αὐτῆς χρυσῆς ἐνδακνούσης τὸν ἱμάντα καὶ συναπτούσης τὸν
 βότρυον τῷ σεληνίσκῳ· φίβουλαν αὐτὴν πατρίως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι 15
 καὶ βάλτεον τὸν ζωστήρα λέγουσιν, τὴν δὲ ὅλην κατασκευὴν
 τοῦ περιζώματος οἱ Γάλλοι καρταμέραν, ἣν τὸ πλῆθος καρτά-
 λαμον ἐξ ιδιωτείας ὀνομάζει. ὅτι δὲ οὐ Ῥωμαϊκὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ
 ῥημάτιον, μάρτυς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐμπτῶ Περι
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς Διαλέκτου, ἐν ᾧ διαρθροῦται ποία μὲν τις λέξις 20
 f 60^r ἐστὶν Αἰολικῇ, ποία δὲ Γαλλικῇ· καὶ ὅτι ἐτέρα μὲν ἡ Θούσκων,
 ἄλλη δὲ Ἐτρούσκων, ὧν συγχυθεῖσων ἡ νῦν κρατοῦσα τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἀπετελέσθη φωνή.

<14> Τοιαύτη μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένη πα-
 ρατοῦρα, ἀντὶ τοῦ στολή, ὄχημα δὲ ὁποῖον ἴσμεν καὶ θῆκαι· 25
 οὕτω δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῷ πλήθει καλαμάριον ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν,
 ὅπερ ὄγκου καὶ μόνου χάριν εἰς τύπον τοιοῦτον χρυσήλατον
 κατεσκεύαστο· ἐκατὸν ἔχειν χρυσίου λίτρας ὑπείληπται. ἕτερον

2 <δ'> f b w ταβλίων by ταυλιων P ταυλιών P₂ A ταυλιῶν f b ταβλῶν w
 πτυχίων P₂ A f b w πτυχηον P fort. leg. πτυχῶν f 4 Ῥωμαίοις b w ρωμαίοις P
 ῥωμαίοις P₂ Ῥωμαίους A Ῥωμαίοις f <ἔθος> P₂ f b w ἔθος A 5 παραγώδης P₂ f b
 παραγώδης P παραγώδης w 6 ἀνακεκολλημένους τε A 9 ἢ γ' οὖν by ἡγουν P
 ἡγουν f b w 15 φίβουλαν b w φιβούλλαν P φιβούλλαν in margine P₂ φιβούλαν A
 Φίβουλαν f 16 βάλτεον f b w βαλτεον P βαλτέον A 17 περιζώματος f b w
 ριζώματος P ριζώματος P₂ 20 διαρθροῦται f b w διαρθοῦται P 21 μὲν ἡ
 Θούσκων f b μὲν ἡ θούσκων P ἡ del. w 22 Ἐτρούσκων b w ετεροῦσκων P
 ετεροῦσκων A Ἐτρούσκων f ὧν P f b w τῶν A 24 αὐτοῖς P₂ f b w αὐτῆς P
 καλουμένη P A f b λεγομένη w παρατοῦρα f b w παρατου|ρα P παρατούρα
 P₂ A 26 τῷ f b w τῶι P τῶι P₂ 28 ἐκατὸν <γὰρ> ? b ἐκατὸν <γὰρ> w

that are called among us *tablia*, namely, “stripes”; for, whenever the former were put on it, none other than the *Caesar* alone was permitted to use them; the Romans are accustomed to call golden devices *segmenta*, as I said above. Such was his cloak. He had, however, a *paragodes*, which was a deep purple tunic, and a belt of crimson hide, which was fastened on to it but was elaborately embellished from the top of its sides to its delicate hem and, whereas on the left side it had a crescent made of gold, on the other side it had a tongue-shaped fastening or insert (it, too, gold-finished) made into the shape of a cluster of grapes, for the reason which I have explained in my treatise *On Months*. This insert, when drawn from the right and fastened to the little crescent, girded its wearer securely because a pin (it, too, golden) bit into the strap and linked the cluster of grapes with the little crescent. The Romans call the pin *fibula* in their native language and the belt *balteus*, but the Gauls call the entire girdle outfit *cartamera*, which the common people call *cartalamum* out of ignorance. That this peculiar word is not Roman, the Roman Varro attests in Book V of his work *On the Roman Language*, in which it is precisely defined what sort of word is Aeolic and what sort is Gallic; and that a word deriving from the Tuscans is of one sort, while that deriving from the Etruscans is of another, from the blending of which was formed the now prevailing language of the Romans.

14. Such was the magistracy’s *paratura*, as they call it, namely, “raiment.” It had, however, a chariot, such as the sort with which we are acquainted, and cases; the latter is their word for that which the common people call *kalamarion*, which, for the sake of pomp and that alone, had been constructed of beaten gold into such a shape; it was assumed to contain a hundred pounds of gold. Another one, however, of

δὲ ἐξ ἀργυρίου βαθὺ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν κοινοῦ μέλανος ἐξυπη-
 ρετίζεται τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (καλλίκλιον αὐτό, οἷον εἰ καυθίσκον,
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλυκος καλεῖσθαι νόμος) καὶ κάνθαρος, ὡς λεκάνη
 τις, ἐξ ἀργύρου ἐπὶ τρίποδος ἀργυραίου καὶ κρατὴρ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 τὰς ἐμπροθέσμους δίκας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λεγόντων κείμενος· 5
 περὶ οὗ μακρηγορεῖν ἀηδὲς εἶναι κρίνων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀναλαβεῖν
 τὴν ἀφήγησιν συνωθοῦμαι, ἐκεῖνο προλέγων ὥς εἰσιν ἔτι καὶ
 νῦν πορθιμίδες τρεῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀντιπόρθιμους διαπεραιώ-
 σεις ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπὶ τὰς γείτονας ἡπείρους. βάρκας αὐτάς,
 ἀντὶ τοῦ δρόμωνας, πατριῶς ἐκάλεσαν οἱ παλαιότεροι καὶ κέλω- 10
 κας, οἷον ταχινάς, ὅτι κέλερ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ταχὺς λέγεται, καὶ
 σαρκιναρίας, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀλκάδας, ὅτι σάρκινα κατ' αὐτοὺς τὸ
 ἄχθος καλεῖται. τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα καὶ ταῦτα. πρὸς δὲ τὸ προ-
 κείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν.

〈15〉 Νόμος ἦν (καὶ γὰρ ἄρτι παρεφθάρη) τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ 15
 ψήφων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὰς δίκας λέγοντας μετὰ
 ἔφεσιν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμπροθέσμως αὐτάς κατὰ τὸν ἐκ-
 κλητον νόμον ἀναπέμπειν, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτικῶν δικα-
 στηριῶν ἀπὸ ψήφων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· κἀκείνας μὲν
 καλεῖσθαι τεμποραλίας, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμπροθέσμους, ταύτας δὲ 20
 σάκρας, οἷον θείας, διὰ τό, ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως ἀκρόασιν
 μετ' ἐκκλητον ἀναπέμπεσθαι. θαῦμα μέγιστον καὶ πανευδαί-
 f 60^v μονος πολιτείας τεκμήριον· | βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ὑπέμενε χα-
 μαϊζήλου δικαστοῦ λειτουργίαν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ κρίνειν πράγ-
 ματα, ἴσως καὶ σφόδρα γλίσχρης ὑποθέσεως ἀνεχόμενος, καθάπερ 25
 ὁ ἡμερώτατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους
 στοργήν, καίτοι τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ πολεμίων ἀγρυπνῶν καὶ προ-
 κινδυνεύειν ἡμῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων. εἰ μὴ σφαλερωτέραν ἡμῖν
 τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ δῆμος θεηλάτοις διχονοίαις ἀναπτόμενος ἀπετέλει,
 ἥς ἔνεκα βαρυτέραν τὸ δημόσιον δαπάνην ὑφίσταται πρὸς 30
 φυλακὴν τῆς εἰρήνης ἢ πρὸς ἀναχαιτισμὸν τῶν πολεμίων· ἔνθεν

1 ἐξυπηρετίζεται P₂ b w ἐξυπηρετίζεται P ἐξυπηρέτῃται f 2 τῷ f b w τῷ P
 τῷ P₂ καλλίκλιον P₂ f b w καλλικλιον P 4 ἀργυραίου by ἀργυρέου P f b w
 7 ἀφήγησιν P₂ A f b w ἐφηγησιν P 10 κέλωκας w κίλοκας P καὶ κίλοκας (καὶ et
 λ in rasura) A κίλοκας f κήλοκας b 11 αὐτοὺς A f b w αὐτὰς P 18 τὰς P τοὺς
 f b w ἀρχαιοτικῶν P₂ f b w ἀρχαιοτικῶν P 22 μετ' ἐκκλητον P₂ w μετεκκλητον P
 μετέκκλητον f b 24 ὑφίστασθαι f b w ὑφίστασθαι P 25 ἀνεχόμενος P₂ A f b w
 ἀνεχόμενους P 29 διχονοίαις P₂ A f b w διχονοίας P 30 ἥς P ὧν f b w 31
 ἐνθεν P w ἔνθα f ἐνθα b ἐνθεν ? b

silver, which is deep (it is customarily called *caliculus*, that is to say, "little cup," from *kalyx*), for the reception of ordinary ink, serves the court of justice. There was also a water-receptacle, as a kind of basin, of silver, on a silver tripod, and a bowl, set up for those who pleaded cases to be argued within a specified time in the court of justice. Although I judge it to be distasteful to speak at great length about this subject, I am compelled out of necessity to take up its explanation. I must first say this: that the prefecture still even to this day has at its disposal three boats for crossing the straits from the imperial city to the neighboring mainlands. The people of an older day in their ancestral language called them *barcae*, namely, "runners," and *celoces*, that is, "speeders," because with them "swift" is rendered *celer*, and *sarcinariae*, namely, "freighters," because with them "burden" is rendered *sarcina*. So much about this. Let us return, however, to the question under discussion.

15. There was a law (for it also has recently fallen into desuetude) that those pleading lawsuits in the provinces from verdicts of the magistracy, after an appeal, were to refer them again to the prefecture within a specified time in accordance with the law of appeal; while the lawsuits in the magisterial courts from their verdicts, to the emperor; and that the former were to be called *temporales*, namely, "within specified time"; while the latter, *sacrae*, that is, "imperial," on account of the fact, as I said, that they were forwarded, after an appeal, for a hearing by the emperor. A wonder most extraordinary and sign of an all-blessed government – the emperor of the Romans used to submit to undertake the public service of a petty judge and to adjudicate lawsuits, enduring perhaps even an extremely thin case, precisely as our most cultured emperor does because of his affection for his subjects, although he is very much vigilant against foes and is instantly ready to brave danger for us. Would that the populace, being inflamed by demon-instigated discords, were not making peace rather unstable for us, for which reason the public treasury undergoes a more burdensome expenditure for

ἡ τῶν λεγομένων νόβων ἀναλωμάτων ἀφορμὴ καὶ στένωσις τῶν ἀναγκαίων. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν βεβασιλευκότας ῥαστώνῃ διέλυσεν, πῶς ἂν ἡρέμησεν οὗτος, ὕπνῳ μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως χαλῶμενος, τροφῆς δὲ χάριν μηδὲ ἄρτου ξηροῦ πρὸς κόρον ἀπτόμενος;

5

〈16〉 Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν συνηθείας ἤδη πρότερον εἰς τρυφὴν ἀναλυθείσης καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν μέχρι λόγων φροντίδα τῶν κοινῶν ἀποπτυσάντων, νόμος ἐφοίτησεν, τὸν ὑπαρχον ἀκροάσασθαι τῶν σακρῶν διατυπῶν, πρᾶγμα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν ἀρκοῦν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ τὸ 10 πάλαι θειότητα. λευχείμων μὲν γὰρ ὁ ὑπαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τάξις ἀρμοδία ὡσαύτως ἐσταλμένη μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ τῶν δικῶν κύριοι λαμπροφανεῖς, καὶ σιγὴ κατασκέπουσα τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ῥητόρων οἱ διαφανέστατοι ἀξίας ἐορτῶν ἀμπεχόμενοι στολάς, καὶ ὁ τρίπους ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἀκροατηρίου, 15 ἐξηρημένου κατὰ μέσον τοῦ κανθάρου, καὶ κρατὴρ παρακείμενος, δι' οὗ ποτε πληρούμενος ὁ κἀνθάρος ὕδατος τοσοῦτον ἐδίδου καιρὸν τῷ τῆς δίκης τέρματι ἐφ' ὅσον διὰ τινος γνώμονος τοῦ ἐνόντος αὐτῷ ὕδατος διηθουμένου ὁ κύαθος ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῖς λέγουσιν ὅλως πρὸς θεῖον δικαστὴν 20

f 61^r ἀνυψούμενος. τούτων πάντων ἀπολομένων, οὐδὲ ἵχνος τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέμεινε σεμνότητος τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, τῶν συνεδρευόντων μόνον ἐν παραβύστῳ μετὰ γέλωτος τῶν περιεστηκότων ὥσπερ ἐν μίμοις τινῶν δῆθεν δικῶν ἀκρωμένων. καὶ τάξις οὐδεμία ἡ μήνυμα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν συνειθισμένον παραδηλοῦν τὸν χρόνον τῆς 25 ἡμέρας· ὁ γὰρ τῆς τάξεως προεστηκώς (σουβαδιούβαν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν, οἷον εἰ ὑποβοηθόν), πραττούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐστὼς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τροχίσκους τινὰς οὐκ εὐτελεῖς ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, γραφὰς τῶν ὠρῶν ἔχοντας τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς Ἰταλῶν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν, ἐμβριθῶς ἀφιεῖς ἐξαπίνης 30 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος θρόον ἀπετέλει σεμνόν, παραδηλοῦντος τοῦ βαλλομένου τροχίσκου κατὰ τοῦ μαρμάρου τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν.

3 οὗτος P₂ A f b w οὕτως P 8 ἐφοίτησεν by εφυτησεν P ἐφοίτησε P₂ A f b w 9 ἀκροάσασθαι P₂ f b ακροάσασθαι P ἀκροασασθαι (sic) w διατυπῶν P f b διατυπώσεων w 16 ἐξηρημένου P₂ f b w ἐξηρημενου P ἐξηρημένος A κανθάρου P₂ f b w κανθάρου P 20 ὁ λόγος f b w οὐ λόγος P ὅλως f b w ὅλος P 22 σεμνότητος P w omis. f b 26 σουβαδιούβαν f b σουβαδιούβαν P σουβαδιούβαν w 30 ἀφιεῖς f b w αφιης P ἀφ' ἧς P₂ A 31 θρόον w θροον P θροῦν P₂ A f b

preserving the peace than for checking the enemy, whence the origin of the so-called *nova* expenditures and the constriction of necessities. For, if indolence had weakened those who have previously reigned as emperors, how could the present [emperor] have been at rest since he is not relaxed at all by sleep nor for the sake of nourishment partakes even of dry bread to satiety?

16. When the practice, then, of this kind had already in former times been reduced to a state of weakness, and men of yesteryear had renounced along with military activities even the care itself, so to speak, of the affairs of state, a law was introduced prescribing that the prefect hear *sacrae* cases – a fact which, even after the change, suffices to point out the worshipful dignity which he had long ago. For the prefect used to be clad in white whenever he was upon the tribunal, but there was also an appropriate staff with him dressed in the same manner, and even the principals themselves in the lawsuits were splendidly attired; and there was silence thoroughly covering the court of justice; and there were most distinguished rhetoricians wearing apparel worthy of feasts; and there was the tripod in the center of the courtroom, the water-receptacle suspended in its center, as well as a water-basin placed beside it, through the use of which formerly the water-receptacle, whenever filled with water, gave as much time as was needed for the completion of the lawsuit, during which the ladle was relieved of the water which was in it which was filtered through by means of a certain measurer; and there was the pleaders' speech wholly elevated to a worshipful judge. When all these things had been done away with, not even a trace of solemnity remained behind any longer to the court of justice since the assessors hear certain suits forsooth only in private accompanied by the laughter of the bystanders just as though they were at mimes. And there is no staff or signal indicating the time of the day in accordance with the previously established custom. For the person who was in charge of the staff (he was called *subadiuva*, that is to say, "under-assistant"), standing at the head of those who were serving while the magistracy was conducting business, sternly dropped suddenly upon the floor certain little balls, which were not cheap, made of silver, and had markings for the hours of the day with Italian numbers and letters, and made a solemn sound, the little ball that was cast upon the marble indicating the hour of the day.

<17> Καὶ τούτου τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἀξιοπρεποῦς σχήματος
 ἀπολομένου, οἷα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ μηδ' ὅλως ὀρωμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βήματος ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Καππαδόκου, περὶ οὗ ὕστερον
 ἐρῶ, ἐν κοιτῶνί τινι λανθανούσης, οὐδεὶς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀξιόλογος
 παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τάξιν οὕτως ἀπερριμμένην καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσχύ- 5
 νην ἢ τιμὴν τινα τῷ προσιόντι φέρουσαν. συγκατέπεσεν οὖν
 ἑαυτοῖς τὰ πράγματα καὶ προσευτελίσθη παρὰ πᾶσαν ἢ πρώτην
 καὶ ἀνίσχουσα τῶν ἀρχῶν, καθ' ὅντινα οὖν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν
 εὐτελῶς ἐλκομένη, τὸ πρὶν μηδέποτε, μὴ τί γε πάσης τῆς βουλῆς
 προτρεχούσης ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις σιλεντίοις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς φαι- 10
 νομένη, κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰρημένον τελευταία μὲν πασῶν εἰσιούσα
 τῶν ἀρχῶν, πρώτη δὲ προϊούσα, τῆς βασιλέως εἰκόνης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ
 παραπεμπούσης αὐτήν· ἔνθεν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν λεγομένων σι-
 λεντιαρίων (ἀμισσιωνάλιος καλεῖται) ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ πρὸς τῆς βασι-
 λείας πρὸς αὐτὴν στελλομένου καὶ γονυπετῶς προτρέποντος ἐπὶ 15
 τὴν αὐλὴν παρελθεῖν, ἢ δὲ μόγις καὶ ἀπαξιούσα τὸν σκυλμὸν
 ἐκινεῖτο.

f 61^v <18> Ὑπόλοιπον περὶ τῆς τάξεως | κατὰ λεπτὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι,
 πόσοις τε καὶ ποίοις συμπληροῦται καταλόγοις, ἔθῃ τε καὶ
 νόμοις ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἤδη μηδὲ μνήμην τινὰ 20
 σῶζεσθαι τῶν ἄρτι διαπεσόντων, ἀπαιδεύτων οἷα καὶ μηδεμίαν
 πείραν δικαστηρίου παρειληφόντων ἐπεμβαίνοντων τοῖς ποτε μόγις
 πρὸς τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἤδη σεμνοφανὲς ἀφικο-
 μένων μετ' εὐχῆς χειριζομένοις. νόμος γὰρ ἦν, οὐ ψιλὸς ἀλλ'
 ἐν γράμμασιν, μηδενὶ παντελῶς ἐπιτρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ βοηθοῦ 25
 ἀναβαίνειν φρόντισμα πρὶν ἂν, γένους τε μετριότητι καὶ λόγων
 ἐλευθερίων παρασκευῇ κοσμούμενος καὶ ἔνατον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ
 τῆς δέλτου διαπρέψας, δι' ὅλης τε ἐλθὼν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων

2 ἢ μηδ' ὅλως f b w ἢ μηδόλως P ἢ μηδόλως P₂ 4 οὐδεὶς P₂ f b w οὐδεὶς
 P οὐδ' εἰ A ἀξιόλογος f b w ἀξιολόγος P ἀξιολόγως P₂ A 5 ἀπερριμμένην P₂
 b w απερριμμένην P ἀπερριμένην A ἀπερρίμμένην f 6 συγκατέπεσεν P₂ f b w
 συνκατεπεσεν P 7 προσευτελίσθη P b προευτελίσθη f w πᾶσαν P f w πᾶσιν
 (sic) b 8 καθ' ὅντινα οὖν by καθόντιναουσιν P καθ' ὅντιναοῦν P₂ f b w 9 μὴ τί γε
 by μητεγε P μήτεγε P₂ b εἰ μὴ γε f εἰ μὴ τί γε scrib. f¹ 26 an μήτι γε ? b μήτι
 γε w 14 ἀμισσιωνάλιος w ἀμισσιονάλιος P ἀμισσιονάλιος P₂ f b 16 ἢ δὲ f b
 w εἶδε P εἰ δὲ P₂ A 17-18 ἐκινεῖτο. Ὑπόλοιπον b w ἐκείναι τὸ ὑπόλοιπον P ἐκί-
 νει τὸ ὑπόλοιπον P₂ A ἐκινεῖτο. Ὑπόλοιπον f 18 περὶ <τῶν> f w 19 συμπληροῦται
 by συμπληροῦνται P f b w 21 διαπεσόντων P f b w διαταττόντων A 22 πείραν
 P b w πείραν (sic) f 24 ψιλὸς f w ψιλ[·]ς P ψιλῶς b 27 ἔνατον ἐνιαυτὸν f b w
 ἐνατον ἐνιαυτὸν P ἐνατῶν ἐνιαυτῶν P₂ ἔνα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν A

17. And, when this august and so worthily decorous procedure had been done away with, inasmuch as the magistracy either was not seen at all upon the tribunal or, conformably to the standards of the Cappadocian, about whom I shall speak later, lay concealed in some bedroom, no one worthy of note any longer attached himself to its staff because it had been so much rejected and brought disgrace rather than any honor to anyone who entered it. Its business, therefore, at the same time collapsed, and that which used to be the highest and most eminent of the magistracies was cheapened still more than any other because it was dragged to the court unceremoniously at any time whatsoever, whereas formerly it never made its appearance at the court at the so-called *silentia*, unless, that is, the entire senate hastened ahead of it, entering last of all the magistracies and departing first, as I have stated earlier, the emperor's image escorting it in his place; hence the chief of the so-called *silentiarii* (he is called *admissionalis*) used to be sent to it by the emperor at earliest dawn and on bended knee exhorted it to come to the court, whereas it, though disdaining the bother, reluctantly went.

18. There remains to explain in detail about the staff, both as to of how many and of what sort of registers it is composed; and to enumerate its customs and laws. For I am convinced that already not even any memory of the things that by now have perished is being preserved because men who are uninstructed and have acquired no experience in the court of justice enter upon matters that at one time prayerfully used to be handled with difficulty by those who were most experienced and had already arrived at old age with its appearance of dignity. For there was a law, not a simple but a documented one, which permitted absolutely no one to be advanced to the office of assistant, until, being both graced with respectability of descent and training in liberal learning and having become distinguished for nine years on the docket, after having

πείρας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νεότητος τόλμαν εἰς ἐπιείκειαν μεταβαλὼν, τιμῆς οὕτω σεμνῆς καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικρὰν ἐχούσης καὶ κέρδος εἰς χιλίους ποτὲ συναγόμενον χρυσοῦς, ἄξιος εἶναι φανεῖται.

<19> Ἀλλ' ἴσως τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων οἱ νουνεχέστεροι οὐκ
 5 ἔξω λόγου καταδραμοῦνται φήσοντες 'τί δέ ποτε περὶ τῶν ἐπιστή-
 μων τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχόμενος εἶπεῖν, μὴ καὶ βηξίλλων καὶ πε-
 λέκεων καὶ κλημάτων ἐμνημόνευσας, ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τῷ ἱππάρχῳ
 τὸ πάλαι, ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ <τὸν> τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπαρχον ὁ
 πρῶτος τῶν βασιλέων, ἢ τοι Καισάρων, χειροτόνησεν;' ἦν μὲν
 οὖν, φημί, καὶ ταῦτα γνωρίσματα τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπαρχων
 10 ἄχρι Δομιτιανοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ Φοῦσκον τοῦνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς προ-
 στησάμενος ἐγγὺς ὅλην τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας μνήμην ἀπῆλειψεν,
 μὴ πέλεκυν, μὴ βήξιλλα μηδὲ τὰ λεγόμενα κλήματα καταλιπὼν.
 τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τῷ πρίγκιπι κλῆμα φερόμενον οὐδὲν
 15 ἕτερον παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν διασφρίζει τῆς ἀρχαιότητος· πάλαι
 γὰρ καὶ νῦν δὲ παρὰ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀπλων στρατεύμασιν ἐπιφέρεται
 f 62^r ὁ τῶν λεγομένων βιάρχων|πρῶτος ῥάβδον κλῆματι ἐξ ἀργύρου
 πεποιημένῳ περιπεπλεγμένην πρὸς τιμῆς τοῦ ποτε τιμηθέντος
 Διονύσου, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν ἀποχρώντως ἡμῖν ἀνεήνεκται.
 πέλεκυν δὲ μόνῳ τῷ ὑπάτῳ καὶ ταῖς ὑπατικάῃς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἐπαρ-
 20 χιῶν καταλέλοιπεν ὁ χρόνος ἐναλλαγεῖς, ἴσως ἐρυθρίασας καὶ
 τοῦτου τοῦ γνωρίσματος τὴν ὑπατον ἀφελέσθαι τιμὴν. βήξιλλα
 γὰρ αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔχειν τὸ λοιπὸν γνωρίζεται· τίνα δὲ
 ταῦτα, ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μηνῶν ἐπεδείξαμεν. κενόδοξος γὰρ ὢν ὁ
 Δομιτιανὸς τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς ἔχαιρεν· ἴδιον δὲ τυράννων ἀνα-
 25 τρέπειν τὰ πάλαι καθεστηκότα. ὅθεν οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐπαρχότητα

3 χρυσοῦς P₂ b w χρυσοῦς P χρυσοῦς A f 5 τί δέ ποτε w τι δεποτε P τί
 δῆποτε P₂ f τί δῆ ποτε A b 6 βηξίλλων f b w βηξελλων P βηξέλλων P₂ 8
 <τὸν> w 10 φημί b w φῆμη P φημί ex φῆμη (ut videtur) A φημί f 11 Δομι-
 τιανοῦ w δομετιανοῦ P Δομετιανοῦ A f b 12 τὴν A f b w γῆν P 13 βήξιλλα
 f b w βεξελλα (quod corr. in βεξηλλα) P βέξηλλα A καταλιπὼν f b w κατα-
 λειπὼν P καταλιπὼν P₂ A 14 οὐδὲν ἕτερον b w ουδετερον P ουδέτερον P₂ A f
 16 παρ' αὐτοῖς P παρὰ τοῖς f b w 17 βιάρχων f b w βιαρχῶν P A ἐξ ἀρ-
 γύρου πεποιημένῳ f b w ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημενω P ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην P₂ ἐξα-
 γυρουμένην A 18 περιπεπλεγμένην P₂ f b w περιπεπλεγμενην P περιπελεγμένην A
 post περιπεπληγμένην <τε> P₂ A πρὸς τιμῆς P₂ f b w προ τιμῆς P 19 Διονύσου f b w
 διονυσου P Διονυσίου A ἀνεήνεκται by ἀνήνεγκται P μεμνημόνευται A ἀνήνε-
 κται f b w 20 πέλεκυν b w πελεκυ P πελέκει P₂ A Πέλεκυν f ὑπάτῳ (hoc ex
 ὑπ' αὐτῷ in rasura) A καὶ ταῖς (hoc in rasura) A 21 ἐναλλαγεῖς b w ἐναλλαγῆς P
 ἐναλλαγεῖς f 22 ὑπατον P f b w ὑπάτου A βήξιλλα b w βίξιλλα P Βήξιλλα f
 25 Δομιτιανὸς w δομιτιανὸς P δομετιανὸς P₂ Δομετιανὸς A f b

both gone through every kind of experience in its affairs and having transformed the recklessness of youth into gentility, he appeared to be worthy of an honor that was so dignified and enjoyed no small power and a profit which amounted at one time to a thousand gold coins.

19. But perhaps the more thoughtful of those who will read me, not without cause, will assail me and will say, "Why in the world, having promised to speak about the insignia of the magistracy, have you not mentioned also *vexilla*, axes, and vine-switches, for the cavalry commander had these long ago, and in his place the first of the emperors, or *Caesares*, appointed the prefect of the *praetoria*?" These also, then, I say, were the distinctive marks of the prefects of the *praetoria* down to the time of Domitian; but, when the latter had placed a certain Fuscus by name at the head of the magistracy, he wiped away almost all memory of the office of cavalry commander because he had left to it neither ax, nor *vexilla*, nor even the so-called vine-switches. For the vine-switch, which at the present time is borne by the *princeps*, preserves from antiquity nothing other than its name, for long ago and even nowadays in the military services themselves the head of the so-called *biarchi* bears a staff which is entwined with a vine-switch made out of silver in homage to Dionysus who had once been revered, as I have sufficiently explained in my topics *On Months*. The ax, however, was left only to the consul and the consular magistracies in the provinces by the alternation of time, perhaps because it had felt ashamed to deprive the consulship also of this distinctive mark. As regards the *vexilla*, only the *Caesar* himself has them any longer as his distinctive feature; I pointed out what these are in my work *On Months*. For Domitian, since he was vain-glorious, liked innovations; but it is characteristic of tyrants to overturn anciently established customs. For this reason not only did he deprive

τῶν πραιτωρίων τῆς οὔσης αὐτῇ τὸ πρὶν τιμῆς ἐζημίωσεν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν πολίαρχον ἐξουσίαν, τὸ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκον, διεσπάθισεν, δύο πρὸς τοῖς δέκα ὑπάρχους πόλεως ἀνθ' ἑνός, ὡς δὴ καθ' ἕκαστον τμήμα τῆς Ῥώμης, πρόχειρισάμενος.

〈20〉 Οὐκ ἦν δὲ καταγώγιον ὠρισμένον ἀνέκαθεν οὐδεμιᾶ 5
τούτων τῶν ἀρχῶν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλίδος, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐδρῶν ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπων ἔπραττεν· καὶ τοῦτο ἄχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λέοντος διέμεινεν, ἐφ' οὗ Κωνσταντίνος τὴν ὑπαρχον ἔχων τιμῆν, ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, ἐκ Μαζάκης μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθεὶς, 10
ἀνάλογον δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῇ κακίᾳ τοῦ πονηροῦ Καππαδόκου κεκτημένος, διὰ λόγων τε ἄριστα καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν παρ' Ἰταλοῖς τότε μάλιστα τιμωμένων ἡγμένος, ἀγορὰν ἐδείματο διαπρεπεστάτην, Λέοντος αὐτὴν προσαγορεύσας, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὴν προαγωγὴν ἐκείνου ψηφίδι κατεγράψατο. ταύτην, ὡς εἶπον, αὐτὸς 15
οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασι κατασκευάσας, οἷα γειννῶν τῷ χωρίῳ (καὶ Ῥούφῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς πάππος γενόμενος), παρεχώρησεν τῇ ἀρχῇ
f 62^v δίαιταν εὐτελῇ καὶ σώφρονι πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκδεχομένου, κατασκευάσας πᾶν πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἀνέχουσα τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἡ μόνῃ τῷ σκήπτρῳ 20
παραχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ μικρᾷς 〈τότε ἔπραττε διαίτης〉· οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιότεροις τὰ τῆς τρυφῆς ἡμελημένα, οἱ μόνης ἀπέλαυνον τῆς τῶν ὑποτελῶν εὐθυμίας.

〈21〉 Σέργιος δὲ ὕστερον, ἐκ τῶν δικανικῶν ῥητόρων ἀνὴρ σοφιστῆς καὶ διὰ τοὺς λόγους αἰδέσιμος Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ χρηστῷ, 25
τὴν εἰρημένην δίαιταν ὑπερῷω φορτώσας καταγωγίῳ, τὸ μὲν σῶφρον ὑπερεῖδεν, μεῖζονα δὲ τρυφὴν, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤδη μαραινομένης, εἰσήγαγεν, οὐ προθεωρήσας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸ ἐσόμενον στοχάζεσθαι) φωλεὸν τῷ Καππαδόκῃ κατασκευάζειν· τῷ γε μὴν βαλανείῳ τῆς διαίτης ἠρκέσθη, ἐπὶ 30
γ' οὖν αὐτοῦ τιμήσας τὸ μέτριον. ὁ δὲ Καππαδόκης (τίς δὲ

2 διεσπάθισεν by διεσπαθισεν P διεσπάθησε b διεσπάθισε P₂ A f w 3 ὑπάρχους P₂ f b w ὑπαρχους P ὑπάρχους A 5 οὐδεμιᾶ f b w ουδεμία P οὐδεμία P₂ A 8 διέπων f ἔπων P b an ἔχων? b ἐφέπων w 9 τιμὴν b w τιμὴν P f ἀρχὴν A 10 Μαζάκης w μαζακῆς P Μεζακῆς A Μαζακῆς f b 15 προαγωγὴν P f b w deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A ψηφίδι b w ψηφιδι P ψηφίδι P₂ f 17 παρεχώρησεν w πα|ρεχωρησενεν P παρεχώρησεν ἐν P₂ A παρεχώρησε f b 18 εὐτελῇ P₂ f b w εὐτελῇ P ἐντελῇ A 21 〈τότε ἔπραττε διαίτης〉 by 〈τότε ἔπραττεν οἰκίας〉 w 23 ἀπέλαυνον f b w ἀπήλαυνον P 26 ὑπερῷω f b ὑπερώω P ὑπερώω P₂ ὑπερώω (sic) w 31 γ' οὖν by γοῦν P f b w

the prefecture of the *praetoria* of the honor which it formerly had, but, indeed, he also cut up the office of prefect of the city, so far as it depended on him at least, by having appointed twelve prefects of the city instead of one, manifestly for each region of Rome.

20. There was no definite official residence from the beginning for any of these magistracies, either in the first or in our imperial city, as at the present time, but whoever administered the magistracy used to conduct business at his own abode; and this situation continued down to the time of our Leo. During the latter's reign Constantine, a patrician gentleman who himself also had come from Mazaca but had possessed moral excellence proportionate to the depravity of the wicked Cappadocian and had been trained in learning in a most excellent manner and to a greater degree than those who were especially respected at that time by the Italians, had a most magnificent forum built, while he was holding the prefectural office, and named it Leo's, in which he had also the latter's accession inscribed in mosaic work. After he had had this constructed, as I said, with his own monies, inasmuch as he was a neighbor to the area (he had also been grandfather to Rufus of our time), he turned over to the magistracy a simple and modest dwelling to serve whoever succeeded to the magistracy in the course of time, having constructed a thing worthy of every approbation. At that time the highest and most eminent of the magistracies, which ceded only to the scepter, used to conduct business in a small dwelling; to such an extent were matters of luxury disregarded by men of an older day, who enjoyed only the happiness of the taxpayers.

21. Now, afterwards Sergius, a man who was an expert from the ranks of the trial rhetoricians and respected for his learning by the upright Anastasius, because he had burdened the aforementioned dwelling with an upstairs residence, disregarded temperateness and introduced greater luxury at a time when the magistracy was already withering away, not having foreseen (for it is not characteristic of human nature to divine the future) that he was constructing a den for the Cappadocian. He was, however, satisfied with the bathroom of the dwelling, having respectfully observed moderation in it at least. The Cappadocian (who he is,

οὔτος, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ), ἐνσκήψας τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὴν μὲν πα-
 λαιὰν καὶ οὕτω σεμνὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς δίαίταν ταῖς φάλαγξι τῶν
 θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ παρεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερώας
 κατακοιταζόμενος, οὔρου καὶ ἀφόδου περισκοποῦντος τὸν κοι- 5
 τῶνα, γυμνὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἐξεκέχυτο, πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
 τάξεως, ὡς εἰ πονηροὺς οἰκέτας, πρὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος παραφυλάτ-
 τειν ἐγκελευόμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας ἐπιλεγόμενος
 καὶ τοῖς θηριωδεστάτοις τῶν οἰκετῶν, βαρβάροις καὶ λύκοις
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἅμα καὶ ταῖς προσηγορίαις, πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἐκτι-
 θέμενος. τρυφῶν οὖν ἐκτόπως, τὸ πάλαι βαλανεῖον εἰς ἔπαυλιν 10
 ὑποσυγίον μεταθέμενος, ταῖς ἀγέλαις τῶν ἵππων εἰς μέρος βραχὺ
 παρεχώρησεν· ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κρεμάσας βαλανεῖον καὶ
 τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς ὕψος ἄτακτον ἀναρρεῖν συνωθήσας,
 ἐλούετο ἐν αὐτῷ οὕτως ὡς προτετραγώδηται. εἴτα ἐκεῖθεν, <ἐνθα>
 f 63^r τὰ τε ἀέρος τὰ τε γῆς τὰ τε νηκτὰ πάντα μετὰ τῶν ἀπαντα|χόθεν 15
 οἶνων κατέπινε καὶ μυρίαὶς συνδιεφθεῖρετο μίξεσιν ἀδιακρίτοις,
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χλαμύδος θεριστρίῳ, ὡς εἰ κρηδένῳ, τὴν κεφαλὴν
 περιδεσμών καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἐνειλὼν τῇ καλύπτρῃ, ὡς Πομπηίου
 παράσιτος κατὰ τὸν Πλούταρχον ἦ, τάληθδες εἶπεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῆς
 σκηνῆς ἄρχοντες, διεβαστάζετο ἐπὶ τὰς αὐλάς, ἃς αὐτὸς κα- 20
 τεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ· ὧν εἴ τις θέλοι τὴν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν
 κτισμάτων διεξιέναι τῷ λόγῳ λαμπρότητα, Σεσώστριος ὁμοῦ καὶ
 Ἀμάσιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαυσώλειά τε καὶ πυραμίδας καὶ τάλλα
 ὅσων οἱ τὰς Λίγυπτιακὰς ἀναγράψαντες ὑπερφηανίας μνημο-
 νεύουσιν, μέτρια καὶ φιλοσοφοῦσι πρέποντα καταυλήματα λέγων 25
 οὐ σφαλῆσεται.

<22> Ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστι κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπηγγελμένον περὶ
 τῆς τάξεως εἶπεῖν, ποῖα τέ τις ἦν ποτε παρὰ τῷ ἱπάρχῳ καὶ
 ποῖα γέγονε μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὑπὸ τῷ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχῳ, περὶ

4 περισκοποῦντος P₂ f b w περισκοπουντος P 10 τρυφῶν P₂ b w τρυφων P
 Τρύφων A Τρυφῶν f 11 των των P alterum del. P₂ f b w 14 <ἐνθα> w 16
 κατέπινε P₂ A f b w κατέπιννε P συνδιεφθεῖρετο P₂ A f b w συδιεφθεῖρετο P
 μίξεσιν P f b w deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A ἀδιακρίτοις P₂ f b w αδιακρίτοις P ἀδια-
 κρίτως A 17 αὐτὸς w αὐτός P αὐτός· f b ἐπὶ <τε> f κρηδένῳ P₂ f b w κρι-
 δένῳ P κριδένῳ A 19 ἦ, τάληθδες by εἰταληθδες P ἦ τ' ἀληθδες P₂ ἦ τάληθδες f
 b w oi f b w ó P A 20 ἄρχοντες f b w ἄρχοντος P ἄρχων P₂ A 22 διεξιέναι
 f b w διεξιέναι P Σεσώστριος f b w σεσώστριν P σεσώστριν P₂ Σέσωστριν A
 23 Ἀμάσιος f b w ἄσμοσιν P ἄσβασι P₂ Ἄμασιν A τῶν ἄλλων f b w τοῖς ἄλλοις P
 τοῖς ἄλλοις A μαυσώλειά τε f b w μαυσώλεα τε P μαυσωλέα τε P₂ Μαυσωλέα τε A
 τάλλα b w τ' ἄλλα P τάλλα P₂ f 28 ποῖα τέ τις P₂ f b ποῖα τέ τις P ποῖα τε τίς
 (sic) w

I will tell a little later), however, when he had swooped into the magistracy, turned over the magistracy's old and so august a dwelling to his battalions of servants, but he himself, making his lair in its upper story, urine and excrement looking around his bedchamber, used to lie languidly upon his bed naked, ordering all the members of his staff, as though they were base domestics, to stand by before his bedchamber, while personally selecting those whom it pleased him to select and turning them over for punishment to the most bestial of his domestics, who were barbarians and wolves with respect to their souls and names alike. Because, then, he was extraordinarily luxurious, he had the old bathroom converted into a steading for draft animals and turned it over in brief turns to his herds of horses; and, when he had had another bath built in the open air and had had the natural course of the waters forced to flow up to an irregular height, he used to bathe in it in such manner as I have already tragically described him. Then, from there, where he used to swallow down the products of both the air and the land and the sea, all with wines from everywhere, and used to waste himself away with countless, indiscriminate sexual intercourses, while in his mantle, he would tie his head round with a summary garment, as though it were a mantilla, and wrap up his hair in the covering, and, as Pompey's parasite in Plutarch or, truth to tell, as the leading men of the tent, he would have himself carried over to the country-houses which he had had built for himself. If one should wish to describe the prodigality and the magnificence of these structures, one will not err calling both the mausolea and pyramids and also all the other things that are mentioned by those who recorded the objects of Egyptian pride, of Sesostris and Amasis and the others aggregately, residences that are modest and befit philosophers.

22. There remains, in accordance with what I had promised earlier, to speak about the staff, both what it was at one time under the cavalry commander and what it became after him under the prefect of the *prae-*

τε τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καταλόγων, προσηγοριῶν τε καὶ λειτουργιῶν, περί τε ἐθῶν καὶ συμβόλων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς συνταττομένοις χάρταις ῥημάτων καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἡμῶν ἄχρι τηρούμενα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλαττωθείσης καὶ τῆς ὑπηρετουμένης αὐτῇ τάξεως συμπε- 5 σούσης, παραπόλωλεν, ὅπως μὴ <σὺν> τοῖς ἱγνεσι τῆς ἀρχαιότη-
τος καὶ αὐτῇ ἢ τῶν ἀρετῶν μνήμη μὴ γ' οὖν γράμμασιν ἀνα-
φερομένη παντελῇ λάχῃ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τέως δὲ περὶ τῶν ὑπο-
λοιπῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῶν καὶ τὸ δὴ πέρας ἰδιόν τινα περὶ
τῆς τάξεως λόγον ἐκδήσομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
τοὺς ἀρχομένους συναριθμεῖν. 10

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΥ ΤΩΝ
ΘΕΙΩΝ ΟΦΦΙΚΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΩΝ ΑΪΛΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

<23> Πάντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ γίνεται καὶ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ
φύσιν· τὰ μὲν ὄντα, ὡς ἔστιν, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα, οὐκ ὄντα μὲν 15
αἰεὶ, οὐδὲ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα, διὰ δὲ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν φθοράν,
εἴτα ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀναστρέφοντα, καὶ τῷ εἶναι μὲν
f 63^v ἀθάνατα, τῷ δὲ μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀλλοιότερα· εἰς ἑαυτὰ γὰρ ἀνα-
χωροῦντα τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ ἐστίν, τῇ δὲ φθορᾷ γίνεται, τηρούσης
αὐτὰ τῆς φύσεως παρ' ἑαυτῇ προαγοῦσης τε αὐτῆς εἰς τοῦμφα- 20
νὲς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τεθέντας ὅρους. ταῦτά φησιν
ὁ λόγος διὰ τὴν ἀρχέτυπον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείας ὄψιν, ἐφ'
ἧς ἴσμεν πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς τὴν τοῦ ἱπάρχου δύναμιν, ὡς εἴρη-
ται, γενέσθαι· εἴτα ὡς ἀπαλιφεῖσα ἐκείνη τῷ χρόνῳ εἰς τὴν
ὑπαρχον μετεφύη τιμὴν. αὐτῆς δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα παραλαβούσης, 25
αὐτῆς ἢ βασιλεία εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπάρχου περιέστη χρεῖαν· καὶ
προήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον, μᾶλλον δὲ προηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν

5 <σὺν> f w 6 μὴ γ' οὖν by μῆγ' οὖν P μὴ γοῦν P₂ f b w 10 τοὺς ἀρχομένους
b w του αρχομενου P τοῦ ἀρχομένου P₂ f 14 <μὲν> τὰ w γίνεται P₂ f b w γίνεται
P ἔστι P₂ f b w εστιν P 15 τὰ...τὰ P f b w τὸ...τὸ mal. f 17 εἴτα b w εἴτε
P εἴτε P₂ f τῷ...τῷ w τὸ...τὸ P f b τῷ...τῷ ? b 18 ἀλλοιότερα P₂ f b w αλ-
λοιότερα P ἀλλοιότερα (-οιότερα in rasura) A 19 post ἐστίν loc. vac. A 23 ἴσμεν
P₂ f b w ἴσμεν P ἔσμεν A πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς P f b w πρὸς τὰς [ης] ἀρχῆς A 24
εἴτα ὡς deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A ἀπαλιφεῖσα b w ἀπαλοιφεῖσα P f ἀπαλειφθεῖσα
P₂ A 25 μετεφύη P f b w deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 26 ὑπάρχου P₂ ὑπαρχου
P ἱπάρχου f b w

toria; and about the registers in it, designations, and services; and about its practices, forms, and the terms in the documents that were drawn up; and simply about all those things which, though preserved down to our day, have perished because the magistracy had been reduced and the staff which served it had collapsed – in order that along with its vestiges of antiquity also the memory itself of its excellences may not have complete effacement as their lot because of not being referred to in writing at least. In the meantime, however, it is necessary to speak about the rest of the state's magistracies, and finally, of course, I shall set forth a special account about the staff, for it is not seemly to reckon in with the magistracies those whom the latter govern.

*On the so-called MAGISTER of the Imperial OFFICIA,
namely, "Commander of the Court Troops"*

23. All the things that exist both come into being and exist conformably to the nature of the good. The things that exist exist, as they exist, while the things that come into being do not exist perpetually, nor do they exist in the same manner, but they revolve through generation to corruption, then from the latter to generation, and with respect to existing they are perdurative, but with respect to undergoing change they are somewhat different; for, whenever they retire into themselves, they exist by means of substance but come into being by means of corruption because nature preserves them with itself and brings them forth again into manifestation in accordance with the conditions of existence set down by the Creator. Reason asserts these principles with reference to the original form of our state, in which we know that the office of cavalry commander came into being, as I have said, before any magistracy; then, since it had been wiped away by the course of time, it was reborn into the prefectural dignity. When, however, the latter had taken on the affairs of state, again the emperor was reduced to the need for the prefect; and so the magistracy which had previously been wiped away

πραγμάτων φύσεως ἢ πρὶν ἀπαλιφεῖσα δι' ἐτέρας προσηγορίας ἀρχή, κατὰ μὴδὲν μὲν ἀποδέουσα τῆς οἰκείας ὑποστάσεως, μείζονι δὲ δυνάμει καὶ προσθήκη τῶν οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῇ τὸ πρὶν ὠχυρωμένη.

〈24〉 Καὶ μὴδεὶς πρὸς τὸ καινὸν τῆς προσηγορίας ἀποπηδάτω· εἰ γὰρ ἀπίδοι ἐμμελῶς εἰς τὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφωνοῦσαν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εὐρήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱππαρχος παρὴν αἰὶ τῷ ῥηγί ἢ τῷ μονάρχῳ, τῆς μὲν ἱππικῆς δυνάμει ἡγούμενος, τῆς δὲ αὐλῆς πάσης προεστηκώς· ὥστε ὁ λεγόμενος κατὰ νεωτέραν προσηγορίαν μάγιστρος οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἱππαρχός ἐστιν· τῆς δὲ μεταβολῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αἰτία ἡ τῆς πλείονος ἐξουσίας ἐπικράτεια γέγονεν. τὸ γὰρ μάγιστρος ὀφφικίων ὄνομα οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν αὐλικῶν καταλόγων σημαίνει, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε ἱππικὴ καὶ ἡ πεζομάχος δύναμις τῆς βασιλείας θεωρεῖται εἰς μυρίους συναγομένη πολεμιστάς. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μόνον εἶχεν ὁ ἱππαρχος τὸ προνόμιον, ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος τὸ πλεον, τῆς βασιλείας εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀνενεχθείσης. τότε μὲν γὰρ μόνην τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκέκτηντο Ῥωμαῖοι, νῦν δέ, θεοῦ προῖσταμένου, πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἔχουσιν.

〈25〉 Καὶ ὅστις μὲν οὖν ὠνομάσθη τὴν ἀρχὴν μάγιστρος, οὐκ ἔχω | λέγειν, τῆς ἱστορίας σιγῶσης· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ Μαρτινιανοῦ, ὃς ἦν ὑπὸ Λικινίῳ μάγιστρος, ἄλλου τινὸς προσηγορίαν ἢ ἱστορία παραδίδωσιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ Λικινίῳ, ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος, τὴν ὅλην τῆς βασιλείας μόνος κατασχὼν ἐξουσίαν, Παλλάδιον μάγιστρον τῆς αὐλῆς ἐχειροτόνησεν, ἄνδρα συνετὸν καὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοις πρότερον καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τῷ Γαλερίῳ διὰ πρεσβείας φιλώσαντα. τοῖς δὲ ἡμειρομένοις τοὺς ἐφ' ἐξῆς μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι μαγίστρους ἄχρις ἡμῶν ἀρκέσει πρὸς διδασκαλίαν Πέτρος ὁ πάντα μεγαλόφρων καὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλου ἱστορίας ἀσφαλῆς διδάσκαλος, δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου μαγιστερίου ἀνεγράψατο.

1 ἀπαλιφεῖσα b w ἀπαλοιφεῖσα P f ἀπαλειφθεῖσα P₂ 5 ἀπίδοι P₂ A f b w ἀπειδοι P 9 λεγόμενος P₂ A f b w λεγομενος P post hoc tres litterae erasae in P ab P₂ 11 ὀφφικίων f b w οφφικίων P ὀφφίκιον P₂ A 12 ἢ τὸν w ἦττον P ἦττον P₂ f b ἦττον τὸν f¹ 27 18 προῖσταμένου f b w προῖσταμεμένου (prius me erasum) P 20 Μαρτινιανοῦ f b w μαρτινιανοῦ P Μαρτιριανοῦ A 21 μάγιστρος f b w μαγίστρος P 22 αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου P₂ b w αὐτοῦ δε τουτου P αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ f <μαγιστρευντος> ὁ w. 24 μάγιστρον P₂ f b w μαγίστρον P αὐλῆς f b w αὐτῆς P 26 φιλώσαντα g b w φειλώσαντα P φιλιώσαντα P₂ A ἡμειρομένοις f b w ομηρομενοις P ὁμειρομένοις P₂ A (sed o fort. ex i factum) 29 μαγιστερίου P w Μαγισταρίου A μαγιστηρίου f b

through the use of a different designation came forth into public life, or rather was brought forth by the nature of the affairs of state, in no way falling short of its own fundamental nature but fortified with greater power and addition of prerogatives which formerly it did not have.

24. And let no one recoil at the new designation; for, if one should carefully look into the facts, one will find that not even the name itself of the magistracy is inconsistent with it. For the cavalry commander always was in attendance upon the *rex* or the sole ruler, commanding the equestrian force and heading the entire court; consequently, he who is called by the newer designation *magister* is nothing else than cavalry commander. The reason for the change of the name, however, was the possession of greater power. As for the name *magister officiorum*, it signifies, as I already said, nothing but "head of the court registers," in which both the equestrian and the infantry forces of the emperor are observed amounting to ten thousand warriors. And, while this was the only prerogative which the cavalry commander used to have, the *magister* has more because the imperial power has been elevated to such a height. For, whereas formerly the Romans possessed only Italy, now, however, inasmuch as God protects them, they have control of both every land and sea alike.

25. And who, then, at first was designated *magister*, I am not able to say because history is silent; for prior to Martinianus, who was *magister* under Licinius, history does not hand down this designation for anyone else. Though he was such under Licinius, when Constantine had gotten possession by himself of the entire power of the imperial office, he appointed Palladius *magister* of the court, a man who was sagacious and through embassy had earlier reconciled the Persians with the Romans and Galerius Maximianus. Petrus, however, who is a great thinker in all things and a firm instructor in general history, will suffice to instruct those who desire not to be ignorant of the *magistri* one after the other down to our day through what he himself recorded with respect to the so-called *magisterium*.

<26> Προήλθεν οὖν ἡ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἀρχῆς· οὐ μόνον
 γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν πρεσβείας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τελοῦσας ὁ μάγιστρος
 ἔχειν πιστεύεται, τὸν τε δημόσιον δρόμον καὶ πλῆθος ἐμβριθὲς
 τῶν πάλαι μὲν φρουμενταρίων, νῦν δὲ μαγιστριανῶν, τὴν τε τῶν
 ὀπλων κατασκευὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν 5
 πραγμάτων. καὶ διαφερόντως Πέτρος οὗτος, ὁ πολὺς, ὁ μηδενὶ
 ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κατὰ μηδὲν δεύτερος. διασώζει μὲν γὰρ καὶ φρουρεῖ
 τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν οὐκ ἀποπτύει μεγαλειότητα, ἣν
 ἐγγὺς ἀπολομένην ἀβελτερίᾳ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα σοφὸς καὶ διὰ
 παντὸς τοῖς βιβλίοις προσανέχων, ἀποκαθίστησιν· τοὺς δὲ νόμους 10
 εἰδὼς εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, οἷς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἐνετράφη, συνη-
 γορῶν τοῖς δεομένοις, ἄρχων τε μέγιστος καὶ ἀξίαν ὄφρυν
 τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνατείνων ἐδείχθη καὶ δικαστὴς ὁξὺς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
 κρίνειν εἰλικρινῶς ἐπιστάμενος, κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτὸν ὑπτιάζουσης
 τῆς τύχης. πρῶος μὲν γάρ ἐστι καὶ μειλίχιος, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐχερῆς 15
 οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰς αἰτήσεις ἔξω τοῦ νόμου καμπτόμενος, ἀσφαλῆς
 δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ προβλέπων τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν προσιόντων, μηδένα
 καιρὸν ταῖς ῥαθυμίαις παραχωρῶν, τὴν μὲν νύκτα τοῖς βιβλίοις,
 f 64^v τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγκείμενος, μηδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν μέχρι
 τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ὁμιλίαις διασυρίζων ἀπλῶς, ζητήμασι 20
 δὲ λογικοῖς καὶ ἀφηγήσεισι πραγμάτων ἀρχαιοτέρων μετὰ τῶν
 περὶ ταῦτα σχολαζόντων εἰλούμενος. καὶ καιρὸς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ
 διδασμάτων ἐστὶν ἀμέριμνος, ὥς τοὺς τῶν λόγων ἐξηγητὰς δε-
 διέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχίαν· πράγμασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ στρο-
 φαῖς περιβάλλει μετρίως ὑπελέγχων ὥς λέγοιντο μόνον, οὐκ 25
 εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι ὁποῖους αὐτοὺς ἡ φήμη διαθυρεῖ. ἐμοὶ δὲ
 μάλιστα σκοτοδινίας οὐ μικρὰς ἀνακινεῖ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν συνήθεια.
 χαίρω γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὅτι καλὸς ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθερός καὶ τύφου καὶ
 κορύζης ἔκτός, ἀστεῖός τε καὶ κοινός· ἀλλ' ἐφίησί μοι, ὥς εἴρηται
 δῆ, φροντίδας οὐ μικράς, μηδὲν ὧν ἐπίστασθαι δοκῶ προτείνων 30

2 μάγιστρος P₂ f b w μαγίστρος P 7 δεύτερος f b δεύτερος P δευτέρος (sic)
 w 9 ἀβελτερίᾳ f b w ἀβελτερία P ἀβελτηρία A 11 ἐνετράφη w ανετραφη P
 ἀνετράφη P₂ f b ἐνετράφη ? b 17 προσιόντων f b w προϊόντων P μηδένα καιρὸν
 f b w μηδεν ἄκαιρον P μηδεν ἄκαιρον P₂ 19 ἡμέραν f b w η-μέραν P ἐγκείμενος
 f w εκκειμενος P ἐκκειμενος P₂ b 20 διασυρίζων P f b w δια loc. vac. (deest
 συρίζων) A 26 ἐμοὶ δὲ P f b w ἐμὲ δὲ A 29 ἐφίησί by επιση P ἔπεισί P₂
 ἐπεισί A ἐπισείει f b w 30 δῆ w δε P del. P₂ A f b φροντίδας οὐ μικρὰς f b w
 φροντιδας οὐ μικρὰς P φροντῖς οὐ μικρὰ P₂ A

26. Now, the power of this magistracy advanced to a higher degree. For the *magister* is entrusted to have functioning under him not only the embassies of the nations, the public post, and a thronging quantity of what were formerly *frumentarii* but now *magistriani*, and the manufacture of arms and authority over them, but, besides, also the administration of civil affairs. And preeminently such is the aforementioned much-famed Petrus, who is in no way second to anyone as regards virtues. For he maintains and preserves the court, and he does not spurn the Roman greatness, which, although almost lost on account of the fatuity of his predecessors, he restores inasmuch as he is learned and constantly devotes himself to his books. Because, however, he knows the laws, if anyone else does, in which he was brought up from a tender age, defending those in need, he has demonstrated himself to be both a magistrate who is very great and displays a dignity worthy of his authority and a judge who is keen and knows how to administer justice uprightly, one's station in life in no way making him submissive. For he is calm and gentle but is not easily tractable nor is inclined to requests outside the law; he is, however, firm and at the same time foresees the motives of those who approach him. He cedes no time to occasions of idleness because he is wrapped in his books during the night and in business during the day. Even the journey itself from his home to the court he does not whistle away simply in conversations but binds himself with intellectual questions and the recounting of more ancient things with those who have leisure for such matters. And none of his time is unconcerned with instructional matters, so that the expounders of learning fear encounter with him, for he surrounds them with facts and complexities, gently rebuking them with due moderation that "they are merely said to be, but they are not such as their fame fables them to be." Association with him stirs up, for me especially, no trivial vertigoes. I do really take delight in him because he is good and at the same time liberal, without affectation and drivelling, both urbane and ordinary, but he does hurl at me, as I have just said, no small challenges, offering for investigation none of the matters which I think that I know but

εἰς ζήτησιν, τὰ δὲ παντελῶς ἡγνοημένα παρεισάγων, ὥστε μετὰς πασῶν ἰσχυροτάτας εὐχὰς μελετᾶν, μηδεμίαν αὐτὸν ἄβατον ἐμοί, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ἐπιρροεῖσθαι θεωρίαν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ἘΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΣΚΥΘΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ
ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΪΤΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΑΙΣΙΤΩΡΟΣ 5

〈27〉 Τοσούτων ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τῷ νόμῳ γνωριζομένων μνήμην ἢ καθ' ὅλου ἱστορία ἐκ προουμιῶν ποιεῖται τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας ἄχρι τῆς Αναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτῆς. κόμιτα γὰρ λαργιτιῶνων, 〈ὄν〉 Ἴταλοι λέγουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ προεστῶτα τῶν τῆς βασιλείας θησαυρῶν, καὶ κόμιτα πριουάτων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ἰδία πῶς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι προσηκόντων, οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν ἀρχόντων ἀριθμήσειε ποτε καταλόγῳ, θεραπεόντων δέ· 〈οὐ μὲν γὰρ〉 προαγωγῆς ἄρχουσι πρεπούσης ἀξιοῦνται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δοκοῦν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρόσφατον ἔχουσι καὶ λανθάνουσαν τὴν γένεσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ λεγόμενος πατριμῶνιος, ἀντὶ τοῦ 15
f 65^r φύλαξ τῆς ἰδία πῶς ἀνηκούσης τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τυχὸν | ἐκ προγόνων περιουσίας, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πρὶν ἀριθμοῦμενον Ἀναστάσιος ὁ πάντα ἔμφρων ἀνεστήσατο, διάκρισιν, ὥσπερ εἴωθει, περινοῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως μὴ συγχύσει κάμνοιεν.

〈28〉 Μετ' ἐκεῖνον δέ, Ἰουστίνου ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ βιοῦντος καὶ 20 μὴδὲν νεώτερον ἐξευρόντος, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτῷ γενόμενος, πᾶν ὃ τι χρησίμων περιποιεῖν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπειγόμενος, ὅλην τε τὴν ὄφρυν τῆς ἀρχαίας ὀψεως ἀνακαλούμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξεῦρε τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς Σκυθίας ὑπαρχον. σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων εὐρὼν ὡς εὐδαίμων μὲν ἢ χῶρα 25

2 πασῶν P f b w πασῶν deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A μελετᾶν P₂ A f b w μελεταν P αὐτὸν f b w αὐτῶν P 3 ἐπιρροεῖσθαι w επιρρῆσαι P ἐπιρροεῖσθαι P₂ A f b 5 ΠΡΑΪΤΩΡΟΣ P₂ ΠΡΑΙΤΟΡΟΣ P πραιτῶρος A ΠΡΑΪΤΩΡΟΣ f πραιτορος w ΚΥΑΙΣΙΤΩΡΟΣ by ΚΥΕΙΤΟΡΟΣ P κυεσίτορος A ΚΥΑΙΣΙΤΩΡΟΣ f κυαισίτορος w 6 Τοσούτων ἀρχόντων f b w τ[...]των ἀρχόντων P ante των loc. vac. A 7 γνωριζομένων A f b w γνωρί[...]μένων P καθ' ὅλου by καθόλου P καθόλου f b w 9 λαργιτιῶνων f b w λαργιτιόνων P A 〈ὄν〉 by 〈ὥς〉 f w ὃν Ἴταλοι desunt et pro his loc. vac. A 10 πριουάτων by προυάτων P πριβάτων A f b w 13 〈οὐ μὲν γὰρ〉 by 〈οἱ μὴδὲ〉 w 〈οὐδὲ γὰρ〉 f 14 κατὰ δὲ P₂ f b w κατα δε P κατὰ γε A πρόσφατον P₂ f b w προσφατον P πρόσφαντον f¹ 28 20 Ἰουστίνου b w ἰουστινιανοῦ P ἰουστινιανοῦ P₂ Ἰουστίνου f 25 ὢν P b w ὢν (sic) f

surreptitiously introducing those that are completely unknown to me, so as to cause me to contemplate the strongest prayers of all that he not cast at me, as is his habit, any impenetrable speculation.

On the Prefect of Scythia and the
PRAETOR JUSTINIANUS *and the* QUAESITOR

27. Such is the number of magistrates who were acknowledged at Rome by the law of whom general history makes mention from the beginnings of the Roman state down to the death of Anastasius the emperor. One should not, in fact, ever reckon in a list of magistrates, but of stewards, the *comes* of *largitiones*, which the Italians use for "head of the treasures of the emperor," and the *comes* of *privata* for "[head] of the things which privately in any way belong to the emperors." For they are not deemed worthy of an institution befitting magistrates but have their origin recent and veiled in consequence of the pleasure of the emperor, as, for instance, the so-called *patrimonius*, namely, "guardian of the wealth which privately in any way belongs to the emperor and happens to originate from his ancestors," who himself, too, was not previously reckoned [as a magistrate], but Anastasius, who was prudent in all matters, instituted him, devising, as was his habit, a revision for the affairs of state in order that they might not be laboring under confusion.

28. After him, however, because Justin lived in quietude and had devised nothing newer, the one who came thereafter, his nephew, being eager to bring about everything that was beneficial to the common good and attempting to recall all the dignity of the ancient form, first of all devised the so-called prefect of Scythia. For, since he was wise and had found out through books that the region both now is and has long

τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἰσχυρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐστί τε νῦν καὶ πάλαι
 γέγονεν (〈ἦν〉) πρῶτος ἐλὼν σὺν Δεκεβάλῳ τῶν Γετῶν ἡγησα-
 μένῳ Τραϊανὸς ὁ πολὺς πεντακοσίας μυριάδας χρυσοῦ λίτρων,
 διπλασίας δὲ ἀργύρου, ἐκπωμάτων ἄνευ καὶ σκευῶν τιμῆς ὅρον
 ἐκβεβηκότων ἀγγελῶν τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων 5
 ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις Ῥωμαίοις εἰσήγαγεν,
 ὥς ὁ Κρίτων παρῶν τῷ πολέμῳ διῖσχυρίσατο) συνείδεν, αὐτὸς
 κατὰ μηδὲν Τραϊανῷ παραχωρῶν, περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη ποτὲ
 ἀφηνιάζουσιν τὴν βορείαν. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ πάντα κατ'
 εὐχὰς προῆλθεν αὐτῷ· οὐδὲ γὰρ Τραϊανὸν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξήλωσε 10
 μόνον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Αὐγουστον τῇ περὶ θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τρόπων
 μετριότητι, καὶ Τίτον τῇ καλοκάγαθίᾳ, Μάρκον δὲ τῇ συνέσει
 παρώθησεν.

〈29〉 Ὡς ἐφθην εἰπὼν, προάγει τοῖνυν ἑπαρχὸν ἐπόπτην τῶν
 Σκυθικῶν δυνάμεων, ἀφορίσας αὐτῷ ἐπαρχίας τρεῖς τὰς πασῶν 15
 ἐγγὺς εὐπωρωτάτας· Κερασίτιδα (τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Κύπρον, ἀπὸ
 Κύπριδος κατὰ τὸν μῦθον τιμηθείσης ἐν αὐτῇ μεταβαλοῦσαν
 τὴν προσηγορίαν) Καρίαν τε ὅλην σὺν ταῖς Ἰωνίσι νήσοις·
 ἃς ἄρτι τελοῦσας ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας
 f 65^v ἀπάσας, συνείδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς χωρισθείσας αὐτῆς τελεῖν|ὑπὸ 20
 〈τῷ〉 Σκυθίας ἐπάρχῳ καὶ φόρον ἴδιον ἀπένειμε πρὸς δικαστή-
 ριον καὶ τάξιν ὅλην, ὥς εἰ σπινθῆρά τινα τῶν ἐν Λιπάρῃ κρα-
 τήρων ἀνάψας ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος, πολλὰ καθ' ὁμαλοῦ χρηστὰ
 τοῖς κοινοῖς τεχνησάμενος. τὴν τε γὰρ μεγίστην καὶ δευτέραν
 ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος οὐ μετρίων ἐκούφισε πόνων, διελὼν 25
 τὰς φροντίδας τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχουσι πολλοῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς
 εὐχειρίστους κατέστησε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοῖς φιλοπράγμοσι τὴν
 λύσσαν ἐμέτρησεν. γλίσχρον δὲ νομίσας 〈εἰ〉 μὴ καὶ τὴν πο-
 λιαρχίαν ἀπαλλάξῃ μοχθημάτων οὐ μικρῶν (καὶ τοῦτο τὸν Τίτον

2 〈ἦν〉 f b w Δεκεβάλῳ f b w δεκιβάλῳ P Δεκιβάλῳ A τῶν P f τῷ mal. f
 τῷ b w 4 διπλασίας f b w διαπλασίῳ (quod corr. in διπλασίῳ) P διπλασίους A
 5 τε P f b w 7 ὥς ὁ Κρίτων f w ὥς ἀκρίτων P ὥς ἀκρίτων P₂ A ὥς Ἀκρίτων
 b 8 μηδὲν A b w μηδὲνα P μηδὲνα P₂ f Τραϊανῷ A τραϊανοῦ P Τραϊανοῦ
 f b w 9 ἀφηνιάζουσιν P₂ f b w ἀφηνιαζουσιν P ἀφηνιάζουσι A 11 θεὸν f b w
 θεῶν P Θεὸν A 14 ἐπόπτην P₂ A f b w εφοπτην P 17 Κύπριδος f b w κυ-
 πρίδος P Κυπρίδος A 18 Ἰωνίσι b w ρονείσι P ἰονίσι P₂ A Ἰωνίσι f νήσοις
 f b w νήσους P νήσους (u ex i) A 19 ἃς f b w τὰς P ἄρτι b w ἀντί P f 21
 〈τῷ〉 P₂ A f b w Σκυθίας f b w σκυθίας P ἐαυτῆς A 23 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ P₂ f b w
 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ P 24 〈τὴν〉 δευτέραν w 25 μετρίων P w μετρίως f b 28 〈εἰ〉 w
 29 ἀπαλλάξῃ f w ἀπαλλάξῃ P ἀπαλλάξῃ P₂ ἀπαλλάξαι b καὶ τοῦτο P f b w κἀν
 τούτῳ ? b

been wealthy in resources and mighty in warfare (the celebrated Trajan, who had been the first to capture it including Decebalus, leader of the Getans, brought in to the Romans five millions of pounds of gold and double that amount in pounds of silver, apart from goblets and vessels that had transcended the limit of estimation, both herds and tools, as well as over five hundred thousands of highly skilled fighting men including their arms, as Crito, who was present at the war, confidently affirmed), he resolved, being himself in no way inferior to Trajan, to preserve for the Romans the northern region which was already at length rebelling. And it is no wonder that all things proceeded according to his wishes; for he did not only emulate Trajan in his military exploits, but he surpassed Augustus himself in his piety toward God and moderateness of manners, Titus in his nobleness, and Marcus in his sagacity.

29. He instituted, therefore, as I have just said, a prefect as overseer of the Scythian forces, having set aside for him three provinces, which were almost the most prosperous of all: Cerastis (it is called now Cyprus, having had its name changed in consequence of Cypris, who, according to legend, had been honored there), all of Caria, and the Ionian islands. The emperor resolved that these islands, which, just as all the others, until then used to function under the highest of the magistracies, be severed from it and function under the prefect of Scythia, and he assigned him a special *forum* for a court of justice and an entire staff, having generated them from the prefecture as if he had kindled a spark out of the craters of Lipara, having artfully devised for the common good many uniformly useful measures. For he and he alone relieved both the greatest and second magistracy of no moderate toils in that he had distributed the responsibilities of their affairs among many magistrates; but he rendered even their magistracies easily handled by them, and he restricted the frenzy of the meddlesome. Because, however, he had considered it illiberal if he did not free also the city prefecture of no

ἐκμιμούμενος), τὸν οὐρβανὸν πραίτωρα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρεισέ-
γαγεν, ἀρκεῖν οἰόμενος τῷ πολιάρχῳ τὴν πάντα σοβοῦσαν τῷ
δήμῳ διχόνοιαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς (μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν κατὰ
τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὡς προέφαιμεν) τὸν λεγόμενον κυαισίτωρα, ἀντὶ
〈τοῦ〉 τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐρευνάδα σεμνότατον.

5

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΚΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΗΝΩΝ

〈30〉 Ὡςπερ ἀρχέτυπον εἶδος ἡ μονάς, παράδειγμα δὲ μονάδος
ἐν, οὕτως ἐν προοιμίῳς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐδαίμων πόλις τῆς τότε
πᾶσαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐκβεβηκυίας Ῥώμης ἐνομίσθη. ὅθεν ὁ Κων- 10
σταντῖνος οὐδαμοῦ πρὸ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ κωνσεκρατίωνος (οὕτω δὲ
τὴν ἀποδέωσιν Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν) Ῥώμην νέαν δεί-
κνυται καλῶν, κάστρα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἴσα ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν χωρῶν
καὶ τούτων ἂν τις ἐπιστήσεται τοῖς ἐλέγχῳς εἰ ταῖς Διαλέξεσι
Κωνσταντίνου, ἃς αὐτὸς οἰκεία φωνῇ γράψας ἀπολέλοιπεν, ἐν- 15
τεύξεται. εἰκόνα τοῖνυν καὶ στοχασμὸν ἀμυδροῦ παραδείγματος
εἶναι κρίνων αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐκείνην, δύο πραίτωρσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι
συνεῖδε διὰ τὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων μέτριον καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σμι-
f 66^r κρόν. ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος οὖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πραιτῶρων|τὸν
τουτῆλάριον 〈καὶ τὸν φιδεῖκομισσάριον〉 προχειρίζεται, τὸν μὲν 20
Κωνσταντιανόν, τὸν δὲ μάγιστρον τοῦ κήνου ἐπιφημίσας, οἶον
εἰ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων συμβολαίων, ὅτι κήνσον μὲν τὴν
ἀπογραφὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων, ῥέγεστα δὲ 〈τῶν πραττομένων〉 λέ-
γουσιν· καὶ σκρίβαν μὲν ἐκείνῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπογραφέα, κηνουσάλης
δὲ τούτῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαιοφυλάκα, ὑπηρετεῖσθαι διώρισεν. τῆς 25

1 πραίτωρα P₂ A f b πραίτορα P w 2 τῷ δήμῳ A w τῷ δήμῳ P τῷ δήμῳ
P₂ τοῦ δήμου f b 4 κυαισίτωρα f b κυεσίτορα P A κυαισίτορα w 5 〈τοῦ〉 f b w
ἐγκλημάτων P₂ A f b w ἐκκλημάτων P 7 ΚΗΝΩΝ P₂ ΚΙΝΩΝ P ΚΗΝΩΝ
f κήνων A w 10 ἐκβεβηκυίας P₂ f 296 b w ἐκβεβηκυίας P ἐκβεβηκυίας (sic) f
11 κωνσεκρατίωνος by κωνσεκρατίωνος P κωνσελατίωνος A κωνσεκρατίωνος f b
κωνσεκρατίωνος w 13 ἴσα f b w ἴσα P ἴσα P₂ A 15 ἀπολέλοιπεν P f b w an
καταλέλοιπεν ? b ἐντεύξεται f w ἐντευξεται P ἐντεύζεται P₂ A b 20 τουτῆλάριον
f b w τουτῆλάριον P τουτῆλάριον A 〈καὶ τὸν φιδεῖκομισσάριον〉 w 21 μάγιστρον
P₂ f b w μαγίστρον P 23 ἀρχαίων P f w ἀρχαίων b ῥέγεστα f b w ρεγέστα P
ρεγέστα P₂ 〈τῶν πραττομένων〉 w 24 σκρίβαν P f b σκρίβαν w κηνουσάλης P A b
κηνουσάλης f κηνουσάλης w 25 ἀρχαιοφυλάκα P₂ f w αρχαιοφυλακάς P
ἀρχαιοφυλάκας b

small burdens (and in this respect he faithfully imitated Titus), he introduced alongside of the magistrates the *praetor urbanus* because he thought that the populace's dissension, which stirs up all sorts of troubles, was enough for the prefect of the city, and after them (or rather before them in point of antiquity, as I previously stated) the so-called *quaesitor*, namely, "most august investigator of crimes of everyday life."

*On the PRAETOR CONSTANTIANUS and the [PRAETOR]
JUSTINIANUS and the MAGISTER of the CENSUS*

30. Just as the monad is a primordial form, and an example of a monad is "one," so at its beginnings our blessed city was considered in relation to the Rome which formerly had transcended every superiority. For this reason, prior to its *consecratio* (thus the Romans call "consecration"), Constantine is nowhere shown calling it "New Rome," but he called it, too, *castra* on a level with the other localities; and one can come upon the proofs for this if one reads Constantine's *Discourses*, which he himself wrote in his own language and bequeathed to posterity. Accordingly, because he regarded the latter to be an image and likeness of a dim model with respect to the former, he resolved that it be satisfied with two *praetores* on account of the moderate number of its inhabitants and the small scale of its affairs. Therefore, from the body of the *praetores* at Rome he appointed the *tutelarius* and the *fideicommissarius*. He named the former *Constantianus* and the latter *magister* of the *census*, that is to say, "magistrate of the original contracts" (because the registration of capital is called *census*, while that of transactions *regesta*), and he decreed that a *scriba*, namely, "scribe," serve the former and *censuales*, namely, "keepers of the records of capital," serve the latter. Since our Rome,

δὲ ἡμετέρας Ῥώμης καὶ Νεμέσεως ἔξω καὶ τὴν πρώτην τῆς
 δυνάμεως ἀποκρυπτούσης, συνείδεν ὁ κράτιστος καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 οὐρβανοῦ πραίτωρος δεῖσθαι παρόδου. προάγει τοῖνυν αὐτὸν
 τῇ οἰκείᾳ σεμνύνων προσηγορίᾳ ἅμα τῶν τοῦ δήμου παραπτω- 5
 μάτων ἀψόμενον, ἅμα τὴν πολιαρχίαν φροντίδων ἀμετρίας ἐπι-
 κουφίσας ἐμφρόνως.

5 ἀψόμενον b αψομενον P ἀψομενον P₂ ἀψόμενος f w

however, was both free of Nemesis and its power was eclipsing the first [Rome], the sovereign resolved that it needed also the appointment of the *praetor urbanus*. As soon, therefore, as he instituted the latter, exalting him with his own name, so as to deal with the misdoings of the populace, at once he wisely relieved the city prefecture of a countless number of cares.

ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ'

<1> Τοῦ νόμου τῆς ιστορίας, ὡς οἶμαι, τηρηθέντος καί, τὸ
 πρόσθεν ἐπηγγελεμένον, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν διὰ τοῦ λόγου
 παρελθουσῶν, ἐπὶ λθιν ἐμοὶ ἰδιὸν τινα καὶ μονήρη λόγον περὶ
 τῆς μεγίστης τάξεως τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀρχῶν ὑποθεῖναι τῇ ιστορίᾳ, 5
 δι' οὗ ἂν τις ἀμυδρῶς ἐσοπτρίσοιτο τὴν πάλαι κρατήσασαν ἐν
 αὐτῇ λαμπρότητά τε καὶ εὐταξίαν· ἦν ἐγγὺς ἀπολομένην ὁ
 γενναῖος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἶασε παντελῶς ἀποσβεσθῆναι,
 συνέχει δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ σφίγγει διαρρέουσας τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀρ-
 χαιοῦτητα. καὶ μεῖζον μὲν ἐστὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἥπερ ἄρτι καθεστήκει 10
 τὸ πολίτευμα, Λιβύης ἡμῖν ἀποδοθείσης (οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τὸ κτῆμα,
 τῆς δὲ Εὐρώπης τὸ πλεῖστον· κοινωνεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦ ζεφύρου,
 καθ' ὃ τὸν εὐρον ὅλον δίδωσιν ἡ Ἀσία καὶ μόνῃ), καὶ αὐτῆς
 δὲ Ῥώμης, τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μητρός, ἀπαλλαγείσης ἰδρώτι 15
 τῆς βασιλείας δεσμῶν καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐξουσίας, πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἦν
 ποτε τῆς πολιτείας γνωρίσματα μετὰ κρείττονος ἀποσφάζεται
 δυναστείας· οἱ τε νόμοι θορύβων καὶ πολυφόρου συγχύσεως
 f 66v ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ προφανές ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον|καὶ μεταμέλει τοῖς
 φιλοδίκους τὸ πρὶν ἐναγρυπνήσαι ταῖς φιλονεικίαις, μάχης οὐδε-
 μιᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καθαρότητος ὑπολιμπανο- 20
 μένης. καὶ κρείττων μὲν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρετῇ ἐπαίνου παντός· ἐμοὶ
 δὲ καὶ καιρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν διαβῆναι τῷ λόγῳ.

<2> Ἡ τοίνυν τῷ ἱππάρχῳ πειθαρχήσασα τάξις ποτὲ ἐν ὅπλοις
 μὲν ἦν ἄπασα· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῇ καθ' ὁμαλοῦ προμῶται, ὅπερ
 ὄνομα εἰς τέσσαρας τέμνεται λόγους· εἰς δουκηναρίους, εἰς 25
 <κεντηναρίους, εἰς> κεντουρίωνας, εἰς βιάρχους, περὶ ὧν ἂν
 κατὰ τὴν τῶν τακτικῶν παράδοσιν ἀφηγησάμην εἰ μὴ πόρρω
 τοῦ σκοποῦ παρωθούμην· καὶ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τῆς τῶν
 προμωτῶν λέγω, ἔτι καὶ νῦν αἱ λεγόμεναι μάτρικες, ἀντὶ τοῦ

4 λόγον f b w [. . . .] P 6 ἐσοπτρίσοιτο by ἐσο πτρονσοι[.] P post ἐσοπτρον
 et ante τὴν πάλαι loc. vac. A ἐσοπτρίσαιτο f b w 7 τε P w omis. f b εὐταξίαν P
 f b w deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 9 συνέχει P₂ f b w συνεχοι P διαρρέουσας P₂
 b w διαρεουσας P διαρέουσας (sic) f 12 αὐτῇ f b αὕτη P αὕτη w 13 καθ' ὃ by
 καθὼ, P καθὼ f b w 18 προφανές P₂ A f¹ 29 b w προσφανες P προσφανές f 19
 φιλοδίκους f w φιλοδικαίους P b 21 κρείττων P₂ A f b w κρειττω P 22 καιρὸς
 P f b w ὄκνος A 24 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ P₂ b w καθομαλου P καθομαλοῦ f 25
 τέσσαρας A f b w τεσσαρα P τέσσαρα P₂ λόγους P w καταλόγους f b δουκηναρίους
 f b δουκιναρίους P A w 26 <κεντηναρίους, εἰς> by <κεντιναρίους, εἰς> w 27
 πόρρω A b w πορρσοῦ P πόρρσου P₂ πόρρω f 29 λέγω f b w λόγῳ P μάτρικες
 P f b w μα et loc. vac. A

Part III

1. After having observed the law of history, as I believe, and, conformably to what I had previously promised, having thoroughly discussed the civil magistracies, it occurred to me to append to their history a special and separate account concerning the greatest staff of the highest of the magistracies. Through this account one would faintly get for oneself a mirrored picture of both the splendor which prevailed in it long ago and the good order, which, although almost lost, our noble emperor did not allow to be completely extinguished but holds them together, as it were, and strengthens antiquity as it flows away in the course of time. And through him the state is greater than it had been recently because Libya has been restored to us (the acquisition is not small but the largest part of Europe, for it shares the West with the latter, just as Asia and it alone gives us the entire East) and because Rome itself, too, the mother of the empire, has been liberated by the sweat of the emperor from bondage and the authority of the barbarians. All the distinctive features which once belonged to the state are being preserved with greater exercise of power; the laws, too, have been liberated from disorders and heavily laden confusion, and justice is seen clearly, and the litigious regret their former vigilance over points of contention because through the clarity of the laws no dispute is any longer left behind. And, while the emperor's virtue is altogether too great to be praised, it is, however, also time for me to proceed with my account towards its aim.

2. Now, the staff which had been obedient to the cavalry commander was once engaged wholly in arms, and the names which it had were uniformly *promotae*. This term was divided into four categories: *ducenarii*, *centenarii*, *centuriones*, and *biarchi*, about which I would relate according to the tradition of the tacticians if I were not going to be diverted far from my immediate objective. And still even to this day the so-called *matrices*, namely, "master-lists of the registers," make mention

ἀπογραφαὶ τῶν καταλόγων, μνήμην ἀναφέρουσιν. ἀπὸ <δ> Αὐ-
 γούστου εἰς ἕτερον σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς περιστάσης, ὡς πολλάκις
 εἴρηται, προσετέθησαν οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀδιούτῳρες, οἷον εἰ βοηθοί·
 καὶ ταύτης μόνης τῆς προσηγορίας μνημονεύουσιν αἱ παρὰ
 τῶν βασιλέων παρεχόμεναι τοῖς εἰς στρατείαν παριοῦσι προ- 5
 βατωρίαί, οἷον εἰ συστάσεις καὶ ἀποδείξεις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς
 τὸ πρὶν ἄδειαν εἶχεν ὁ βουλόμενος ζῶντην περιθέσθαι οἷαν οὖν,
 μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξας ὡς εἴη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιτήδειος)· προβάρε
 γὰρ τὸ μετὰ δοκιμῆς ἐπιδείξαι τὸ ὑποκείμενον λέγουσιν οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι. νῦν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὰς ἐξ ἀμαθοῦς μαντείας τάληθες 10
 παραδηλούσης πριβατωρίας καλεῖ, αὐτόθεν τὴν ιδιώτου τύχην
 εἰσαγούσης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ιδιώτου διαφέρουσιν οἱ μόνῃ προσηγορίᾳ
 στρατείαν οἷαν οὖν ὑπερχόμενοι· οὐχ ὅτι τὰ πράγματα μὴ τὴν
 κρείττονα καὶ καρπιμωτέραν εἴληχεν ὁψιν τῇ βασιλέως ἐμμελείᾳ,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ εὐπρεπεῖς πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας παρίασιν. 15

f 67^r <3> Κοινῇ μὲν οὖν ἅπασιν τοῖς καταλόγοις ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως
 ὑποσημειώσεως ἀδιούτῳρες, | ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς παρατάξεως
 τὸ πάλαι ταττόμενοι· φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως· et <coll>ocare eum in
 legione prima adiutrice nostra, οἷον εἰπεῖν· ‘καὶ τάξειας αὐτὸν
 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τάγματι τῷ βοηθοῦντι ἡμῖν.’ ὅθεν ὁ πρωτεύων 20
 τοῦ παντὸς καταλόγου ἔτι καὶ νῦν κορινθουλάριος ἀναφέρεται,
 ἀντὶ τοῦ κεραίτης ἢ πρόμαχος. μέσος μὲν γὰρ ἦν τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ἐπὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς <ὁ> μόναρχος ἢ γ' οὖν ὁ ὑπαρχος ἢ ὁ Καῖσαρ,
 τὸ δὲ ἱμπεράτωρος ἐπώνυμον κοινὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔφην· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ μόνων τῶν βασιλέων ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἀπολύτως τοῦ αὐτοκρατῶς 25

1 ἀναφέρουσιν P f b w φέρουσι (deest ἀνα) A <δ> b w 3 οἷον εἰ by οἷονεἰ
 P οἷονεἰ P₂ f b w 5 παρεχόμεναι P b w deest et pro hoc loc. vac. et καναι A
 παρασχόμεναι f 7 ἄδειαν A f b w ἄ. . ιαν P ἄ. ιαν P₂ οἷαν οὖν by οἷαν οὖν P
 οἰανοῦν P₂ f b w 8 προβάρε b w προβαρε P προβάρε P₂ A πρόβαρε (sic) f
 11 πριβατωρίας f b w πριβασωρίας P πριβασωρίας P₂ 12 οἱ P₂ A f b w ἢ P 13
 οἱ στρατείαν P οἱ del. P₂ f b w οἷαν οὖν by οἷαν οὖν P οἰανοῦν P₂ f b w οὐχ ὅτι
 f b w οὐκ ὅτι P οὐχ' ὅτι P₂ 15 παρίασιν f b w παριασιν P παριᾶσι P₂ A 17
 ἀδιούτῳρες f b ἀδιούτορες P ἀδιούτορες w <ῆσαν> ἐπὶ w 18-19 et <coll>ocare eum
 in legione prima adiutrice nostra w ΕΤΕΓΔΓΕΕΥΜΙΝΛΕCΙΟΝΕΠΙΠΛΑΔΔΙΥΤ-
 ΓΙCΕΝΣΤΗΠΤΑ P et colloca etc. f b 19 αὐτὸν P₂ f b w αὐτῶν P 21 κοριν-
 θουλάριος f b w κουνικουλάριος P 22 κεραίτης A b καιραίτης P leg. κερᾶστις f
 κερατίτης f¹ 29 w 23 <ὁ> μόναρχος f w μονομάχος P b praestat fort. ὁ ἱπαρχος f¹
 30 ἢ γ' οὖν by ἦγουν P f b w ὁ ὑπαρχος P ὁ omis. f b w Καῖσαρ b καῖσαρ P f w
 24 ἱμπεράτωρος b ἱμπεράτορος P ἱμπεράτορος P₂ ἱνπεράτωρος f ἱνπεράτορος w
 ἔφην P f b w ἔφην (ex ἔφηνεν vel ἔφαμεν) A 25 αὐτοκρατῶς f b w αὐτο|κράτορος P

of this designation, I mean that of the *promotae*. However, after the magistracy had devolved upon a different form since the time of Augustus, as I have often stated, the so-called *adiutores*, that is to say, “assistants,” were added to it, and this is the sole designation which is mentioned by the *probatoriae*, that is to say, “recommendations and proofs,” that are granted from the emperors to those to be admitted into service (for in days of old anyone who wanted to put on a belt of whatever sort did not simply get permission unless he had previously proved that he was fit for it), for the Romans use *probare* as a term for “to present the subject with approval.” Nowadays, however, the common people call them *privatoriae* from an illiterate guess, which does hint at the truth, thereby introducing the station in life of a private person, for those who enter any sort of service in name only do not differ from a private person, not because public affairs have not been allotted a better and more efficient form by reason of the emperor’s diligence, but because such persons are admitted to public functions though they are not properly qualified.

3. Now then, all the registers dependent upon the emperor’s signature commonly had *adiutores*; they used to be marshalled in days of old at the front of the battle line, for he commands thus: *et collocare eum in legione prima adiutrice nostra*, that is to say, “and station him in the first legion which helps us.” For this reason the one who heads the entire register still even to this day is referred to as *cornicularius*, namely, “horn-bearer” or “front-line fighter.” For, though the general, whether he was the prefect or the *Caesar*, was at the center of the army in battle-action, yet the title *imperator* was common to them, as I said, for it does not belong to the emperors alone but unconditionally to whoever has obtained the

διοικεῖν εἰληχότος τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ μέσος μὲν ἦν, ὡς εἴρηται, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς ὁ Φροντῖνος λέγει, ἐξ εὐνύμου δὲ πλευρᾶς ὁ ἱππαρχος ἢ γ' οὖν ὑπαρχος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας οἱ πραίτωρες καὶ ληγᾶτοι, ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατηγοὶ καὶ πρεσβευταί, οὓς κατελίμ- 5 πανον οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἥδη τοῦ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτοῖς συντελουμένου χρόνου, εἰς τὸ ἐφεστάναι τῷ στρατῷ ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρουσίας, τῆς δὲ καλουμένης λεγιῶνος εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους τελοῦσης πεζομάχους τὸν ἀριθμόν (οὓσων δὲ <δέκα> καὶ μόνων τῶν πασῶν λεγιῶνων 10 ἀνέκαθεν, ἔξωθεν ἱππικῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ αὐξιλιαρίας καὶ κοορταλίας καὶ τουρμαλίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δυνάμεων, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ξενικῆς), ὡς ἔφην, πρῶτος ἐτέτακτο ὁ κορνικουλάριος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προὔστηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς πάσης τάξεως, <κᾶν εἰ μηκέτι> ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπαρχον ἔδοξεν, δι' οὓς εἰρήκαμεν λογισμοὺς. 15

<4> Τῶν οὖν ἄλλων πάντων ἀδιουτῶρων ὄντων, ὁ ὑπαρχος δι' οἰκείας ὑποσημειώσεως δίδωσι τῷ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἐρχο- μένῳ εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἔλοιτο ταχθῆναι κατάλογον. αἱ δὲ προση- γορίαι τῶν πάντων καταλόγων τῆς τάξεως αὐταί· ὁ κορνικου- λάριος πρῶτος, τῇ τοῦ λεγομένου κόμιτος ἐμπρέπων λαμπρότητι, 20 μῆπω τὴν ζώνην ἀποθέμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τιμὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων κωδικίλλων, ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτων, f 67v | ἐπίδοσιν ἀνελθὼν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις στρατεύμασι πρωτευόν- των ταύτης τῆς προνομίας ὑπαρχούσης· μετὰ δὲ τὸν κορνικου- λάριον πριμισκρίνιοι δύο, οὓς Ἕλληνες πρώτους τῆς τάξεως 25 καλοῦσιν· κομμενταρήσιοι δύο (οὕτως δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνη- ματογράφων πραττομένων ὁ νόμος καλεῖ)· ῥεγενδάριοι δύο, οἱ

1 μὲν ἦν P f b w μὲν ἡμῖν A εἴρηται P A b w εἴρεται (sic) f 3 ἢ γ' οὖν by ἡγουν P f b w 4 ληγᾶτοι w ληγάτοι P A f b πρεσβευταί b w πρεσβύται P f 5 τοῦ f b w τὸ P ὑπατείας P2 f b w υπατης P υπατίας A 6 ἐφεστάναι P2 b w εφε- στάναι P ἐφιστάναι (sic) f 8 λεγιῶνος f b w λεγιονος P λεγεῶνος P2 A 9 δὲ <δέκα> καὶ by δὲ καὶ P δέκα f b w λεγιῶνων f b w λεγιό[...]P λεγεῶνων A 12 κορνι- κουλάριος f b w κουνρικουλάριος P 13 προὔστηκεν P2 f w προυστηκεν P προ- στηκεν b <κᾶν εἰ μηκέτι> by <ἐπει μηκέτι> b w 14 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους P2 b w ἐπι τους πολέμους P ἐπὶ τοῖς πολέμοις A Ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους f ἀφικνεῖσθαι P2 f b w οφικνεῖσθαι P 17 στρατείαν P2 f b w στρατειᾶν P 20 κόμιτος P w κόμητος f b λαμπρότητι P2 A f b w λαμπροτησι P 22 κωδικίλλων f b w κου..δικιλλων (erasis duabus litteris) P κωδικέλλων P2 A 25 πριμισκρίνιοι f b w προμισκρίνιοι P 26 κομμενταρήσιοι by κομμενταρίσιοι P f b w οὔ|τως P οὕτω f b w τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνηματογράφων P f b w τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν (τοὺς ex τοῖς vocabuli ἐπὶ finis in rasura) A fort. leg. τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων f τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων γραφῇ ? b 27 πραττομένων f b πραττομε|νων P fort. leg. πραττομένους f ταττομένους ? b τατ- τομένους w

lot to manage a war with supreme power. And, whereas the supreme commander, as I have stated, was in the center, as Frontinus says, the cavalry commander, or rather the prefect, was at the left wing, and at the other were the *praetores* and *legati*, namely, “generals and lieutenants,” whom the consuls, just as the period of their consulship was coming to an end, used to leave behind in place of themselves to be in command of the army until the future consul’s arrival at the war. In the so-called *legio*, which consisted of six thousand foot soldiers in number (there were ten and only ten *legiones* in all originally, apart from the Roman cavalry, *auxiliaris*, *cohortalis*, *turmalis*, and the other forces, and then also the mercenary), the *cornicularius* had been stationed first, as I said, and for this reason still even to this day he stands at the head of the entire staff, even though it has been resolved that the prefect no longer should go to wars for the considerations which I have stated.

4. Since all the rest, then, were *adiutores*, the prefect through his personal signature gave to him who came to the service permission to be stationed into the register into which the former chose. The designations in all the registers of the staff are these: the *cornicularius*, who is first, being distinguished by the illustrious distinction of *comes*, so-called, though not yet having laid aside the belt and ascended to the honor conferred by the emperor and its bestowal by the so-called *codicilli*, namely, “tablets,” this privilege belonging to none of those who are first in other service bodies; after the *cornicularius* two *primiscrinii*, whom the Greeks call first in the staff; two *commentarienses* (thus the law calls those in charge of the recorders of transactions); two *regendarii*, who

τὸν δημόσιον δρόμον ἰθύνοντες· κοῦρα ἐπιστουλάρουμ Ποντικῆς
δύο.

〈5〉 Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τις οὐκ ἔξω λόγου πύθοιτο τὴν αἰτίαν
ἐπιζητῶν 'τίνος χάριν, πασῶν τῶν διοικήσεων ἔχουσιν τοὺς
καλουμένους κοῦρα ἐπιστουλάρουμ, τὸ πόλεως σκρινίον τό τε
τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῶν ἔργων οὐκ εἴληχε;' δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῆς
πόλεως εἰς τὴν Θρακικὴν διοίκησιν ἀναφέρεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἔργων
εἰς ἄλλας τυχὸν ἐπαρχίας 〈ἐν αἷς ἂν〉 συμβαίη τὰς ἀνανεώσεις
γίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων· ὅτι δὲ οὐ σφόδρα συνεχεῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν 〈ἐν〉
ταῖς διοικήσεσιν ἐκείναις κοῦρα ἐπιστουλάρουμ τὰ προστάγματα
τῆς ἐπιτιδομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου δαπάνης γίνεται. τὸ γὰρ
τῶν ὄπλων σκρινίον ὠρισμένας μὲν ἔχει τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν
συντελείας (νεῦρα λέγω καὶ κέρατα καὶ τὰ λοιπά), πρὸς δὲ τὰς
ἀνακυπτούσας χρεῖας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπουργεῖ τοῖς προστάγ-
μασιν.

〈6〉 Πολλῆς δὲ οὔσης 〈καὶ〉 ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν τῆς τῶν ταχυγρά-
φων πληθύος καὶ οὐ μικρὰς ἐχούσης ἀφορμὰς ἐπὶ κέρδους
ἐργασίας, 〈οἱ〉 τοι τούτων καὶ λογικώτεροι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπη-
ρεσίαν ἀρκοῦντες ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα συναγωγαῖς, ἃς καλοῦσι
σχολάς, συλλεγόμενοι, τὴν οὔσαν αὐτοῖς πείραν τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐπιδειξάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τάγμα τῶν Αὐγουσταλιῶν, εἴ γε ἄρα θέλω-
σιν, παρίασιν καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ κορνικουλαρίου πλήρωμα καταντῶσιν,
μετὰ μέντοι τὴν λεγομένην βοηθοῦραν· οἱ μένοντες ἐπὶ τῆς
δέλτου εἰς τὸ τοῦ πριμίσκρινίου ἀναφέρονται πλήρωμα.

f 68^r 〈7〉 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἀκριβέστερον ὄν|τὸ 'πῶς' εἴρηται,
μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς λογικαῖς λειτουργίαις τεταγμένους εἰσὶν
οἱ λεγόμενοι σιγγουλάριοι, ἄνδρες ἐντρεχεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας
δημοσίων ἕνεκα χρεῶν ἀποστελλόμενοι· ὧν ἀνέκαθεν τὰς ἀναγ-
καιοτάτας καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν συντελούσας τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν χρεῖας
ἐγχειριζομένων, παρεισέδου, τῆς ἐπαρχότητος ἡδὴ μαραινομένης,

1 ἐπιστουλάρουμ P₂ w ἐπιστουλαρουμ P ἐπιστολάρουμ (sic) f b 5 σκρινίον P
f b w 6 δῆλον ὅτι P δηλονότι P₂ b w Δηλονότι f 8 〈ἐν αἷς ἂν〉 by 〈ἐν αἷς〉
f w 9 〈ἐν〉 b w 16 〈καὶ〉 w καὶ ? b 17 πληθύος P₂ A f b w πλήθους P
18 〈οἱ〉 τοι by τη P τη P₂ τη f oi b w 20 συλλεγόμενοι b συλλεγομενοι oi P
συλλεγόμενοι oi P₂ f w 21 εἴ γε A εἴτε P εἴγε P₂ f b w θέλωσιν by θελωσιν P
θέλουσι P₂ θέλουσι A f b θέλωσι w 23 oi μένοντες f b w oi μενοντες P oi μὲν ὄν-
τες P₂ 25 post ἀκριβέστερον ὄν et ante εἴρηται loc. vac. A ὄν τὸ 'πῶς' by ον, το
πῶς P ἐντόπως f ον το πως b οὕτω πως w 26 ab μετὰ paragraphum ordiuntur f b
ἐπὶ ταῖς λογικαῖς P f b w ὑπὸ τοῖς λογικοῖς A

govern the public post; and two *cura epistularum* for the Pontic diocese.

5. But perhaps not without cause, when searching for the reason, one may inquire, "Why, when all the dioceses have the so-called *cura epistularum*, they have not been assigned to the *scrinium* of the city and that of arms and of public works?" It is obvious that, whereas that of the city is referred to the Thracian diocese, that of public works is referred to other perchance provinces in which the restorations of public works may happen to be done, but, because these are not exceedingly frequent, the requisitions for the expenditure that is granted from the public treasury are effected by the *cura epistularum* in those dioceses. As for the *scrinium* of arms, it gets from the provinces fixed contributions (I mean bow-strings, horns, and the rest), but for the needs that crop up in time of wars it renders service to the requisitions.

6. Since the throng of speedwriters is large, in fact, beyond count, and has no small opportunities for the pursuit of profit, those doubtless of them who are both more learned and adequate for their service are grouped in fifteen conventicles, which are called "schools," and, after they have exhibited the experience which they have for their business, they are admitted to the body of the *Augustales*, if, that is, they perhaps so desire, and end up in the final post of *cornicularies* after, of course, the so-called "assistantship." Those who remain on the docket are raised to the final post of *primiscrinii*.

7. And I have spoken rather precisely about this, the question being "how so?" After, however, those appointed over the literary services there are the so-called *singularii*, men of action who are sent out to the provinces for the sake of public needs. Whereas these men from the beginning were entrusted with needs that were most urgent and affected the whole state itself, the pomp-bundled-wordedness of the so-called

ἡ τῶν λεγομένων μαγιστριανῶν κομποφακελορρημοσύνη. σιγ-
 γουλαρίους δὲ τοὺς εἰρημένους καλεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐνὶ βεραίδῳ χρωμένους ἢ γ' οὖν ἐνὶ δῆλον ὅτι παρίππῳ ἐπὶ
 τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὁρμᾶν· σιγγουλάριον γὰρ τὸν μονήρη Ἰταλοῖς ἔθος
 καλεῖν. μεθ' οὗς μάγκιπες οἱ τοῦ δημῶδους καὶ ἀνδραποδώδους 5
 ἄρτου δημιουργοί· ὑφ' οἷς ἄρτοποιοὶ καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι καθολικῶς
 συστήματα διαψηφιστῶν, οἱ πᾶσι τοῖς ὅπως οὖν σίτησιν δημοσίαν
 ἔχειν ἡξιωμένοις ὑπακούουσιν· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν αὐτοὺς ῥατιω-
 ναλίους καλοῦσιν, ὅτι κατ' αὐτοὺς ῥατίωνες οἱ λογισμοὶ λέ-
 γονται, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καθολικοὺς μετωνόμασαν ἐκ τῆς καθ' 10
 ὅλου περὶ τοὺς δημοσίους λογισμοὺς ἀγρυπνίας. ἐνθεν σιτῶναι,
 οὗς Οὐῖκτωρ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ τῶν Ἑμφυλίων φρου-
 μενταρίους οἶδε τὸ πρὶν ὀνομασθῆναι, ὅτι τῆς τοῦ παλατίου
 εὐθηνίας τὸ πρὶν ἐφρόντιζον. Ῥουφίνου δὲ τηνικαῦτα τὴν ὑπαρχον
 ἀρχὴν τυραννίδι κρημνίσαντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ παραπῶλοντο. τελευ- 15
 ταῖοι πάντων οἱ τὸ πρὶν πρωτεύοντες, οἷα τὴν τοῦ ἱπάρχου
 κατ' ἀρχὰς πληροῦντες θεραπείαν· δουκηνάριοι καὶ βίαρχοι καὶ
 κεντηνάριοι καὶ κεντουρίωνες, ὧν πάντων τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς σημα-
 σίας προαποδεδῶκαμεν· ὅτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἱπάρχου ἐτύγχανον
 τάξεως, γινῶναι δυνατόν διὰ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς προ- 20
 φερομένων κωδικίλλων, οἱ περὶ ἀξιωματῶν τινῶν καὶ οὐ περὶ
 αὐτῶν διαγορεύουσιν.

f 68^v <8> Τοιαῦται μὲν καὶ τοσαῦται | τομαὶ τῶν καταλόγων τῆς
 ἀρχῆς. κούρσωρες γάρ, οἷον εἰ ταχυδρόμοι, τὴν τῆς στρατείας

1 κομποφακελορρημοσύνη A w κομποφακελορρημοσύνη P κομποφακελλορ-
 ρημοσύνη b κομποφακελορρήμοσύνη f σιγγουλαρίους P₂ b w σιγγουλαριους P Συγ-
 γουλαρίους (sic) f 3 βεραίδῳ A f b w βερεδῳ P βεραίδῳ P₂ leg. παραβεραίδῳ
 f^l 30 ἢ γ' οὖν by ηγουν P ἡγουν P₂ f b w ἢ A post ἢ et ante δῆλον ὅτι loc.
 vac. A ἐνὶ f^l 30 w ἐνοί P ἐνδὸς P₂ A f b δῆλον ὅτι by δηλον ὅτι P δηλονότι P₂
 A f b w παρίππῳ f^l 30 w παρίππου P A f b 4 ὁρμᾶν b w ὁρᾶν P ὁρᾶν P₂ ὁρμᾶν
 f σιγγουλάριον P b w Συγγουλάριον (sic) f 6 καθολικῶς P f b w καθολι-
 κιστοὶ A 7 ὅπως οὖν by ὁπῶς οὖν P ὁπῶσοῦν P₂ f b w 9 ῥατίωνες by ρα-
 τιονες P ῥατίονες P₂ A ῥατίωνες f b w 10 καθολικοὺς P f b w καθολικιστοὺς A
 καθ' ὅλου by καθόλου P καθόλου P₂ f b w 11 σιτῶναι f b w σιτονας P σι-
 τῶνας P₂ A 12 οὗς Οὐῖκτωρ f b οσοῦικτωρ P ὀσοῦικτωρ P₂ A οὗς Βίικτωρ w 14
 τηνικαῦτα P₂ f b w τηνικαῦτα P τὴν κατὰ A 15 τελευταῖοι f b w τελευταῖον P
 17 κατ' ἀρχὰς b w καταρχας P καταρχᾶς P₂ f δουκηνάριοι b δουκινάριοι
 P f w 18 κεντηνάριοι b κεντιναριοι P κεντινάριοι P₂ f w καὶ P b w ἢ f κεντου-
 ρίωνες f b w κεντουριονες P κεντυρίονες P₂ A πάντων f b w παντας P πάσας
 P₂ A 19 προαποδεδῶκαμεν P₂ A f b w προα|πεδεδωκαμεν P 20 γινῶναι P₂ A f b w
 γινῶμαι P 21 κωδικίλλων A b w κωδικέλλων P κωδικέλλων P₂ <ἐν> κωδικίλλοις
 f 23 τοσαῦται P₂ f b w τόσαται P 24 κούρσωρες b κούρσορες P w Κούρσω-
 ρες f στρατείας f b w στρατειάς P στρατιάς P₂ A

magistriani foisted itself in, just as the prefecture was withering away. The aforementioned happened to be called *singularii* from the fact that they set out to the provinces using one *veredus* or rather one, that is to say, post-horse, for the Italians are accustomed to call “the lone one” *singularis*. After these there are *manripes*, who are the producers of plebeian and slave bread. Under them are bakers and those called generally “bodies of accountants,” who attend to all those deemed fit in any way to receive public food; and the Romans call them *rationales* because with them accounts are called *rationes*, but the Greeks renamed them *katholikoi* from their general vigilance with respect to public accounts. Next are grain-buyers. Victor the historian in his *History of the Civil Wars* knows that formerly they were called *frumentarii* because formerly they were in charge of the grain-supply of the *palatium*. However, at that very time when Rufinus had wrecked the prefectural magistracy by his despotic rule, these, too, perished. Last of all are those who formerly ranked first inasmuch as in the beginning they performed service to the cavalry commander – *ducenarii*, *biarchi*, *centenarii*, and *centuriones*, the Greek meanings of all of whom I have already explained. That they were a part of the cavalry commander’s staff, can be known through the *codicilli* that are issued for them from the court, which relate in detail concerning certain dignities but not concerning them.

8. Such, indeed, and so many are the classifications of the magistracy’s registers. As for the *cursores*, that is to say, “couriers,” they obtain release

ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς εὐρίσκουσιν· ἀπλικιτάριοί γε μὴν καὶ
 κλαβικουλάριοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ῥαβδούχους μόνον τοὺς συλ-
 λαμβάνοντας τοὺς ἐγκλημάτων ἔνεκα πιεζομένους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς
 δεσμὰ περιτιθεμένους αὐτοῖς διασημαίνουσι, λειτουργιῶν, οὐ
 μὴν στρατείας καὶ βαθμοῦ, πέρας λαμβάνουσιν, ὧν εἰσὶ δει- 5
 κτικοί· ὑπασπίζουσι γὰρ τοῖς κομμενταρησίοις· αὐτοὺς ὑπομνη-
 ματογράφους ἢ τάξις Ῥωμαίων ὠνόμασεν, ὥς ἔφαμεν. ὃν γὰρ
 τρόπον οἱ νωμενκουλάτωρες φρόντισμα πληροῦσι καὶ τοὺς ῥήτο-
 ρας ἀπολέγουσιν ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀναφωνοῦντες αὐτούς, οὕτως 10
 ἐκεῖνοι ταῖς ἐγκληματικαῖς ὑπηρετοῦνται δίκαις. οἱ δὲ νωμεν- 10
 κουλάτωρες, ὥς φησιν ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐν τῷ Ὑπομνήματι τῶν Σαλ-
 λουστίου Ἱστοριῶν, ὀνομασταὶ καὶ ἀναφωνηταὶ τῶν τογάτων,
 ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν δικολόγων, εἰσὶν. τογάτους δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς μὴ
 στρατευομένους καλοῦσιν, φαινόλας δὲ περικειμένους καὶ τοῖς
 λέγουσι τὰς δίκας μισθῷ συναγορεύοντας· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς 15
 αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τὰ βιβλία σχολάζοντας καὶ ταῖς νομικαῖς δυσ-
 κολίαις ἀγρυπνοῦντας οἱ τὰς δίκας λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πεδανέους,
 ἀντὶ τοῦ χαμαιδικαστάς, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς διαγνώσεως ἐκά-
 λουν πρὸς συνηγορίαν· ταύτη καὶ *advocati*, οἷον εἰ προσκα-
 λούμενοι, ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγονται. τουρμαρίους γὰρ ἔτι φθάσας 20
 ἐγὼ διαμέμνημαι παρόντας τῷ σκρινίῳ τῶν σουβαδιουβῶν καὶ
 ταῖς κομπλητίωσι τῶν ἐντυχίων, οἷον εἰ πληρώσεσιν, προσλει-
 τουργοῦντας καὶ παραψυχὴν οὐ μικρὰν ἀναλεγομένους· τοσαύτη
 τις ἦν ἡ τῶν πραττομένων κάρπιμος ἀφθονία. διαιτάριοι πρὸς
 τούτοις καὶ θηκοφόροι καὶ πραίικωνες λειτουργίας μὲν ἀναδέχον- 25
 ται, ἐν δὲ ἐτέροις τάγμασιν ἀναφέρονται.

1 ἀπλικιτάριοι f b w ἀπληκιτάριοι P A ἀπληκιτάριοι P₂ 2 κλαβικουλάριοι P f¹ 31 b w κουβικουλάριοι A καβικουλάριοι (sic) f 3 ἐγκλημάτων P₂ A f b w εκκληματων P 4 λειτουργιῶν f w λειτουργίας P b 5 λαμβάνουσιν by [...]ἔ-
 νον P ...ἔ...ενον f b ἀν ἀναδεξαμένων εἰσὶ ? b [περιέμ]ενον w post πέρας et ante
 ὧν loc. vac. A 6 κομμενταρησίοις by κομμενταρισίοις P f b w κομμενταρισίους A
 αὐτοὺς by τους P τοὺς P₂ οὗς f b w 8 νωμενκουλάτωρες by νωμεν[
 [...].]άτορες P νωμενκουλάτωρας A νομενκλάτωρες f b νωμενκλάτορες w 9
 ἀπολέγουσιν f [...]λέγουσιν P [...]λέγουσιν P₂ λέγουσιν A ...λέγουσιν b [ἀπο]λέ-
 γουσιν w 10 νωμενκουλάτωρες by νωμενκουλάτορες P A νομενκλάτωρες f b
 νωμενκλάτορες w 11 Ὑπομνήματι by υ[....]ματι P ὑπομνήματι A f b w Σαλ-
 λουστίου f b w σαλουστίου P 12 ὀνομασταὶ f b w ονόμασται P ὠνόμασται P₂ A
 ἀναφωνηταὶ by ἀνα[...].]νηται P ἀνα[...].]νεται P₂ ἀναφωνῆται f b w 15 μισθῷ f b w
 μισθῷ P 16 δυσκολίαις A f w δυσκαλίαις P δυσκαλίαις b 19 ταύτη b w ταύτην
 P Ταύτη f *advocati* f b w *advocati* P 21 σουβαδιουβῶν P b σουβαδιουῶν
 (sic) f σουβαδιουβῶν w 22 κομπλητίωσι w κομπλατιωσιν P κομπλετίωσι f b
 25 λειτουργίας f b w λειτουργᾶς P λειτουργοὺς A 26 ἐν δὲ ἐτέροις P₂ f b w ενδεδ'
 ἑτεροις P ἐν δ' ἑτέροις A

from their service at the court. The *applicarii* and *clavicularii*, however, of whom the former denote merely the lictors who arrest those to be constrained on account of crimes, while the latter those who put chains on them, attain a termination of the ministrations indicated by their names, not, however, a goal of service and rank; for they are subalterns to the *commentarienses*; the political order of the Romans termed the latter "recorders of acts," as I said. For, just as the *nomenculatores* perform a function and select the rhetoricians, announcing them by name, so the former minister to criminal suits. The *nomenculatores* are, as *Aemilius* in his *Commentary on the Histories of Sallust* says, designators and announcers of the *togati*, namely, "the pleaders of suits." The Romans call *togati* those who are not in the service but wear *paenulae* and for pay act as coadvocates with those who plead suits. For, since they were in the forum, both devoting themselves to statute-books and being vigilant over legal difficulties, those who pleaded suits before the *pedanei*, namely, "petty judges," used to summon them for coadvocacy at the time of the judicial inquiry. For this reason, in fact, still even to this day they are called *advocati*, that is to say, "called to aid." As for the *turmarii*, since I had reached them, I distinctly remember that they were still in attendance upon the *scrinium* of the *subadiuvae*, ministering to the *completiones*, that is to say, "completions," of the petition-records and also picking up for themselves no small consolation; so much was the gainful abundance of transactions. Besides these, *diaetarii*, *thecophori*, and *praecones* undertake services but are registered in other branches.

f 69^r | ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΧΥΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΩΝ

<9> Εἴρηται πρόσθεν ἐν μὲν ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι τὸ τῶν ταχυ-
 γράφων σῶμα, εἰς δύο δὲ τάγματα διηρηθῆναι καὶ πληρώματα.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς δέλτου μένοντες τὸν χρόνον διώκουσι
 καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πριμοκρινίου παρίασιν πλήρωμα, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ 5
 τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων τάγμα μεθιστάμενοι καὶ θᾶττον τὴν στρατείαν
 πληροῦντες παρὰ τοὺς ταχυγράφους καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ κορνικου-
 λαρίου καταντῶσιν ἀξίωμα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐξῴθεν λάθῃ
 τὰ τῆς διαιρέσεως (καὶ γὰρ ὅς' ἡμέραι ἀγνοοῦντες μάτην ζητοῦ-
 σιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὰς εἰρημένας προσηγορίας ταραττόμενοι), 10
 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς εἰς δύο τοῦ ἐνὸς σώματος τομῆς ὑποδείξω τῷ
 λόγῳ. οἱ ταχυγράφοι πολλῶν ἐτῶν δεόνται, καθάπερ οἱ τριβοῦνοι,
 πρὸς τὸ διανύσαι τὴν στρατείαν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πληθὺς εἰσιν ὥστε
 ἐκείνοι. εἴ τι δὲ τυχὸν ὁ χρόνος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας τῶν πόνων
 καλεῖ, γῆρα κάμνουσι πάντως πρὸς καμάτους ἀχρήστῳ. εἰκὸς 15
 οὖν, οὐκ ἀρκοῦντες πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνωτέρων βαθμῶν λειτουρ-
 γίας, πρὸς ἃς μόγις οἱ νεότητι σώματος καὶ πείρα πραγμάτων
 ὠχυρωμένοι κινδύνων ἐξω διαρκοῦσι, δεόνται βοηθῶν. καὶ ἀνέκα-
 θεν μὲν ἕκαστος τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς πάντα ἀρίστους ἐκ τῶν
 ταχυγράφων ἐπελέγετο (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν <εἰ> μὴ τοὺς πείρα τε 20
 καὶ λόγοις κοσμουμένους τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου πλη-
 ροῦν), νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐπιλογῆς οἴχεται, ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἔτι
 καὶ νῦν σῶζεται. ἐνθεν ἐξ βοηθοὺς παρεῖναι συμβαίνει τῷ τε <τοῦ
 ἀβ ἄκτις> σκρινίῳ τῷ τε <τοῦ> κομμενταρησίου καὶ τῷ τοῦ
 πριμοκρινίου· ἐπειδήπερ, ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἀνὰ δύο ἐπ' ἔτος 25
 ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν ταχυγράφων τῆς ζώνης ὁ νόμος ἀπαλλάττει.

2 post τὸ et ante σῶμα loc. vac. A 3 διηρηθῆναι f b w διειρηθῆναι P διαιρεισθῆναι
 A 5 παρίασιν πλήρωμα P w παρίασι πλήρωμα P₂ A πλήρωμα παρίασιν f b 6
 μεθιστάμενοι P f b w παριστάμενοι A 7 παρὰ P w πρὸς f b w καὶ P f b delend.
 f del. w 8 post ἐξ et ante διαιρέσεως loc. vac. A 9 τῆς f b w [...] P ὅς' ἡμέραι by
 ὡς ἡμέραι P ὅσημέραι P₂ f b w μάτην ζητοῦσιν f b w [.....] σιν P post ἀγνοοῦντες
 et ante οἱ loc. vac. A 10 ταραττόμενοι f w ταρ[.]τόμενοι P ταττόμενοι A post hoc
 et ante τὴν loc. vac. A ...τόμενοι b 11 ὑποδείξω P₂ A f b w ὑποδείξῃ P 12 ἐτῶν
 δεόνται f w ἐ[....]ονται P b πολλῶν δεόνται A 13 διανύσαι P₂ f b w διανοίσει P
 διανύσασθαι A τὴν P f b w deest in A 14 αὐτοὺς f b w αὐτοῖς P αὐτοῖς P₂ ἐπὶ
 b w περὶ P περὶ P₂ f πόνων deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 15 εἰκὸς P₂ A b w
 εἰκὼς P Εἰκὸς f ὡς εἰκὸς? an εἰκότως b 20 <εἰ> w 21 κοσμουμένους P₂ f b w
 κοσμουμένους P κοσμουμένοις A 23 <τοῦ ἀβ ἄκτις> f w 24 σκρινίῳ f w
 σκρινίου P b <τοῦ> f w κομμενταρησίου by κομμενταρισίου P κομμενταρισίου P₂
 κομμενταρισίου f b w

On the Speedwriters and AUGUSTALES

9. I have stated earlier that the body of speedwriters was originally one, but that it has been divided into two branches and final posts. For some of them pursue their time remaining on the docket and are advanced to the final post of *primiscrinii*, whereas others, because they are transferred into the body of *Augustales*, both complete the service more quickly than the speedwriters and end up in the office of *cornicularius*. In order, however, that the particulars of this division may not elude even outsiders (for, in fact, the common people, because they do not understand, constantly make inquiries in vain, being confused in consequence of the aforementioned designations), I shall point out in this account the reason for the partition of the one body into two. The speedwriters need many years to finish their service, just as do the *tribuni*, for the latter are also as numerous as the former. If time, however, perchance summons them at all to the conclusion of their duties, they are weary with old age, which is utterly useless for toil. Naturally, then, since they are not strong enough for the tasks of the higher grades, for the performance of which those braced with youth of body and experience in affairs can hardly last through free of dangers, they need assistants. And in the beginning each used to choose for himself from the ranks of the speedwriters three men who were the best in all respects (for no one except those who were graced with both scholarship and experience was permitted to fill posts of service in the court of justice), but nowadays, though selection requirements are gone, their number is being preserved still even to this day. Hence it happens that six assistants are in attendance upon the *scriinium* of the *ab actis*, and that of the *commentariensis*, and that of the *primiscrinii*; since, in fact, as has already been made clear, the law retires from the belt at the rate of two each year from the ranks of the speedwriters.

f 69^v καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν στοχάσεται, πρὸς τὸ | πληθὺς τῶν βοηθοῦντων
 ἀφορῶν, τὴν τοῦ δικαστηρίου μεγαλειότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν
 αὐτῷ πραττομένων τὸ πρὶν ἀπειρίαν; ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος,
 πραγμάτων μὲν οὐκ ὄντων τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, καλὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν
 <οὐδέν>, ὡς πάλαι, αὐτῶν ἀπανταχῇ συρρεόντων, τῶν δὲ Αὐ- 5
 γουσταλίων ἴσως κατ' αὐθεντίαν (μετὰ συγγνώμης εἰρήσθω· καὶ
 γὰρ λόγων εἰσὶν ἐρασταί) ἐπὶ δικαστὰς ἐτέρους καὶ θυμήρεις
 τοῖς πράττουσι τὰς δίκας διὰ τῶν λεγομένων θείων κελεύσεων
 ἀπαγόντων.

<10> Κερδῶν δὲ οὐ σμικρὼν τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης καὶ τιμῆς 10
 ἐξοχωτάτης μετὰ δυνάμεις ἰσχυρᾶς περιγινομένων τοῖς τῶν
 εἰρημένων σκρινίων βοηθοῖς, εἰκὸς ἦν ἐμπορουμένους αὐτοὺς
 ἀπαξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν δέλτον καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀκερδεῖας ἐπιείκειαν
 ἀναστρέφειν. ἔνθεν ἐκ δεήσεως αὐτῶν νόμος πρὸς Ἀρκαδίου
 τίθεται θεσπίζων, ἰδιάζον καὶ πάντη κεχωρισμένον σύστημα 15
 τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν ἥδη πρότερον ἐν τῷ βοηθεῖν
 διαφαινομένων συστήσαι τὴν ἐπαρχότητα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτῇ·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐχερὲς ἦν τὸ τηνικαῦτα, τῶν βασιλέων ἅμα τῇ βουλῇ
 δίκας ἀκρωμένων, τοὺς πάντας ἄριστα ὑπηρετεῖν· ὥστε καὶ
 πεντεκαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πεπανωτέρων πείρα τε καὶ τῷ 20
 χρόνῳ κρειττόνων πρὸς ὑπογραφὴν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀφορισθῆναι,
 οὓς ἔτι καὶ νῦν δηπουτάτους καλοῦσιν, οἱ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν
 Αὐγουσταλίων πρωτεύουσιν· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἄρτι παρα-
 φυέντων ἃ σηκρήτις ὄνομα, μετρίων σφόδρα τῶν χρηματικῶν
 ζητήσεων οὓσων, τῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τοὺς πο- 25
 f 70^r λέμους ὁρμώντων, | καὶ τῶν τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἰθυονόντων τοῖς νόμοις
 ἄλλ' οὐ ταῖς κλοπαῖς προσαγρυπνούντων. τῷ δὲ συστήματι τῶν

2 post τὴν et ante μεγαλειότητα loc. vac. A 3 πραττομένων τὸ πρὶν ἀπειρίαν
 A f b w πραττομέν[.....] ἀπορίαν P 4 πραγμάτων μὲν οὐκ ὄντων A πραγ-
 μά[.....]ντων P πραγμάτων μὲν μὴ ὄντων f b w καλὸν P A καλῶν f b καλεῖ
 w 5 <οὐδέν> w ... P f b ὡς πάλαι A ... P f b w αὐτῶν by ... τῶν P A f b
 δικαστῶν w Αὐγουσταλίων A [.....]αλίων P ... αλίων f b βασιλέων ? b μα-
 γιστριανῶν w 6 ἴσως deest et pro hoc. loc. vac. A κατ' αὐθεντίαν P₂ A f b κατ-
 αυθεντιαν P καθ' αὐθεντίαν (sic) w 7 ἐτέρους f b w ἐτέροις P ἐτέροις P₂ ἐτέρους
 deest et pro hoc loc. vac. A 10 post σμικρῶν et ante ἐπ' εἰρήνης loc. vac. A. 13
 ἐξ ἀκερδεῖας P₂ f b w ἐξ ἀκερδίας P τῆς ἐπικερδεῖας A post δέλτον et ante ἐπικερδεῖας
 loc. vac. A 14 ἔνθεν P b w ὅθεν A Ἐνθεν f ἐκ δεήσεως P f b w ἐκδικήσεως A
 Ἀρκαδίου b w ἀρκαδίου P Ἀρκαδίαν A Ἀρκαδίου f 15 ἰδιάζον f b w ἰδιάζων
 P ἰδιάζων P₂ ἰδιάζον (o ex corr.) A 19 τοὺς πάντας ἄριστα w τοὺς πάντας ἀρίστους
 P τοὺς πάντας ἀρίστους P₂ τοῖς πάντα ἀρίστοις f b 22 δηπουτάτους f b w δι-
 πουτάτους P A 24 ἃ σηκρήτις f w ασηκρήτις P ἀσηκρήτις P₂ Ἀσηκρήτις A
 ἀσηκρήτις b

Who, pray, when looking at the large number of those who are assistants, cannot surmise the greatness of the court of justice and the vast volume of business that formerly was transacted in it? At present, however, nothing noble comes before the magistracy, as in days of old, because the subjects do not have transactions, since these in all quarters are falling into ruin, and because the *Augustales*, perhaps by their authority (with their pardon let it be said; for they, too, are lovers of words), shunt the suits through the so-called imperial instructions to other judges who are, in fact, well pleasing to those who transact business.

10. Since formerly in peacetime the assistants of the aforementioned *scrinia* were enjoying no small profits and most eminent honor coupled with effective power, it was natural for them, because they were getting their fill, to disdain to return again to the docket and the modesty of profitlessness. Hence, as a result of their petition, a law was laid down by Arcadius which decreed that the prefecture set up a special and altogether separate corps of men, thirty in number, who had already previously excelled in their function as assistants, to serve it. For it was not easy at that very time when the emperors along with the senate were hearing suits for all of them to serve excellently; consequently, in fact, fifteen of them, the more mature and superior because of both their experience and their years, were set apart to be secretaries to the emperors; they are called *deputati* still even to this day and rank foremost in the body of the *Augustales*. For the name of the recently created *a secretis* did not yet exist because pecuniary inquiries were exceedingly moderate since the previous emperors used to set out to wars and those who were governing the provinces used to be vigilant over the laws but not acts of thievery. The law set down for the body of the aforementioned

εἰρημένων τριάκοντα ἀνδρῶν τὴν τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων ὁ νόμος
ἔθετο προσηγορίαν, οὐ καινὴν οὐδὲ πρόσφατον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
πρώτου τῶν βασιλέων ὀνομασίαν ἀνακαλεσάμενος, <ὅς>, ὡς πολ-
λάκις ἔφαμεν, πρῶτος τὴν ἐπαρχότητα συστησάμενος τῶν πραιτω-
ρίων τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῇ τελούντας Αὐγουσταλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας 5
προσηγορίας καλεῖσθαι διώρισεν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤῶΝ ΠΡΙΜΙΚΡΙΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΤῶΝ ΧΑΡΤῶΝ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΣ

<11> Τῶν πλείστων, τάχα δὲ πάντων, τῶν ἰχνῶν ἀπαλιφέντων
τῆς ἔμφορος παλαιότητος, οὐκ ἔξω δακρύων <ἄν> τις διατελῶν 10
ὑπομείνοι, γινώσκων ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, ὅπως ἀντεῖχτο <τὸ>
πρὶν ὁ νόμος τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅσων κατὰ
σμικρὸν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων κακοδαιμονίας ὁ καθ'
ἡμᾶς χρόνος ἐξέπεσεν. ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἦν μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πράτ-
τεσθαι τοῦ τῆς Δίκης Ἱεροῦ (ὃ καλεῖται Σήκηρητον, οἷον εἰ ἀτάρα- 15
χον καὶ σιγῇ σεμνόν, καὶ ὁποῖον οὐκέτι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον),
ὅπως μὴ τι πρὸς ὕβρεως ἢ βλάβης τῶν συντελῶν ἀμαρτηθεῖη.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνθεσμον τῶν ψήφων ἀπόφασιν νόμος ἦν τοὺς
συνεδρεύοντας τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἄνδρας νομικωτάτους, ἀναγινώσκοντας
πρῶτον τὰς ψήφους καὶ ὑποτάττοντας τῷ λεγομένῳ σχεδαρίῳ 20
τὸ παρ' Ἰταλοῖς καλούμενον ῥέκηνησον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντιβολήν,
διδόναι πρὸς ὑπογραφὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένοις
(καγκελλαρίους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐπιφημίζουσιν, περὶ
ῶν πρὸς πέρας ἐρῶ). εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τῶν σηκηρηταρίων ἐμ-
μελῶς ἀναγινωσκομένου τοῦ λεγομένου καθαροῦ οὕτω τε ἀπο- 25
f 70^v λυομένου τῷ λιτιγάτωρι, οἷον εἰ δίκης ἔνεκα παραφυλάττοντι,

3 <ὅς> w 4 πρῶτος w ο πρῶτος P ὁ πρῶτος P₂ ὁ πρῶτος A ὁς πρῶτος f b
9 ἀπαλιφέντων b w απαλοιφέντων P ἀπαλειφθέντων P₂ A ἀπαλοιφέντων f 10
<ἄν> by τις f b w τις P τις P₂ τι A διατελῶν P A b w διατελεῖν f 11 ὑπομείνοι
b ὑπὸ μείνοι P ὑπομένοι f w γινώσκων P f b γινώσκων w <τὸ> w 16
οὐκέτι P₂ f b w οὐκέτη P οὐκ ἐστὶ A οὐκ ἐστὶ ? b οὐκέτι <ἔστι> w κατ' οὐδένα
P₂ f b w καθ' οὐδένα P τρόπον P b w τρόπον (sic) f 18 ἦν P A w καὶ f b 20
σχεδαρίῳ A f b w σχηδαριω P σχεδαρίῳ P₂ 21 τὸ f b w τω P τῷ P₂ παρ' P₂
f b w παρ P καλούμενον f b w καλουμενον P καλουμένῳ P₂ καλουμένῳ A ῥέ-
κηνησον Vasis ῥέκινον P ῥέκινον P₂ f b ῥεκιτᾶτον w 23 καγκελλαρίους P₂ A f b w
κανκελλαριους P 24 σηκηρηταρίων P₂ b w σικριταρίων P σηκηρηταρρίων (sic) f
26 λιτιγάτωρι f b λιτιγάτορι P w

thirty men the name of *Augustales*, having recalled a designation which was not new nor recent but that of the first of the emperors, who, having been the first to establish the prefecture of the *praetoria*, as I often said, prescribed that those who function under it be called *Augustales* after his own name.

On the PRIMISCRINII and the Ancient Issuance of Documents

11. With the extinction of most, perhaps, however, all of the traces of sage antiquity, one could not endure to continue to be free of tears when perceiving from what is set forth below how formerly the law used to take thought for the freedom of the subjects, and how many the blessings were from which our time has fallen little by little as a result of the ill-fated plight of the governed. There was an ancient custom that nothing be transacted outside the Temple of Justice (which is called *Secretum*, that is to say, “undisturbed and silently venerable,” and which sort of thing no longer exists in any way), in order that no error might be committed by way of injury or damage to the contributors. After, however, the legal pronouncement of the judgments, there was a law that the assessors of the magistracy, men most expert in the law, were first to read the judgments and subjoin them to the “brief,” so-called, and to give the *recensum*, as it was called by the Italians for “collated copy,” for the magistracy’s signature to those appointed for this purpose (in the courts of justice they are called *cancellarii*, about whom I shall speak towards the end); then after that, when “the genuine copy,” so-called, was carefully read by the *secretarii* and was thus issued to the *liti-gator*, that is, “one who stands by for the sake of justice,” the *secretarius*

σύνοψιν ὁ σηκηρητάριος ἐποιεῖτο τῆς τοῦ πεπραγμένου δυνάμεως τοῖς Ἰταλῶν ῥήμασι καὶ ταύτην ἐτήρει παρ' ἑαυτῷ πρὸς κώλυμα τολμηρᾶς προσθήκης ἢ ὑφαιρέσεως. οὐ δὴ γενομένου, λαβὼν ὁ πράξας καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας θαυμάσας τὸ δικαστήριον παρήει πρὸς τοὺς πριμισκρινίους ἀτάξοντας ἐκβιβαστὴν τοῖς ἀποπεφασμένοις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τεταγμένων, ἀνδρῶν καὶ διδασκάλους αὐτοῖς πράγματα περὶ λόγων ζητήσεις παρεχόντων, ἐπλήρουν, ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου τῆς ἐντυχίας γράμμασιν αἰδοῦς αὐτόθεν ἀπάσης καὶ ἐξουσίας ὄγκῳ σεσοβημένως πρὸς τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ πληρωτοῦ προσγράφοντες.

〈12〉 Ἐμοὶ δὲ δακρύειν ἐπέρχεται τὴν τοῦ νόμου συνιέντι δύναιμι καὶ ὅπως πάσης ἡμᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀφείλετο καταξαίνων ὁ Δαίμων. ὑποπτεύων γὰρ ὁ νόμος, καὶ οὐκ ἔξω λόγου, τῶν ποριζομένων τὰς ψήφους πρὸς τοὺς πληρωτὰς αὐτῶν τὰς καθ' ὧν προσφέροντο αὐθᾶδεις ὁμονοίας αὐστηροῖς καὶ ποινὰς ἀπειλοῦσι ῥήμασι παραγγέλλεσθαι διώρισε πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῇ δίκῃ τοὺς ἐγχειριζομένους, καὶ ταῦτα γράφεσθαι πρὸς ἐντροπὴν τῶν πάντα τολμώντων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐκβιβαστῶν. ἐπιτρέπων γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ βοηθὸς τοῖς πρωτεύουσι τοῦ τάγματος, ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε καταλέγεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ψήφων στελλόμενον, τούτοις γὰρ γράφων ἐχρήτο τοῖς ῥήμασιν· Facite . . .
f 71^r | ὥς ἂν τις καθ' ἐρμηνείαν εἰποι· 'πρὸς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας' (ὥς ἔφην, τοῦ καταλόγου, ἐν ᾧ τελεῖ τυχὸν ὁ τὰς ψήφους ἐγχειριζόμενος). ὥστε μὴ περὶ τὸν βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξ ἀπολείψεως βλάβην ὑποστῆναι, ἀφορίσατε τόνδε ἐκ τάξεως ἀπὸ τῆς παρ-
οῦσης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τῆσδε, ὑπατείας τοῦδε, εἰ μέντοι ἐστὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῖς θείοις μεμνημένος μυστηρίους καὶ μὴ

4 παρήει f b w παρίει P παρήει P₂ A 5 τάξοντας f^l 33 w τάξαντας P f b τάξοντας ? b ἐκβιβαστὴν P f b w ἐκβιβαστικὴν A 6 διὰ τῶν f b w διὰ τὸ P 7 διδασκάλους P f b w διδασκάλους A 8 ἐπλήρουν f b w ἐπλήρου P 9 σεσοβημένως by σεσωβημενος P σεσοβημένος P₂ σεσοβημένοις f b w 11 συνιέντι by συνιόντι P f b συνορῶντι ? b συνιδόντι w 12 καταξαίνων by κατα[.] P κατ' ἀξίαν A καταξῶν f b καταξέων w 13 τὴν τῶν P f b τὴν del. w 14 πληρωτὰς f b w πληρωτ^δ P πληρωτ^δ P₂ αὐτῶν P b w 〈ἡ〉 αὐτῶν f 15 προσφέροντο P₂ f b w προσφεροιντο P προφέρουντο f^l 33 16 παραγγέλλεσθαι P₂ A f b w παραγγελεσθαι P 17 ταῦτα P A f b ταῦτ' w 20 τὸν P₂ f b w τὸν P 21 γὰρ del. w Facite w FAcITE . . . P post ῥήμασιν in codice legebantur ab Wünsch Latina adiutoris verbo per septem versus digesta, sed ad finem non perscripta et data opera erasa. hodie nihil dispicitur nisi v. l init. FAcITE . . . VICaTUOLU. . . , v. 2 init. POGa. . . , v. 4 med. NECH. UN. d. TU. . . , v. 7 extr. d. GTOG. . . NON post ῥήμασιν facite deest et loc. vac. quo plurium iactura versuum indicatur, tum ὥς ἂν τις etc. A 22 καθ' ἐρμηνείαν P₂ f b w κατερμηνειαν P 26 ἡμέρας P b w ἐμέρας (sic) f

made in the language of the Italians a summary of the force of that which had been transacted and kept this with himself to prevent an audacious addition or deletion. Just as soon as this had occurred, the one who had transacted business, after he had received it and marvelled at the court of justice for its precision, went on to the *primiscrinii* for them to appoint an executor for the decisions rendered; and they, through those appointed to assist them, men who caused difficulties with respect to questions of learning even to professors themselves, completed the process, awesomely furthermore adding in writing on the back of the petition-record the designation of the document-completer with writing of obviously absolute respect and with dignity of authority.

12. I am inclined to shed tears whenever I take note of the force of the law and how the Fiend lacerated and robbed us of every excellence. For, since the law looked with apprehension, and not without reason, on the audacious collusions, against whomever they were connived, by those who provided decisions with the document-completers thereof, it prescribed that those who were entrusted with them be admonished with strict and punishment-threatening words by those who ministered to justice; also, that this admonition be written to humiliate the executors who dare all things in the provinces. For the assistant, as if turning the official being dispatched to carry out the decisions over to the heads of the unit in which he happened to be enrolled, when writing, that is, used these words. "Facite . . ." As one would say by way of translation, To the heads (as I said, of the register in which the one entrusted with the decisions happens to belong). So that he may not suffer damage with regard to his own rank by default, detach so-and-so from the staff from the present day to such-and-such a day in the consulship of so-and-so; provided, of course, he is initiated in the sacred mysteries of the Orthodox Faith and is not under liability

δημοσίοις τελέσμασιν ὑπεύθυνός ἐστιν, μηδὲ πρὸς γένος συν-
 ἄπτεται τῷ τὴν αἵτησιν ἀποθεμένῳ, μηδὲ μὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρ-
 ελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνεχειρίσθῃ ἐπὶ <τῆς> αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας
 δημοσίας ἐνεκεν ἢ ιδιωτικῆς χρείας· οὕτω μέντοι, ὥστε μὴ
 παραβῆναι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν νενομοθετημένων.⁵ τοῦτοις μὲν τοῖς
 ῥήμασιν ὁ βοηθὸς τοῦ πριμισκρινίου τοὺς πραττομένους κατησφα-
 λίζετο πάντας· μεθ' ὃν ὁ πρίγκειψ, οἷον ὁ πρωτεύων (περὶ οὗ
 τέως εἰπεῖν οὐ καιρός· οὐδὲ γὰρ μέρος τῆς τάξεώς ἐστι καὶ
 αὐτός, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μαγιστριανῶν κατὰ βαθμὸν παραγίνεται ἐπὶ
 τὰ μέγιστα ποτε δικαστήρια· καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ¹⁰
 ἱστορίαν ἐκθῆσομαι)· μεθ' οὗς ὁ κορνικουλάριος, οἷα τὴν ὅλην
 τοῦ νόμου δύναμιν διατηρῶν καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἀπάντων
 κύριος, δι' οἰκείας ὑποσημειώσεως τὴν ὁφρὺν ἐδίδου τοῖς ἀπο-
 πεφασμένοις.

<13> Τοσαῦτα δὲ ἦν τὰ τότε πραττόμενα, ὡς δεκάτῳ τόμῳ¹⁵
 μόγις ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς σύνοψιν. καὶ τί χαλεπὸν ἐμβραδῦναι
 τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ προκειμένου; τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν πραττομένων, ὡς ὅλον τὸ ἔτος μὴ ἀρκεῖν τοὺς
 βοηθοῦντας πρὸς πλήρωσιν αὐτῶν, ὥστε μετὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς
 λεγομένης βοηθούρας ἔχειν χῶρον ἀπονενεμημένον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ²⁰
 τῆς μέσης εἰσόδου τῆς πραιτωρίας αὐλῆς πρὸς τοῦ σκρινίου τῆς
 Εὐρώπης, ἐν ἣ συντρέχοντες ἐπλήρουν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν λει-
 τουργίας πραχθέντα. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἄρτι τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς
 f 71^v τρέχουσι σκρινίοις πεπαυμένοι | τοῦτοις ἐνησχολοῦντο, παραψυχὴν
 οὐ μικρὰν κερδῶν ἐκλεγόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἤδη πρό-²⁵
 τερον σχολάζοντες ἐκεῖ συνέρρεον, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λαμπρὰς
 τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς προστάξεων ἐγχειριζόμενοι καὶ ὅσαις ἑτερός τις
 πέρας οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐπιθεῖναι, μηδὲ τὸν τῆς ἀργίας καιρὸν ἔρημον
 λογικῶν ζητημάτων ἀπολαμβάνοντες, τῶν ἐνδόξων ἐν διδασκά-
 λοις λόγων συντρεχόντων ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων³⁰

1 γένος P₂ f w γενος P γένους b 3 ἐνεχειρίσθῃ P₂ A f b w ενεχρίσθῃ (quod
 corr.) P <τῆς> f b w 4 ἢ ιδιωτικῆς f b w ηδιωτικῆς P ιδιωτικῆς P₂ A ἢ deest in A
 5 νενομοθετημένων A f b w [...]θετημένων P 7 πρίγκειψ w πριγκιψ P πρίγκιψ
 P₂ f b 9 αὐτός, ἀπὸ δὲ w αὐτὸς αὐτὸς δὲ P αὐτὸς ἀπὸ δὲ A αὐτὸς, αὐτὸς δὲ· f
 αὐτὸς, αὐτὸς δὲ b αὐτὸς, <ἀπὸ> δὲ ? b κατὰ βαθμὸν f b w καταβαθμῶν P
 καταβάθμων P₂ 10 τὴν P f b w deest in A 16 σύνοψιν f b w σύναψιν P A
 ἐμβραδῦναι A b w ενβραδῦναι P ἐμβραδύναι P₂ f 20 χῶρον f b w χωρὸν P 22
 ἐν ἣ P₂ ἐν ἣ P ἐν ᾧ f b w ἐπλήρουν f b w ἐπληρο P ἐπλήρο P₂ 23 καὶ αὐτοὶ
 P f b w καὶ αὐτὸν A μὲν οἱ ἄρτι P f b w loc. vac. A

for public transactions, nor is connected by kinship with him who deposited the petition, nor, in fact, was entrusted during the preceding year with public or private business in the same province. Act in this way, of course, so as not to transgress the force of what has been ordained by law.

With these words, indeed, all those who handled transactions were safeguarded by the assistant of the *primiscrinii* and after him by the *princeps*, that is, "the chief," concerning whom it is not time just now to speak, for he himself, too, is not part of the staff but gradually came to the once greatest courts of justice from the ranks of the *magistrani*; and a little later I shall set forth the story regarding him. After them the *cornicularius*, inasmuch as he maintained the entire force of the law and had authority over all the transactions, by his personal signature gave approval to the decisions rendered.

13. So many were the transactions of that time that they could hardly be taken in hand for summarization by ten volumes. What harm, pray, is there to delay in my account to prove the subject under discussion? So much was the quantity of transactions that the entire year could not suffice for the assistants to complete them; so that after the end of their so-called "assistantship" they had a place assigned to them at the central entrance of the praetorian court near the *scrinium* of Europe where they assembled and completed the business that had been transacted in the time of their service. Even those who had recently themselves ceased from being assistants in the current *scrinia* occupied themselves with these matters, culling for themselves no small consolation from profits, while those who had retired even already earlier before them gathered there and were entrusted with the magistracy's most important and famous requisitions and with all those which some other official had not been able to complete. Not even the time of their retirement did they get free of literary questions because the illustrious men among professors of learning used to go to them and debate concerning topics that

συζητούντων. ἀπέσβη δὲ οὕτως ἅπαντα ὥς, τοῦ τόπου τὸ λοιπὸν σχολάζοντος, τοὺς λεγομένους ἐσκαεπταρίους, οἷον εἰ ὑποδέκτας τοῦ σίτου, κατασχεῖν τὸ σκρινίον τῶν πάλαι θαυματομένων ἀφανισθέντων.

〈14〉 Πολλῶν δὲ 〈όντων〉 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐξολωλότων 5
τῆς πάλαι σεμνότητος γνωρισμάτων, καὶ χάρτην ἀπαιτεῖν οἱ
τῆς τάξεως ὑπομένουσι τοὺς πράττοντας, τὸ πρὶν εἰωθός, μὴ
μόνον μὴ τοιοῦτοῖς γλίσχροις ἐγχειρεῖν ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τοὺς πάντων
διειδεστάτους χάρτας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἀνα-
λόγως ἐμπρεπόντων τοῖς σκύτεσι τῶν γραφῶν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν 10
ἐκάτερον ἐκποδῶν, καὶ χαλκὸν κάρτα μέτριον καὶ αἰσχρὸν
εἰσπράττουσιν ἐξ ἀκερμίας καὶ χόρτον ἀντὶ χάρτου γράμμασι
φαύλοις καὶ πενία ὄζουσιν ἐκδιδόασιν. ταῦτα πάντα παραπόλωλε
καὶ ἀνυπόστροφον ἀπῆλθεν ὁδὸν τῷ τε μὴ εἶναι πράγματα τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις πενία καταφθειρομένοις τῷ τε τὰ τυχὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικα- 15
στήριον φερόμενα 〈κινδυνεύειν〉, νῦν μὲν ἀπειρία τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ
τελούντων, νῦν δὲ σφετερισμοῖς νεωτέρων, ὥς ἔτυχεν τὰς ἡνίας
τῶν πρώτων τιμῶν παιδαριώδεσιν αὐθαδεῖαις ἀναρριπτόντων.

〈15〉 Τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐθῶν, πλήθος δὲ
δουκηνარიῶν ὑπουργεῖ τῷ τῶν πριμισκρινίων βήματι, ταῖς ἐξ 20
f 72^r ἀγράφων προστάξεων διαγνώσεσιν, ἃς ἐκάλουν|ζευκτάς, ἐξυπη-
ρετουμένων—πρᾶγμα μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν πραττομένων χαρτῶν
ἄπειρον τῶν κερδῶν εἰσαγωγὴν πλείστην ῥοπὴν χρημάτων πε-
ριποιοῦν τῷ τοῦ πριμισκρινίου φροντίσματι. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἁώρου
νυκτὸς πράττων ὁ ὑπαρχος ἀνατολῶν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταῖς 25
διαγνώσεσι νυκτηγρετῶν ἐνησχολεῖτο, μεθ' ἣν τὸν ἐπὶ καμάτῳ

1 συζητούντων P₂ f b w συζητουτων P ἀπέσβη b w απεσωβη P ἀπεσοβει
P₂ A Ἀπεσόβη f οὕτως P f b w τὸ ὕψος A ἅπαντα f b w ἅπαντα P ἅπαντας P₂
A ὥς τοῦ τόπου P f b w ὥς τοῦτό που A 2 ἐσκαεπταρίους P f b w 5 〈όντων〉
w ὄντων ? b 8 μόνον f b w μόνοις P A γλίσχροις P₂ A f 296 b w γλεισχροῖς
P γλίσχροῖς (sic) f ἐγχειρεῖν w εγεῖρειν P ἐγείρειν P₂ A f b ἐγχειρεῖν ? b 10
σκύτεσι P₂ A κύτεσιν P κύτεσι f b w 11 ἐκποδῶν b w εκποδῶν P ἐκποδῶν P₂
f ἐκποδῶν A καὶ χαλκὸν P f b w ἦν χαλκόν A 13 πενία f πενία P πενίας A
πενίαν b w ἐκδιδόασιν by εκδιδωσιν P ἐκδιδωσι P₂ ἐκδιδοῦσι f b w παραπόλωλε
P₂ f b w παραπωλολεν P 15 τῷ τε f b w τότε P τῷ τε P₂ 16 〈κινδυνεύειν〉
w 18 ἀναρριπτόντων w αναριπτόντων P ἀναρρίπτούντων f ἀναρριπτούντων
b 19 ab πλήθος paragraphum ordiuntur f b 20 δουκηνარიῶν b δουκινარიων P
δουκινარიῶν P₂ f w ὑπουργεῖ P₂ f b w ὑπουργή P pro βήματι loc. vac. A 21
ἐξυπηρετουμένων P₂ f b w ἐξυπηρετουμενων P ἐξυπηρετούμενον ? b 22 χαρτῶν w
χαρτων P χάρτων A omis. f b 23 ἄπειρον P A f b w 26 ἐπὶ b w ἄχρι ἐπὶ P f

were not understood. Everything, however, was wiped away to such an extent that, with their place thereafter being vacant, the so-called *exceptarii*, that is to say, "receivers of grain," gained possession of the *scrinium* after those who long ago were admired had disappeared.

14. Whereas many, in fact, beyond count, were the tokens of the solemnity of old that have utterly perished, the members of the staff stoop to demand even paper of those who transact business, while previously it was customary not only not to attempt such shabby things, but, besides, to consume even the clearest paper of all for the transactions, with the scribes resplendent proportionately to their parchments. Both of these things, however, vanished afterwards, and from the lack of money they exact an extremely modest and disgraceful copper and issue grass instead of paper with vile and poverty-redolent writing. All these things have perished and departed on a road of no return both because the subjects, being destroyed by poverty, do not have transactions, and because those that chance to be brought before the court of justice are imperiled, in some cases by the inexperience of those who serve in it, and in other cases by the usurpations of younger men who fortuitously in childish acts of arrogance crack the reins of first honors.

15. While so much pertained to the customs in respect of documents, a host of *ducenarii* rendered service to the bar of the *primiscrinii*, assisting in judicial inquiries from unwritten requisitions, which were called "joint writs"—a thing which, after the boundless influx of profits from the documents that were being transacted, procured a most ample flow of money for the office of the *primiscrinii*. For the prefect conducted business from the dead of night to the break of day and, while staying awake at night, occupied himself with judicial inquiries, after which, the time

νενομισμένον καιρὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς δημοσίοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπο-
 βολαῖς τῶν πραγματικῶν διδασκαλικῶν τε καὶ μονομερῶν ἐδα-
 πάντα χρόνον, τὸν δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων ζευκτῶν
 ἀπαλλαγαῖς ἐπιδιδούς, δι' ὧν πάσης ἐπιθυμίας τοὺς τε λειτουρ- 5
 γοὺς τῆς δίκης τοὺς τε τυγχάνοντας τῶν πρακτέων καὶ τοὺς
 ἀπαλλαττομένους τῶν δικῶν ἐνεφόρει. καὶ παραχωρεῖν μὲν τῷ
 δικαστηρίῳ ἢ χαλᾶσθαι τοῖς πόνοις οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων ὑπέμενεν,
 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρχος τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔγνω σοφῶς ἐπιστάμενος
 ὅτι καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἄρχει καὶ οὐ διὰ παντός· καὶ τῇ τάξει συν- 10
 ἔχειν ἐδίδου ἀνοχὰς τῶν καμάτων, τὰ νῦν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ προσ-
 ηγορίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγνοοῦμενα παρέχων μουνούμισσα (οὕτω δὲ
 τὴν καθ' ἅπαξ ἀνάπαυλαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ἡμέρας διδομένην τῇ
 τάξει ἢ παλαιότης ἐκάλεσεν), τῶν τηνικαῦτα διοικούντων τὰ
 πράγματα (σοφοὶ δὲ ἦσαν καὶ παιδευθέντες) ἠπίσταντο νύκτα μὲν
 ταῖς ἀναπαύσεσιν, ἡμέραν δὲ τοῖς πόνοις ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πα- 15
 ρακεχωρήσθαι, καὶ ἀνόσιον οἰομένων τοὺς ἐν πράγμασι νυκτηγρε-
 τοῦντας καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἥλιον ζημιῶσαι βραχείας οὖν τινος τῶν
 πόνων ἐνδόσεως. οὐκ ἀρκούσης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον παραλ-
 λαγῆς, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος παραψυχῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς
 ἀφηρέθησαν οἱ πριμισκρίνιοι, <δικαστηρίων> κινδύνῳ τῆσδε 20
 παραμυθίας, ὡς ἔφην, ἀποστερούμενοι.

1 ὑποβολαῖς f b w υποβόλαις P ὑποβόλαις P₂ A 6 παραχωρεῖν f b w πα-
 ραχ[....] P post παραχ et ante μὲν loc. vac. A μὲν <ἐν> f 7 ἐκείνων f w
 [...]νων P post οὐδεὶς et ante ὑπέμενεν loc. vac. A ...νων b 8 σοφῶς f b w
 σοφος P σοφός P₂ 9 ἐλευθέρων P₂ f b w ελευθερων P ἐλευθέραν A καὶ οὐ διὰ
 παντός w καὶ οὐδ[.] παντος P καὶ οὐδὲ loc. vac. παντὸς A οὐ δούλου παντός f οὐ
 δ...παντός b διὰ ? b συνέχειν P συνεχεῖν P συνεχεῖς f b w 10 ἐδίδου P b w
 ἐδιδου (sic) f τὰ νῦν P f b w τανῦν A post τῶν et ante τὰ νῦν loc. vac. A
 11 ἀγνοοῦμενα P f b w ἀγνοούμενον A μουνούμισσα by μονομισσα P μονόμισσα
 P₂ b w μανούμισσα f 12 καθ' ἅπαξ by καθ' ἅπαξ P καθάπαξ P₂ f b w ἡμέρας P
 b w ἡμέρας (sic) f 14 ἠπίσταντο P₂ A ηπισταντο P ἐπισταμένων f b w 15 πα-
 ρακεχωρήσθαι P₂ A f b w παρακεχωρίσθαι P 17 οὖν τινος P₂ f w οὖν τινος P οὖν
 τινός b 20 <δικαστηρίων> w κινδύνῳ f b w κινδυνω P κινδύνω P₂

of the day prescribed for labor, he spent time on the public dues and on the subject-matters of his edicts, both "instructional" and "unilateral," while the time towards evening he devoted to the discharging of the so-called "joint writs," through which he satisfied every desire of both the ministers of justice and those who obtained matters to be transacted, as well as those who were finished with their suits. And, while none of those men endured to be inferior to the court of justice or to be debilitated by his duties, the prefect wisely recognized the limit of the magistracy, knowing that he did, indeed, command freemen, and yet not continually, and so he allowed the staff to receive breaks from its labors, granting *munumissa* (thus antiquity called the daily rest which was given to the staff at midday), which nowadays are not known any longer even by the name itself, because those who were administering the affairs at the time (they were wise and educated) knew that night had been granted by nature for rest, whereas day for toil, and considered it impious to deprive those who stayed awake at night on business also of some respite after sunrise, however brief, from their duties. Since, however, the change for the worse did not suffice, the *primiscriinii* were deprived of even both the very consolation and honor from their position, being defrauded of this solace to the endangerment of the courts of justice, as I said.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ KOMMENTAPHCÍΩN

<16> Δύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες,
 τυγχανόντων <τῶν> κομμενταρησίων, οὓς ὁ χρόνος ἐκ τῶν ταχυ-
 γράφων ἔφερε τῆς φροντίδος. ἐξ καὶ αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ τοῖς πρὸ
 αὐτῶν, ὑπέτρεχον βοηθοί, ἐκ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων 5
 προσλαμβανόμενοι, ἄνδρες ἀστεμφεῖς καὶ νόμῳ πρέπουσαν αὐστη-
 ρίαν ἀνατείνοντες, παρ' οἷς ἐτύγγανεν ἡ πᾶσα δύναμις τῆς ἀρχῆς.
 οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἐγκληματικὰς ἐξετάσεις ἔφερον τῷ δικαστηρίῳ,
 ὑπασπίζοντων αὐτοῖς, ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἀπλικιταρίων τε καὶ
 κλαβικουλαρίων μετὰ πλήθους ῥαβδούχων σιδηραίοις δεσμοῖς 10
 καὶ ποιναίων ὀργάνων καὶ πλήκτρων ποικιλία σαλευόντων τῷ
 φόβῳ τὸ δικαστήριον· δουκηναρίων δὲ στίφος θέμενοι καὶ χωρὶς
 αὐθεντίας τοῦ νόμου ἤρκουν πρὸς σωφρονισμόν ἀμαρτάνουσιν.

<17> Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλήττομαι ἀναπολῶν καὶ κατὰ νοῦν πρὸς
 ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνατρέχων, οἷος ἦν ὁ φόβος τῶν κομ- 15
 μενταρησίων παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ὅπως οὖν ἡγουμένοις τῆς τάξεως,
 διαφερόντως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς σκρινιαρίοις, καὶ ὅπως <ὁ> παρα-
 πορευομένου κομμενταρησίου τυχῶν ὁμιλίας ἤξιοῦτο. δι' αὐτῶν
 γὰρ οὐ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μόνα κινήματα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ βασιλέως
 ἀγανάκτησις ἐθεραπεύετο. τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ διαμέμνημαι, τὴν τοῦ 20
 λεγομένου χαρτουλαρίου τηνικαῦτα χάριν πληρῶν τοῖς κομμεν-
 ταρησίοις, ὡς (Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως κινήθεντος κατὰ Ἀπίω-
 νος, ἀνδρὸς ἐξοχωτάτου καὶ κοινωνήσαντος αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας
 ὅτε Κωάδης ὁ Πέρσης ἐφλέγμαινεν, Λεοντίου τὴν ἐπαρχότητα
 διέποντος, ἀνδρὸς νομικωτάτου) ἥ τε βασιλέως ὀργὴ δημεύσεις 25
 τε καὶ ἀφορισμοὺς οὐκ ἄλλη τινὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ μόνη τῇ ἐπαρ-

1 KOMMENTAPHCÍΩN by κομμενταρησίων P A κομμενταρησίων f w 2 καὶ
 A w x, P omis. f b καὶ ? b ἔφθημεν A f b w ἔφθημεν P 3 <τῶν> w τῶν ? b κομ-
 μενταρησίων by κομμενταρησίων P κομμενταρησίων f b w 4 αὐτοῖς f b w αὐτοὺς P
 αὐτοὺς P₂ 5 ὑπέτρεχον P₂ A f b w υπετρεχεν P 6 ἀστεμφεῖς P₂ A f b w
 ἀστεμφεῖς P 7 παρ' οἷς P f b w ὑφ' οἷς A 9 προδεδήλωται A προ[.....]αι P
 προέφαμεν f b w 10 κλαβικουλαρίων f¹ 31 b w καβικουλαριων P καβικουλαρίων
 P₂ f πλήθους f¹ 34 w [.....] P loc. vac. A τούτους f . . . b σιδηραίοις by
 σιδηρεῖς P f b w 11 ὀργάνων f b w οργ[...]v P καὶ f b [.] P ἡ w ποικιλία
 σαλευόντων A f b w ποικιλίασαλευόντων P 12 τὸ δικαστήριον P f b w loc. vac. A
 δουκηναρίων b δουκινარიών P A f w δὲ f b w τε P A 13 αὐθεντίας A f b w
 [.....]ας P 14 καὶ κατὰ w [.....]τα P κατὰ A f . . . τα b 15 οἷος f b w
 [..]ς P οἷς A 16 ὅπως οὖν by ὅπως οὖν P ὁπωςοῦν P₂ f b w 17 <ὁ> by
 <πᾶς ὁ> w 18 τυχῶν f b w τυχων P τυχὸν P₂ 25 ἡ τε P f¹ 34 b w ἡ τοῦ f
 ὀργῇ P f b w οργῇ P ἀρετῇ A

On the COMMENTARIENSES

16. Since the *commentarienses* themselves, whom time produced from the office of speedwriters, also happened to be two in number, as I already stated, six assistants, taken on from the body of the *Augustales*, men who were unflinching and exhibited a severity befitting the law, with whom the entire might of the magistracy resided, assisted them, too, just as those before them. These men brought the examinations of criminals to the court of justice. Subalterns to them, as has already been shown, were both *applicarii* and *clavicularii* along with a host of lictors who shook the court of justice with fear by their iron chains and by their assortment of punitive instruments and striking tools. By the deployment, however, of a throng of *ducenarii*, they sufficed to sober up wrongdoers even apart from the authority of the law.

17. I am astonished, whenever I reminisce and hasten back in my mind to those men, at the kind of fear there was of the *commentarienses* among all those who governed the staff in any way whatever, particularly, however, among the *scriniarii*; and how anyone who had met a *commentariensis*, as he was passing by, was deemed worthy of converse. For through them were served not only the magistracy's punitive activities but even the emperor's vexation. Now, while I was discharging at the time the office of so-called *chartularius* for the *commentarienses* (it was after Anastasius the emperor had taken action against Apion, a man who was most eminent and had shared with him the imperial office at the time that Kavadh the Persian was seething when Leontius, a man most learned in the law, was administering the prefecture), I distinctly remember that the emperor, whenever he was angry, too, was wont to entrust both confiscations and banishments (the results of his vexation)

χότῃ τὰ τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπίστευεν, ἐν ἣ τοσαύτην ἐπεδεί-
 f 73^r ξαντο δυναστείαν|τε καὶ σύντονον ἐντρέχειαν οἱ τότε κομμεν-
 ταρήσιοι μετὰ πάσης καθαρότητος καὶ ἀποχῆς παντοίας ἐπὶ
 κλοπῇ ἐστώσης περινοίας, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα, θαυμάσαντα τὴν
 ἀρετὴν τῶν τότε στρατευομένων, πάσας τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας χρείας, 5
 μεθ' ἃς καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μακεδονίου τότε τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν
 ἐπισκοποῦντος ἀγανάκτησιν, ὡς λόγος, περὶ νεωτερισμοῦ δογ-
 μάτων ἀποκλείοντος, αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσαι, λέγω δὲ τοῖς τῶν ἐπάρ-
 χων κομμενταρησίοις, καίτοι Κέλερος τοῦ πάντων φιλάτου
 παρόντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν τοῦ λεγομένου μαγίστρου φροντίδα 10
 κοσμίως ἀνύοντος.

〈18〉 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔκ 〈τε〉 θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπό-
 λωλεν· τὸ γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν 'οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.'
 ἐκόσμει δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον τὴν πολύτροπον δυναστείαν τοῦ σκρινίου
 καὶ ἡ τῶν λεγομένων κομμένων ἐξουσία ὑπερφυῆς. ὁ γὰρ 15
 ὑπαρχος, ἡ παρὰ βασιλέως θαρρούμενος ἡ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸν νόμον
 κινούμενος καὶ σπουδάζων ἄρχοντα ὁποῖον οὖν ἡ ὑπηκόων τινὰ
 παραστήσαι τῷ νόμῳ, τὸν κομμενταρήσιον μυστογράφον λαμ-
 βάνων, τὸ πρακτέον ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ λαθὼν τοῦτον τὸν
 πιστότατον ἅμα καὶ μάλιστα τετιμένον τῶν οἰκείων χαρτουλαρίων 20
 παραλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηγόρευε Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀγκῶν ῥημάτων
 τὸ σύνθημα, κατ' ὥπα τῶν ἐκ τάξεως πιστικωτάτῳ ἅμα καὶ
 διαπρέποντι καταπιστεύων ὥσπερ πτηνὸν τὸν ἀγανακτούμενον
 παριστᾶν τῷ βήματι. τῆς δὲ βασιλέως ἐπεικειας καὶ τῆς τῶν
 ἀρχόντων ἔτι περὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους στοργῆς συγγνώμης ἀξιουσῶν 25
 τοὺς καταρρηθέντας, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐλευθερούμενον εὐχαριστίας
 δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων τοῖς μέσοις ὁμολογεῖν ὀφειλεῖν.

〈19〉 Καὶ συνήπτο σχεδὸν τῷ σκρινίῳ τῶν κομμένων ὁ
 καλούμενος ἱστρουμεντάριος, ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρτοφύλαξ τῶν ἀρχείων

1 ἐπίστευεν P f b w ἐπιστεύθη A 5 τὰς P w omis. f b 6 〈τοῦ〉 τότε w
 7 ὡς λόγος bis scriptum P alterum del. P₂ b ὡς λόγον f quidni ὡς λόγους ? b ὡς
 λόγους w 9 κομμενταρησίοις by κομμενταρισίοις P κομμενταρισίοις P₂ κομμεν-
 ταρισίοις f b w 12 〈τε〉 b w 15 κομμένων by [...]ἐντων P κομμένων f b w
 18 κομμενταρήσιον P κομμενταρίσιον f b w μυστογράφον f b w μυστ[...]φον P
 19 πρακτέον P f b w πρακταῖον P₂ λαθὼν τοῦτον f w λ[.....]τον P b τὸν
 πιστότατον P₂ f b w των πιστοτάτων P 20 τετιμένον f w [...]μενων P b [...]μέ-
 νον P₂ 21 ὀγκῶν f b w ὀγκων P 22 κατ' ὥπα f w [...]οπα P [...]ὥπα P₂ b
 23 πτηνὸν P₂ w πτηνων P ποινῶν f b fort. leg. ποιῶν f 24 βασιλέως P βασιλείας
 f b w 27 ὀφειλεῖν by [.....] P f b ὀφείλειν w 28 κομμένων by κομμενων
 P κομμένων f b w 29 ἱστρουμεντάριος P₂ f b w ἱστρου|μενταριος P

to no other of the magistracies but to the prefecture alone. In this magistracy the *commentarienses* at that time exhibited both so much power and intense skill coupled with every integrity and avoidance of all sorts of craftiness aiming at theft that the emperor, because he had admired the excellence of those who were at that time in the service, entrusted to them (I mean, however, the *commentarienses* of the prefects) all the needs that cropped up, including also his vexation against Macedonius, bishop at that time of the imperial city, because, as the story goes, he kept shutting him off in regard to innovation in dogmas, although Celer, the dearest of all men to the emperor, was in attendance upon him and was decorously executing the office of the so-called *magister*.

18. This state of affairs also has perished "through the agency of both gods and men," for that which remains is "of no account nor of consequence." However, the extraordinary power of the so-called *commenta* also no less used to enhance the multifarious might of the *scrinium*. For the prefect, either whenever he was encouraged by the emperor or whenever he himself was moved in accordance with the law and was eager to present before the law any magistrate whatsoever or anyone of the subjects, was wont to take the *commentariensis* as confidential secretary and to turn over to him the business that was to be done. The latter, however, secretly took along with himself such one of his own *chartularii* who was the most trustworthy and at the same time especially honored and dictated to him the charge, exalting it with Roman words; and, in the presence of the members of the staff, he entrusted, just as if [he were entrusting] a winged creature, to one who was most persuasive and at the same time distinguished to present before the bar the one being censured. Whenever, however, the emperor's clemency and the magistrates' affection, which still existed for the subjects, deemed worthy of forgiveness those who had been denounced, it was natural for the one being set free to be bound to express thanks to his mediators through actual deeds.

19. Also closely attached to the *scrinium* of the *commenta* was the so-called *instrumentarius*, namely, "document-guardian of the archives of

τοῦ δικαστηρίου, εἰς τὸ ὑπογράφειν καὶ πληροῦν τὰς ψήφους·
 καὶ ἡὼρος μὲν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας
 f 73^v βήματι ἐπὶ τὸν νότον ἄχρι τῆς καλουμένης Σφενδόνης ἐξ ἀρχαίου
 παρακεχώρηται, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Οὐάλεντος ἐν
 τοῖς τότε μεγίστοις δικαστηρίοις πεπραγμένα αὐτόθι σώζεται 5
 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσιν οὕτως ἐστὶν ἔτοιμα, ὥς εἰ χθὲς τυχὸν
 πεπραγμένα. ἀπώλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱστρουμεντάριος καὶ
 ἔρημος ἡ καθέδρα μένει, μόνοις οἰκέταις ἀναμένουσι τοὺς κεκτη-
 μένους ἐγκεχωρημένη. διαγνώσεως γὰρ οὐκ οὐσης ἡ ἄλλου
 πρακτέου τινός, <ὡς> εἰκός, οὐδὲ κινουμένης ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, 10
 πῶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἀναγκαῖος εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν νομισθεῖ;

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΒ ἈΚΤΙΣ

<20> Αβ ἄκτις μὲν ὄνομα τῷ φροντίσματι, σημαίνει δὲ καθ'
 ἐρμηνείαν τὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ χρήμασι πραττομένοις ἐφεστῶτα, ὥς ἂ
 πιγμέντις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρωμάτων καὶ ἂ σηκρήτις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν 15
 σηκρήτων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀδοσηκρήτις κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐξ ἀγνοίας
 μετὰ τοῦ δέλτα στοιχείου τῆς προθέσεως ἐπιβαλλομένης) καὶ ἂ
 σαβάνις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν βαλανείων τῆς αὐλῆς. δύο δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν
 ὄντων τῶν ἀβ ἄκτις, οὐς κατὰ βαθμὸν ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῶν ταχυ-
 γράφων, καθάπερ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν, καλεῖ, ἐξ ἄνδρες σεβαστοὶ 20
 καὶ νουνεχέστατοι καὶ σφριγῶντες ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν
 Αὐγουσταλίων βοηθοῦσι δῆθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ ὀνόματι. ἔργον
 δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰς χρηματικὰς ὑποθέσεις τρακτεύειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ δια-
 ψηλαφᾶν, καὶ εἰσφέρειν κριθησομένας τῷ βήματι, ὑπουργούντων
 αὐτοῖς τῶν νομενκουλατῶρων, οὐς ἀναφωνητὰς καὶ συναγωγεῖς, 25

3 Σφενδόνης by σφενδονος P σφενδόνης P₂ w Σφενδόνης f σφενδόνης b 4
 Οὐάλεντος f b ουαλεντος P ουάλεντος P₂ Βάλεντος w 7 ἱστρουμεντάριος f b w
 ἱστρουμενταριος P ἱστρουμεντάριος P₂ 9 ἐγκεχωρημένη f b w εκκεχωρημενη P ἐκ-
 κεχωρημένη P₂ ἡ ἄλλου P f b w μηδ' ἄλλου mal. f¹ 34 10 πρακτέου P₂ f b w πρα-
 κταιου P <ὡς>εἰκός w εικος P εἰκός f b <ὡς>εἰκός ? an εἰκότως ? b κινου-
 μένης P₂ b w κινουμένης P κινουμένου f 13 καθ' ἐρμηνείαν P₂ f b w κατερμηνει-
 αν P 14 ὡς ἂ πιγμέντις f w [...]πιγμέντις P b 15 ἂ σηκρήτις f w ασηκρητίς P
 ἀσηκρητίς P₂ ἀσηκρήτις b 16 ἀδοσηκρήτις f b w αδοσηκρητης P ἀδοσηκρήτης P₂
 ἀγνοίας b w [...] P ἀνοίας (sic) f 17 στοιχείου P₂ f b w στοιχείω P 19
 ἀβ ἄκτις f b w ἀβακτίς P ἄβακτις P₂ 20 σεβαστοὶ f σεραστοι (prius σ postea
 erasum) P ἐραστοὶ b w 23 αὐτοῖς f b w αυτοῦς P αυτοὺς P₂ ἀντὶ f b w
 ἀρτι P ἄρτι P₂ 25 αὐτοῖς P b w αὐτό (sic) f νομενκουλατῶρων by νομενκο-
 λατωρων P νομενκολατῶρων P₂ νομενκολατῶρων f b νομενκλατῶρων w ἀνα-
 φωνητὰς P ἀναφωνήτας f b w συναγωγεῖς f b w συναγωγεῖς P

the court of justice," for signing and filling in the decision-records. And an area has been set aside for him from olden times in the Hippodrome to the South below the Emperor's balcony down to the so-called "Sling"; and all the matters that have been transacted since the reign of Valens in the greatest courts of justice at that time are preserved there and are available to those who ask for them in such a way as if they had been transacted yesterday perchance. The *instrumentarius* himself, too, however, has been done away with, and his seat remains deserted, having been given up to mere domestics awaiting their masters. For, since a judicial inquiry or any other business to be transacted, as would be expected, does not exist, nor is even set in motion in the court of justice, how could he himself be considered to be necessary for its business?

On the AB ACTIS

20. The office has the name *ab actis*, but by way of translation it means "one who is in charge of transactions pertaining to finances"; as *a pigmentis* means "those in charge of aromatics"; *a secretis*, "those in charge of the *secreta*" (certainly not *adsecretis* in accordance with the usage of the uneducated who out of ignorance add on the preposition coupled with the letter delta); and *a sabanis*, "those in charge of the baths of the court." Since the *ab actis* themselves also are two, whom time gradually called into existence from the ranks of the speedwriters, precisely as it did those before them, six men, respected, very sensible, and still in their prime, from the body of the *Augustales*, accordingly assist the office still even to this day. Their function is *tractare*, namely, "to take in hand," pecuniary suits and to bring them before the bar for adjudication. The *nomenculatores*, who, I have said earlier, were announcers and assemblers

πάλαι μὲν τῶν συγκλητικῶν, νῦν δὲ τῶν δικανικῶν ῥητόρων
 εἶναι προειρήκαμεν. νόμος δὲ ἦν (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄρτι παρ-
 οφθεῖς ἐξ ἀβελτερίας ἢ, τάληθες εἰπεῖν, κακοδαιμονίας) πάντα
 διὰ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοῖς χαρτουλαρίων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν
 ταχυγράφων, ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν λεγομένων ῥεγέστων ἢ κοτ- 5
 τιδιανῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφημέρων (ῥεγεστα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς βίβλους,
 αἷς | ἐνέγραφον τὰ πραττόμενα συνεῖδον ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι ῥῆς
 γέστας τὰς πράξεις τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἶναι βούλονται), ἐνθεν
 τοῖς ὅτε δὴ ποτε ζητοῦσι τὰ ὅτε δὴ ποτε πεπραγμένα συντόμως
 περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν εὐκολία· ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ῥεγέστων, τῶν 10
 καὶ κοττιδιανῶν, ἡ δύναμις τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγινώσκετο. θᾶττον
 δὲ <ὁ> τῆς τάξεως ἰνστρουμεντάριος λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀβ
 ᾱκτις, τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν ὑπατον ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ σημειούμενος
 πρὸς ταχεῖαν ἀνάμνησιν λόγῳ, θᾶττον ἀπηλλάττετο πόνων. καὶ
 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ θαυμαστὸν γνῶρισμα τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπράττετο μετὰ 15
 σπουδῆς, καὶ πᾶς καιρὸς τοῖς ἐφημέροις ἐνεγράφετο, μηδὲ τῶν
 ἀπράκτων ἡμερῶν παραλιμπανομένων τοῖς ἀναγράφουσιν, ἀλλ'
 <αὐτῶν> ἔτι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ὧν ἔνεκα ἀργὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι συν-
 ἔβαιναν ἀναγραφόντων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῶν
 λεγομένων περσωναλίων ἀναγραφὴ παντὸς ἐπαίνου κρείττων 20
 δικαίως ἐνομίζετο. τὰς γὰρ διαγνώσεις περιέφραζεν Ἰταλίδι ὁ
 τῶν βοηθοῦντων λογικώτατος οὕτω κατὰ λεπτόν, ὥστε, κἂν
 εἰ τυχὸν παραπολέσθαι τὴν διάγνωσιν συνέβη ποτέ, ἐξ αὐτῆς
 μόνης τῆς παραφράσεως καὶ ὥς ὑποτυπώσεως αὐθις δύνασθαι 25
 στῆναι τὴν διάγνωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβᾶν ἐγὼ αὐτὸς διαμέμνημαι.
 διαγνώσεως γὰρ εἰσαχθείσης μὲν, τῶν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πραχθέντων
 οὐδαμοῦ φαινομένων, εἰσενεχθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ λεγομένου

1 δικανικῶν f b w δεκανικῶν P 3 ἀβελτερίας f b w αβελτερίας P ἀβελτηρίας
 P₂ 4 τῶν τῶν P alterum del. P₂ f b w 5 ἀναφαίνεσθαι P₂ f b w ἀναφαινεσθαι P
 ἀναφέρεσθαι ? b κοττιδιανῶν f b w κοττιδιανων P κοττιδιάνων P₂ 7 ῥῆς γέστας f
 ρηγεστα P ῥήγεστα b w 9 ὅτε δὴ ποτε by ὀτεδηποτε P ὀτεδήποτε P₂ f b w
 συντόμως P₂ συντομως P σύντομος f b w 10 εὐκολία f b w ευκολιας P εὐκολίας
 P₂ ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ῥεγέστων, τῶν by εξ αυτων των γαρ ρηγεστων P ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
 γὰρ ῥηγέστων P₂ f ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ῥεγέστων b w 12 <ὁ> b w ἰνστρουμεντάριος
 f b w ἰνετρουμενταριος P ἰνετρουμεντάριος P₂ τῶν τῶν P alterum del. P₂ f b w
 13 χρόνον P₂ f b w χρόν P 14 πόνων P f b πονῶν w 15 τοῦτο f b w του P
 τοῦ P₂ 16 ἐνεγράφετο w ἐγράφετο P f b 18 <αὐτῶν> w ἔτι P₂ f b w αιτι P
 20 περσωναλίων w περσωναλί[.] P περσοναλί[.] P₂ περσοναλίων f b κρείττων
 P₂ f b w κρίττον P 21 Ἰταλίδι by ἰταλιδι P ἰταλίδι P₂ Ἰταλίδι f Ἰταλιστι b w
 22 βοηθοῦντων f b w βοη[....]των P

of the senators of old but today of the trial rhetoricians, render service to them. There was a law (for it also does not exist, having been recently disregarded out of stupidity or, truth to tell, misfortune), that all transactions be plainly set forth through the agency of the *chartularii*, who are in attendance upon them (they, too, were from the ranks of the speed-writers), in the so-called *regesta* or *cottidiana*, namely, "daily registers" (the Romans resolved to call *regesta* the books in which they recorded transactions because they maintain that *res gestae* mean the acts of the government), from which whoever at any time whatsoever sought matters that had been transacted at any time whatsoever could easily find them quickly, for from the *regesta* themselves, known also as *cottidiana*, the force of matters that had been transacted was made known. The sooner the staff's *instrumentarius* received them from the *ab actis* and noted down the year and the consul in an abridged account for speedy recall, the sooner he was relieved of his duties. And, whereas this, the admirable token of orderliness, was performed with diligence, every occasion, too, was recorded in the "daily registers"; not even the days when no business was transacted were omitted by those who did the recording, but they recorded besides even the reasons why it happened that they were idle. And, while this was admirable, the recording of the so-called *personalia* was justly considered altogether too great to be praised. For he who was the most learned of those who were assistants paraphrased the judicial inquiries in the Italian language with such detail that, even if perchance it had ever happened that the judicial inquiry got lost, from merely the paraphrase itself, even as an outline, the judicial inquiry could again be restored. And I myself distinctly remember such an occurrence. For, though a judicial inquiry had been introduced but the transactions pertaining to it were nowhere to be found, when the so-called *personalium* had been presented before the

περσωναλίου, ἔστη διάγνωσις κατ' οὐδὲν ἐνδέουσα. καὶ τίς οὐκ
 ἂν ἐπιδακρύσῃ τῶν ἐγκωμίων εἰς μνήμην ἐρχόμενος, οἷς ὑπὲρ
 τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῆς ἀρετῆς γνωρισμάτων ἐχρήσατο
 Σέργιος τε ὁ πολὺς καὶ Πρόκλος ὁ δικαιοτάτος Τριβουνιανός
 τε ὁ πολυμαθέστατος, ὧν ὁ μὲν ὑπαρχος οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, οἱ δὲ
 ἄμφω κυαίστωρες γενόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκόσμησαν, συλλαμ-
 βανομένων αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν
 f 74^v τότε δικολόγων, περὶ ὧν σιγᾶν ἄμεινον ἢ|παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαινεῖν
 κοσμιώτερον οἶμαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποτε, νῦν δ' οὐ μόνον οὐκ
 ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μνήμης τινὸς ἀξιοῦται δι' ἃς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀπο- 10
 δεδώκαμεν αἰτίας.

〈21〉 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἄβ ἄκτις ὁ ῥεγενδάριος ἐπὶ τῆς φροντίδος
 τῶν συνθημάτων τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου τεταγμένος ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 λέγεται μὲν, πράττει δὲ οὐδέν, τοῦ μαγίστρου τῆς αὐλῆς τὴν
 ὅλην ὑφελομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἐξουσίαν. μεθ' ὃν οἱ τῶν διοική- 15
 σεων κοῦρα ἐπιστουλάρουμ, οἱ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις φοιτώ-
 σας ψήφους γράφουσι μόνον, τὸ λοιπὸν καταφρονούμενοι· οἱ δὲ
 λεγόμενοι τρακτευταὶ τὴν ἐγνωσμένην αὐτοῖς διδασκαλίαν
 ὑποτιθέντες τῷ προστάγματι τὴν ὅλην ὑφήρπαζον ἐξουσίαν,
 μάλιστα ἐξ ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῖς ἐθάρρουν περιποιεῖν οἱ σκρι- 20
 νιάριοι. πέρας μὲν ὧδε τῶν λογικῶν τῆς τάξεως συστημάτων.
 δουκηνάριοι καὶ κεντηνάριοι βίαρχοί τε καὶ ἀδιούτωρες καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ τῆς τάξεως μέλη, ἀνύοντα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τεθειμένην
 αὐτοῖς λειτουργίαν, τέρμα τῆς στρατείας, ὅποῖον ἡ τύχη δοίη,
 καταλαμβάνουσι, τῶν λεγομένων θηκοφόρων, οἱ τὰς προτομὰς 25
 τῆς ἀρχῆς φέρουσιν, καὶ διαιταρίων ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν τάγμασι τῆς
 τάξεως καταλεγομένων, λειτουργίαν δὲ πληρούντων.

1 περσωναλίου w περσωναλιου P περσωναλίου P₂ f b ἔστη b w εστιν P
 ἔστι P₂ ἐστὶ f κατ' οὐδὲν P₂ f b w καθουδεν P 4 Σέργιος τε f b σέργιος τε
 P Σέργιος τε (sic) w 6 κυαίστωρες f b κυεστωρες P κοιαιστωρες P₂ κυαιστωρες
 w συλλαμβανομένων P₂ f b w συνλαμβανομενων P 7 αὐτῶν by τῶν P τῶν del.
 f b w 10 ἀξιοῦται P w ἀξιοῦνται f b ἀποδεδώκαμεν w αποδωκαμεν P ἀπεδώκα-
 μεν P₂ f b 12 ῥεγενδάριος P₂ w ρεγενδαριος P ῥηγενδάριος f b 15 μεθ' ὃν f b w
 μέσον P 16 τοῖς P b w τοῖς (sic) f 20 ἐξ ὅτε by ἐξότε P w ἐξότου P₂ ἐξ ὅτου
 f b σκρινιάριοι f b w σκρινάριοι P 21 λογικῶν f w λογι[...] P λογι...b 22
 δουκηνάριοι b δουκηναριοι P δουκινάριοι P₂ w Δουκινάριοι f δουκηνάριοι <γὰρ>? b
 <γὰρ> w κεντηνάριοι b κεντινα[....] P κεντυνα[....] P₂ κεντινάριοι f w ἀδι-
 ούτωρες f b ἀδιούτορες P w 24 δοίη P₂ f b w δύη P 25 οἱ τῶν P οἱ del. f b
 w 27 δὲ P f b τε w

magistracy, the judicial inquiry was restored, deficient in no respect. Who, pray, would not weep when calling to mind the compliments which both the renowned Sergius and the most just Proclus and also the most learned Tribunianus, of whom the former as prefect such as no other and the latter both as *quaestores*, now decedent, had adorned the state, had employed on behalf of the staff and such tokens of excellence, with all the pleaders of suits at that time themselves alike, concerning whom it is better, I believe, to remain silent than to praise more decorously than their worth, joining them in their praises. And, while these were procedures of the past, nowadays, however, not only do they not exist, but they are not deemed worthy even of any remembrance for the reasons which I have explained not once.

21. After the *ab actis* there is the *regendarius*. Still even to this day he is said to be appointed in charge of the travel warrants of the public post, but he does nothing because the *magister* of the court has purloined the entire authority over this matter. After him there are the *cura epistularum* of the dioceses. They merely write out the decrees that come in regularly with respect to public dues, whereas as regards anything else they are disregarded. The so-called *tractatores*, however, by subjoining to their requisition the instruction made known by the former, began usurping their entire authority, especially since the time that the *scriniarii* were venturing to procure the magistracy for themselves. Here end, of course, the staff's literary bodies. *Ducenarii*, *centenarii*, *biarchi*, *adiutores*, and the remaining members of the staff that execute the service laid upon them by the law attain a termination of their service the sort of which their position gives. The so-called *thecophori*, who carry the busts of the magistracy, and *diaetarii*, though they are enrolled in other branches of the civil order, do perform a service.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΡΝΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΣ
ΤΑΞΕΩΣ

<22> Πάντων, οἶμαι, τῶν καταλόγων, εἰ μὴ τι σφάλλομαι,
 παρελθόντων τῷ λόγῳ, ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν αὐτῆς καθάπερ ἡγεμόνα
 σεμνὸν ἐπὶ τέλους τὸν κορνικουλάριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀναδεῖξαι· 5
 δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὴν ὅλην συνέχοντα τάξιν ἀρχὴν ἅμα καὶ πέρας
 αὐτῆς ἀποδεῖξαι. ἀρκεῖ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ
 μόνος ὁ χρόνος ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἐνιαυτοὺς ἡγου-
 μένῳ τοῦ τάγματος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ πολισμῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ῥώμης
 ἐπιφανέντι τοῖς πράγμασιν· παρὴν γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν τῷ ἱπάρχῳ, 10
 ὁ δὲ ἱππαρχος τῷ τότε ῥηγί. ὥστε ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς
 f 75^r πολιτείας γνῶριμος ὁ κορνικουλάριος ἐστίν, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ
 παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπολέλειπται· ἐξ ὅτε <γὰρ> Φοῦσκον
 (οὕτω δὲ <τὸν> μελάγχρωτα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν) Δομιτιανὸς
 πραιτωρίων ὑπαρχὸν κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου ἐγχείρησιν προβαλό- 15
 μενος τὴν τοῦ ἱπάρχου περιττὴν ἀπέδειξε προαγωγὴν, ὅπλων
 ἡγούμενος, μετηνέχθη πάντα.

<23> Τοιγαροῦν τὰ ὅπως οὖν παρὰ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις πραττόμενα
 μόνος διέταττεν ὁ κορνικουλάριος καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν πόρους
 εἰς οἰκίαν ἀπεφέρετο παραψυχὴν· καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ 20
 ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Θεοδοσίου κρατοῦν ἡμεῖσθι διὰ τὴν Ῥου-
 φίνου τυραννίδα. νόμον γὰρ ἔθετο ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδιος τὸ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς δυνατὸν δεδιττόμενος, ὥστε τὸν πρίγκιπα τῆς τάξεως τοῦ
 μαγίστρου παριόντα ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικαστήρια περιεργάζεσθαι
 καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πραττομένων ἐν αὐτοῖς 25
 καὶ οὐτινος χάριν γίνοντο τὰ τοῦ δρόμου συνθήματα εὐρίσκειν.
 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Ῥουφῖνος, ἐξ ὅτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω ἦλθεν,
 τὸν λεγόμενον κόμιτα τῆς ἀνατολῆς μαστίξας ἀπώλεσεν, ἀνθ' ὧν
 ἐτόλμησε ζηλῶσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐπαρχότητα. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀρ-

7 ἀξιοπιστίαν P₂ f b w ἀξιοπιστιαν P ἀξιοπρέπειαν mal. f 11 τῷ τότε w τω
 τε P τῷ τε P₂ τότε τῷ f τῷ τε b τότε τῷ vel τῷ τότε b 13 ἐξ ὅτε by ἐξότε P f
 b w ἐξότου P₂ <γὰρ> f w 14 <τὸν> b w μελάγχρωτα b w μελαν χρώτα P μέ-
 λαν χρώτα P₂ μελαγχρώτα f Δομιτιανὸς w δομετιανὸς P δομετιανὸς P₂ Δομετιανὸς
 f b 15 ὑπαρχον f b w ὑπαρχος P ὑπαρχος P₂ προβαλόμενος b w προβαλλόμε-
 νος P f 16 <αὐτὸς τῶν> ὅπλων w 17 μετηνέχθη P₂ f b w μετενεχθη P 18
 ὅπως οὖν by ὅπως οὖν P ὅπως οὖν P₂ f b w 19 διέταττεν f b w δεῖ ἐτάττεν
 P δὴ ἐτάττεν P₂ 20 οἰκίαν P₂ f b w οικίαν P Δομιτιανοῦ w δομιτιανου P
 δομετιανοῦ P₂ Δομετιανοῦ f b 27 ἐξ ὅτε by ἐξότε P ἐξότου P₂ ἐξότε f b w
 28 τὸν P₂ f b w το P κόμιτα P w κόμητα f b

On the CORNICULARIUS of the Greatest Staff

22. Now that all the registers, I believe, unless I am at all mistaken, have been presented by this account, there remains again finally to show the *cornicularius* in history as an august leader; for, since he holds the entire staff together, there is need to prove him as its beginning and at the same time its end. Now then, even time alone suffices to confirm the fact that he has been head of the staff for over one thousand three hundred years and that he had made his appearance in the state along with the very founding of sacred Rome; for from the beginning he was in attendance upon the cavalry commander, while the cavalry commander upon the *rex* at that time. Consequently, the *cornicularius* is well known from the beginnings of the Roman state, even if nothing but his designation has been left to him. For from the time that Domitian, as head of the military forces, had appointed Fuscus (thus the Romans call one who is "swarthy") prefect of the *praetoria* in accordance with the precedent of Augustus and had made the appointment of the cavalry commander superfluous, everything was changed.

23. Now, the *cornicularius* alone used to arrange whatever was being transacted in any way whatever by the prefects, and he used to carry off the revenues therefrom for his own consolation. And, although this situation prevailed from the time of Domitian down to our Theodosius, it was altered because of Rufinus' despotic rule. For the emperor Arcadius, because he was afraid of the magistracy's power, made a law to the effect that the *princeps* of the staff of the *magister* be admitted to the greatest courts of justice, and investigate and closely scrutinize the force of whatever was being transacted in them, and find out for what reason the post's travel warrants were being made available. And thereafter Rufinus, since the time that he went to the East of his own volition, flogged to death the so-called *comes* of the East because he had dared to arouse by his words the ill-will of the prefect. And, as I said, though the

καδίου, ὡς ἔφην, διάταξις ἐν τῷ πάλαι Θεοδοσιανῷ Κώδικι ἀνεγέγραπτο, οἱ δὲ τὸν νεαρὸν καταστησάμενοι παρείδον αὐτὴν ὡς περιττὴν αὐτοῖς εἶναι φανεῖσαν.

〈24〉 Παρὼν οὖν ὁ πρίγκεψ τῶν μαγιστριανῶν τοῖς μεγίστοις ποτὲ δικαστηρίοις καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχων λόγους 5 ἔθετο πρὸς τὸν τότε τῆς τάξεως κορνικουλάριον, ὥστε πάροδον αὐτῷ δοῦναί τινα πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ δόξαν οὕτως ἐτύπωσεν ὁ πρίγκεψ μίαν χρυσίου λίτραν καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα προσφέρειν τῷ κορνικουλαρίῳ μετὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τάξεως κατὰ συνήθειαν λαμβάνουσι μοῖραν τινα τῶν πόρων ἀμελλητὶ διδόναι τὰ εἰωθότα. 10
f 75v τούτων οὕτως συντεθειμένων αὐτοῖς, λαμβάνων ὁ κατὰ|καιρὸν κορνικουλάριος παρὰ τοῦ πρίγκιπος τὰς δώδεκα τοῦ χρυσοῦ λίτρας δίχα τινὸς ἐλλείμματος μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς παρεχώρει τῷ κρείττονι μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν μονομερῶν ἐντυχίων εἰσαγωγὴν, φυλάξας ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βαθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κερδῶν 15 προνομίαν τὸ πληροῦν δι' οἰκείας ὑποσημειώσεως τὰ πραττόμενα, οὐκ ἔλαττον χιλίων χρυσῶν πόρον αὐτῷ περιποιῶντα.

〈25〉 'Τὰ δ' ἐνθεν οὐκέτ' ἂν φράσαι λόγῳ δακρύων δυναίμην χωρίς,' κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδου Πηλέα. πάντων γὰρ ἤδη πρότερον τούτων ὃν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολομένων, παραπέλαυσα καὶ 20 αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῆς κακοδαιμονίας τοῦ χρόνου, καταντήσας εἰς τὸ πέρας τῶν τῆς στρατείας βαθμῶν, μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν κτησάμενος. καὶ μάρτυρα τὴν Δίκην ἀληθεύων οὐκ ἐρυθριῷ ἐπικαλούμενος· ἔως ἐνδὸς ὀβολοῦ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίγκιπος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων κομπλευσίμων οἶδα κοιμισάμενος. πόθεν γὰρ 25 ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν, τῆς μὲν ἀρχαίας συνηθείας ἐχούσης ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα χρυσίνους παρέχεσθαι τῇ τάξει ὑπὲρ μονομεροῦς ἐντεύξεως πρὸς τῶν ὅπως οὖν εἰσβαλλόντων ἐν τοῖς τότε μεγίστοις δικαστηρίοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν χαλκοῦ κάρτα μετρίου (οὐ γὰρ χρυ-

1 διάταξις P₂ f b w διατάξεις P 2 τὸν νεαρὸν f b w των νεαρῶν P τῶν νεαρῶν P₂ 4 πρίγκεψ P w πρίγκιψ P₂ f b 5 μηδὲν f b w μηδενά P μηδένα P₂ 8 πρίγκεψ P w πρίγκιψ P₂ f b 10 μοῖραν τινα b μίαν τινὰ P f μοῖραν τινὰ (sic) w 11 συντεθειμένων b w συντηθεμένων P συντιθεμένων P₂ f καιρὸν o P o del. P₂ f b w 12 δώδεκα P₂ f b w δέδωκα P 14 εἰσαγωγὴν b w εισαγων P εισαγωγὴν P₂ f 18 οὐκέτ' f b w δουκετ P δ' οὐκέτ' P₂ φράσαι f¹ 36 b w φράσας P f 20 ἀπολομένων P₂ f b w απωλω[....] P παραπέλαυσα f b w παραπηλαυσα P παραπήλαυσα P₂ 21 ἐγὼ b w ἔσω P f 23 Δίκην w δίκην P f b 25 κομπλευσίμων P f b w 27 χρυσίνους f¹ 36 b χρυσίους P f χρυσεῖους w 28 τῶν P₂ f b w τὸν P ὅπως οὖν by οπως οὖν P ὀπωσοῦν P₂ f b w 29 κάρτα P₂ f b w καντα P

constitution of Arcadius had been recorded in the old *Codex Theodosianus*, those, however, who had set up the new one disregarded it as it had appeared to them to be superfluous.

24. Since, then, he was present at the once greatest courts of justice and had nothing except his title, the *princeps* of the *magistriani* held discussions with the then *cornicularius* of the staff to the effect that some access to the transactions be given him. And, when it had been resolved thus, the *princeps* ordained to bring to the *cornicularius* one pound of gold each month after unhesitatingly giving the customary remunerations to all the members of the staff, who, according to custom, used to receive a certain share of the revenues. After these points had been agreed upon thus by them, the *cornicularius* in office at the time, whenever he received from the *princeps* the twelve pounds of gold without any deduction, in truth, used to deliver to his superior with utter respect the income of the “unilateral” petitions after he had kept for himself, in addition to the privilege stemming from his rank and from other profits, the process of completing transactions through his personal signature, which used to procure for him an income not less than a thousand gold coins.

25. “What follows no longer would I be able to express in words without tears,” to cite Euripides’ *Peleus*. For, all this, just as everything else, too, having ceased to exist already in former times, I myself also shared the fruits of the misfortune of the time because I had arrived at the end of the ranks of the service, having acquired nothing but my title. And I do not blush at invoking Justice as my witness because I speak truth. Not as much as one obol am I aware of having gotten from the *princeps* or from the so-called *compleutsima*. For whence could I have received any when, though ancient custom had it that thirty-seven gold coins be given to the staff for a “unilateral” petition by those whoever at all introduced such in the then greatest courts of justice, subsequently an extremely modest copper (not, indeed, a gold coin) was given piti-

σίου) ὥσπερ εἰς ἔλεον οἰκτρῶς καὶ οὐδὲ συνεχῶς ἐπιδιδομένου;
 ἢ ὅπως ὁ πρίγκειψ πρὸς τὰ πάλαι διδόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ κατὰ
 καιρὸν κορνικουλαρίῳ συνωθεῖτο, μηδὲ εἰς μνήμην ψλῆς γ' οὖν
 προσηγορίας ἀναφερόμενος, μηδὲ παρεῖναι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπομένων
 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, οὐδενὸς οὐδενὶ ἐν βαθμῷ στρατευομένου; ἐμοὶ 5
 δὲ μεταμέλει, ὅψια τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ προσήκον ἀναλογιζομένῳ,
 f 76^r ἀντὶ τίνος τοσοῦτον προσ|ῆδρευσα χρόνον τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, μηδὲν
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς παραψυχὴν εὐραμένῳ· καὶ δικαίως ταῦτά μοι
 συμβέβηκεν εἰς ταύτην ἐμβαλόντι τὴν λειτουργίαν· ὥστε χαλεπὸν
 οὐδὲν τὴν ἐκ προοιμίων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ διελθεῖν ἄχρι τοῦδε τῷ λόγῳ 10
 διήγησιν.

〈26〉 Ἐνα καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ἡλικίας ἄγων ἐνιαυτόν, ἐπὶ τῆς
 Σεκουνδιανοῦ ὑπατείας ἐκ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης με Φιλαδελφείας τῆς
 ὑπὸ τῷ Τμῶλῳ καὶ 〈ἐν〉 Λυδία κειμένης παρῆλθον εἰς ταύτην 15
 τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν· καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' αὐτῷ σκεψάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς
 μεμοριαλίους τῆς αὐλῆς συνεῖδον ἐλθεῖν καὶ πρὸς στρατείαν
 ἀναζώσασθαι μετ' ἐκείνων. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνον
 δόξαιμι ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰς φιλοσόφου φοιτᾶν διέγων. Ἀγάπιος ἦν
 κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, περὶ οὗ Χριστόδωρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν
 τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀκροατῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Πρόκλου μονοβίβλῳ 〈τ〉ε 20
 φησιν οὕτως· 'Ἀγάπιος πύματος μέν, ἀτὰρ πρῶτιστος ἀπάντων,'
 παρ' ᾧ, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν διδαγμάτων ἐπιών, ἔτυχον
 καὶ τινων ἐκ τῆς Πλατωνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀκροάσασθαι. ἡ δὲ
 Τύχη μᾶλλον εἰς ταύτην 〈μ〉ε παρωθῆσαι τὴν λειτουργίαν σκεψα-
 μένη Ζωτικόν, πολίτην ἐμὸν καὶ χαίροντά μοι 〈οὐ〉 μετρίως, 25
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρχότητα τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπὸ τῷ πάντων βασιλέων
 ἡμερωτάτῳ Ἀναστασίῳ προήγαγεν· ὃς οὐ πείθειν με μόνον ἀλλὰ

1 ἔλεον w ἔλαιον P f b 2 ὅπως P b πῶς f w πρίγκειψ P w πρίγκιψ P₂ f b
 3 γ' οὖν by γοῦν P f b w 5 οὐδενὶ ἐν f b w ουδενίῳ P 6 ὅψια f b w οψια P ὀψὲ
 P₂ 7 ἀντὶ τίνος f b w ἀν τις τίνος P ἀν τις τινὸς P₂ 8 εὐραμένῳ f b w ευραμένω
 P εὐράμενος P₂ 14 καὶ〈ἐν〉 Λυδία by καὶ λυδία P leg. ἐν Λυδία f καὶ Λυδία f b
 ἐν Λυδία w εἰς P₂ f b w εἰ P 15 τὴν P b w omis. f μεθ' αὐτῷ by με|ταυ-
 τῶν P μετ' αὐτῶν P₂ b μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ f w 16 μεμοριαλίους f b w μεμωριαλίους P με-
 μωριαλίους P₂ 17 τὸν P₂ f b w τῶν P 20 〈τ〉ε φησιν by εφησίῳ P φησίῳ P₂
 f b w 22 πρῶτα w πρωτ[.] P fort στοιχεῖα f ... b ἐπιών by εἰπών P f
 del. P₂ εἰπών b μαθὼν w 24 〈μ〉ε παρωθῆσαι f b w επαρωθῆσαι P παρω-
 θησε P₂ τὴν P b w omis. f 25 〈οὐ〉 f w 26 ὑπὸ τῷ f b w ὑπο τῶν P ὑπὸ τῷ
 P₂ 27 ὃς f b w ὥς P πείθειν P₂ f b w πίδει (postea addito v) P

ably as if for charity, and not even regularly? Or rather how could the *princeps* be coerced conformably to what long ago used to be given by him to the *cornicularius* in office at the time, when he is not even remembered by a bare title at least nor undertakes any longer to be present at the court of justice since no one serves it in any rank? Fittingly, I repent, as I reflect at a late hour of the season for what return I served the court of justice for such a long time, having obtained nothing from it by way of consolation. And rightly has this happened to me for having embarked upon this public service; consequently, it is not at all difficult to go through in detail in this account the story regarding me from its early beginnings to the present.

26. When I was twenty-one years of age, during the consulship of Secundianus, I came to this blessed city from my native Philadelphia, which lies at the foot of Mount Tmolus and is situated in Lydia; and, after I had pondered many matters with myself, I resolved to join the *memoriales* of the court and to gird myself up for service with them. In order, however, that I might not seem to suffer the loss of the intervening time, I decided to frequent a philosopher's school. It was Agapius at that time, about whom the poet Christodorus in his one-volume work *On the Disciples of the Great Proclus* even says thus: "Agapius is assuredly last but chief of all." As I was going through the rudiments of the Aristotelian doctrines, I had the good fortune to hear also some lectures on Platonic philosophy under him. Fortune, however, having planned to thrust me rather into this service, advanced Zoticus, a countryman of mine and one who liked me immensely, to the prefecture of the *praetoria* under Anastasius, the most clement of all emperors. Because he was able

καὶ ἀναγκάζειν δυνάμενος τοῖς ταχυγράφοις τῆς ἀρχῆς συνηρίθμῃ-
σεν, ἐν ἧ καὶ Ἀμμιανὸν τὸν ἐπιεικέστατον, ἀδελφιδοῦν τῷ ἐμῷ
πατρὶ γενόμενον, συνέβαινε διαφαίνεσθαι.

〈27〉 Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τυχὸν ῥαθυμήσω, πᾶσάν μοι κέρδους ὁδὸν
ὁ ὑπαρχος ἔδειξεν, ὥς παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον αὐτοῦ 5
(μέτριος δὲ ἦν καὶ βραχεῖ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκβάς) οὐκ ἐλάττους
χιλίων χρυσῶν ἀποκερδᾶναι σωφρόνως. 〈ὥς〉 εἰκὸς οὖν εὐχα-
ριστῶν ἐγὼ (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) ἐγκώμιον βραχὺ πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον.
ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἀνὰ στίχον μὲν ἕκαστον χρύσινον ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης
f 76v με κομίσασθαι παρεκελεύσατο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ βοηθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ 10
λεγομένου ἀβ' ἄκτις καλούμενοι, τὸ μήποτε γενόμενον, παρα-
καλοῦντες προσελάβοντό με εἰς πρῶτον χαρτουλάριον, ἐτέρων
δύο μόνων, ἤδη γερόντων, πρότερον μετὰ χρυσοῦ δόσεως συν-
ταξαμένων αὐτοῖς· καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέσσαρας πρὸς
εἴκοσι χρυσοὺς κατ' ἔτος ὥρισαν ἕκαστον. ὁμοίως τε ποιῶν 15
ἀντ' αὐτῶν τὸ λεγόμενον περσωνάλιον καὶ κοττιδιανόν, περὶ
ὧν ἄρτι διεξῆλθον, σουγγεστίωνας ἐτιθέμην, ὧν ὁ λόγος ὥδε·
πάντες μὲν ἀνέκαθεν οἱ παρὰ τῇ ποτε πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν βο-
ηθοῦντες τοῖς τρέχουσι σκρινίοις διὰ πολλῆς ἐξέλαμπον παιδείας,
περὶ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνὴν τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἐσπούδαζον· χρεώ- 20
δης γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τἀναγκαῖον. δίκης οὖν ἐφεσίμου τυχὸν
γενομένης, εἴτα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀναγομένης πρὸς διόρθω-
σιν, ὁ τῶν ἄλλων βοηθῶν κρείττων συνέταττε τὴν λεγομένην
σουγγεστίωνα, ἀντὶ τοῦ διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἀκρόασιν τῆς βουλῆς
οὕτως μάλιστα, ὥς ἐκπλήττειν τόν τε τῆς βουλῆς κυαίστωρα 25
καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους πάλαι μὲν ἀντεκίνσωρας, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ
ἀντιγραφεῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν περι-

5 ὥς P ὥς f w ὥστε b 7 ἀποκερδᾶναι b w ἀποκερδάναι P f 〈ὥς〉 εἰκὸς w
εἰκὼς P εἰκὼς P₂ b Εἰκὼς f 〈ὥς〉 εἰκὸς ? an εἰκότως ? b 8 οὐ; ἐγκώμιον P₂ f b w
οὐκεγκώμιον P 9 χρύσινον P₂ f b w χρυσινον P 10 ἀπὸ f b απο P an ὑπὸ ? b
ὑπὸ w 11 καλούμενοι P₂ f b w καλουμενος P 15 χρυσοὺς P₂ b w χρυσούς P
χρυσούς f κατ' ἔτος P₂ f b w καθ' ἔτος P ποιῶν f w ποιεῖν P b 16 περσωνάλιον
w περσουνάλιον P περσωνάλιον f b 17 σουγγεστίωνας f b σουγγεστιονας P σουγ-
γεστίωνας P₂ σουγγεστιῶνας w 18 οἱ P₂ f b w η P 19 διὰ πολλῆς f w δι[.....]ης
P δ...ης b 20 χρειώδης P₂ f b w χρειώδεις P 22 γενομένης P₂ f b w γενόμενης P
σύγκλητον P₂ f b w συγκλητικον P 23 βοηθῶν f w [.....] P ... b 24 σουγ-
γεστίωνα f b σουγγεστίονα P σουγγεστιῶνα w 25 οὕτως P₂ ουτως P οὕτω f b w
κυαίστωρα f b κυεστορα P κοιαίστωρα P₂ κυαίστορα w 26 ἀντεκίνσωρας f b
ἀντεκίνσορας P ἀντεκίνσωρας w

not only to persuade but even to compel me, he enrolled me among the speedwriters of the magistracy, in which also the very gentle Ammianus, late nephew to my father, happened to be excelling.

27. In order, however, that I might not perchance become indolent, the prefect pointed out to me every avenue of profit, so that during the entire period of his magistracy (it was short and extended slightly beyond a year) I temperately made a gain of no less than one thousand gold coins. As was natural, then, since I was thankful (how, indeed, could I not have been?), I composed a brief panegyric in his honor. Because he had been pleased with it, he issued orders for me to receive from the bank a gold coin for each line, while those who were chosen by the so-called *ab actis* to serve as assistants sent for me (such a thing had never occurred) and took me on as first *chartularius*, whereas only two others, already old men, had associated themselves with them earlier by the giving of gold; and not only did they do this, but they also set a yearly salary of twenty-four gold coins for me. In return for these, while doing the so-called *personalium* and *cottidianum*, about which I gave a detailed account a little while ago, I likewise also composed *suggestiones*, whose explanation is as follows. From the beginning all who served as assistants in the current *scrinia* in the once highest of the magistracies used to be resplendent with much learning, yet they kept striving to excel in respect of the language of the Romans, for it was of necessity useful to them. Consequently, when a case of appeal happened to arise, then, when it was referred to the senate for correction, he who was superior to the other assistants used to draw up the so-called *suggestio*, namely, “elucidation,” for a hearing by the senate so precisely as to amaze both the *quaestor* of the senate and those called *antecessores* in the past but “writers of rescripts” in our day. With God helping me and

γινομένων μοι παραμυθίων προθυμίας ἀνεπαίσθητον ἀποτελούσης
τὸν κάματον, οὐ μόνον ἐπλήρουν τὰς εἰρημένας λειτουργίας
ἐπὶ τοῦ σκρινίου, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπισηκρητεύων παρὰ τοῖς ταχυ-
γράφοις, ἔτι καὶ βοηθῶν ἐτέροις ἐν τῷ Τεμένει τῆς Δίκης ταχυ-
γραφοῦσιν, ὃ καλεῖται Σήκηρητον· καὶ οὐ μικρὰ ἢ τε δόξα διὰ 5
τῶν ἔργων ἢ τε τῆς παραμυθίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀφθονία· ἔνθεν
ὥσπερ ἀναπτερωθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀ σηκρήτις τῆς αὐλῆς
ἠπειγόμεν.

〈28〉 Ὁ δὲ Ζωτικός, ὑποβάλλοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πάντα χρηστοῦ
καὶ ἐπεικοῦς φιλομαθοῦς τε καὶ φιλοσόφου τὸν βίον Ἀμμιανοῦ, 10
καὶ γαμετὴν μοι περιποιεῖ ἑκατὸν μὲν χρυσίου λιτρῶν φερνὴν
f 77^r προσάγουσαν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρεῖττονα τῶν ὅτε|δή ποτε ἐπὶ σω-
φροσύνῃ θαυματομένων γυναικῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ κρεῖττονα πολλῶ,
τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος, ἐλπίζων προσελθεῖν μοι τὰ πράγματα,
τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν σπουδῆς ἀπεσχόμην, ὅλον δέ μου τὸν 15
βίον τῇ στρατείᾳ παρεχώρησα. τῶν οὖν κοινῶν τοιούτων ἀπο-
τελεσθέντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁποῖων ὁ λόγος ἐμνημόνευσεν, καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν τοῖς λογικοῖς 〈οὐχ〉, ὡς τὸ πρίν, τῆς Τύχης ἀπαρε-
σκομένης, ἐμίσησα τὴν στρατείαν, ὅλον ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς βιβλίοις
ἐκδούς. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐμὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀγρυπνίαν 20
πρῶτον μὲν ἐγκώμιον εἶπεῖν με πρὸς αὐτὸν κατηξίωσεν, παρόντων
ἐκ τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μεζονος Ῥώμης λογάδων, οἷς ἀεὶ
μέλει, καὶ τοῦτο ταλαιπωροῦσιν, τῆς περὶ λόγους σπουδῆς. οὐ
γενομένου, καὶ συγγράψαι με τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας αἰσίμως αὐτῷ
χειρισθέντα πόλεμον παρεκελεύσατο ὅτε Δάραν, τὴν πόλιν ἦν 25
ὁ πολὺς Ἀναστάσιος ταῖς φάρυγξιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτέθεικεν,
ἐνοχλοῦντες ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μετὰ μικρᾶς ζημίας ὑπενόστησαν, οὐκ
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν προελθόντες.

〈29〉 Πραγματικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχότητα γράφων ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσατο ῥήμασιν· Ἰωάννη τῷ λογιωτάτῳ 30

1 προθυμίας f b w προθυμίαν P 3 ἐπισηκρητεύων P₂ ἐπὶ σηκρητεύον P ἐπεση-
κρήτευον f w ἐπισηκρητευον b 4 βοηθῶν w βοηθον P ἐβοήθουν f b ταχυ-
γραφοῦσιν P₂ b w ταχυγραφοῦσιν P ταχυγράφουσιν (sic) f 5 Σήκηρητον by σήκηριτον
P σήκηρητον P₂ f b w 7 ἀ σηκρήτις f w ἀσηκρητις P ἀσηκρήτις P₂ ἀσηκρήτις b
8 ἠπειγόμεν P₂ b ἠπιγόμεν P ἐπειγόμεν f w 9 τοῦ f b w τὰ P 11 μὲν w μοι P f b
μὲν ? b 12 ὅτε δὴ ποτε by ὅτε|δηποτε P ὅτε|δηποτε f b w 14 προσελθεῖν P f b
προελθεῖν mal. b προελθεῖν w 15 ἀπεσχόμην P₂ b w ἀπεσχόμην P ἀπεχόμην
(sic) f 16 τῇ στρατείᾳ f b w τῆς στρατείας P τῆς στρατείας P₂ 17 ὁποῖων b w
οποῖον P ὁποῖον f 18 〈οὐχ〉 f w 23 μέλει b w μέλλει P μελεῖ (sic) f 24
αἰσίμως f b w αἰσμως P ἀσμένως P₂ 27 ἐκεῖθεν f w ἐ[.....] P ε... b 29
〈οὖν〉 πρὸς w

with zeal from the emoluments that were coming to me making my toil imperceptible, not only did I carry out the aforementioned functions in the *scrinium*, but, in fact, I performed secretarial duties as well among the speedwriters; furthermore, I also assisted others who were speedwriters in the Temple of Justice, which is called *Secretum*. In fact, not insignificant was the repute gained through my deeds, as well as the abundance of consolation gotten for my tasks. Thereafter, just as if furnished with wings, I proceeded to press on the ranks of the so-called *a secretis* of the court.

28. Because the wholly upright and gentle Ammianus, fond of learning and of wisdom throughout his life, suggested it to him, Zoticus also procured me a wife, who, while she brought with her a dowry of one hundred 'pounds of gold, in other respects was superior to women who were at any time whatsoever admired for discretion. As for myself, however, since I was expecting far greater things to come to me as time went on, I abstained from my zeal for the court and devoted my whole life to the service. Then, after such public affairs as this account has mentioned had been brought to an end in all respects, and because Fortune was not, as formerly, displeased any longer with intellectuals, I came to hate the service, having given up my whole self to my books. When the emperor, however, had learned of my vigilance with respect to learning, he first of all deemed me worthy of addressing a panegyric to him when the patricians of the elder Rome also chanced to be present, who always care for the pursuit of learning, and that though enduring hardships. After this had taken place, he also bade me to write the history of the war which he had successfully conducted against the Persians after they, when they were harassing Dara, the city which the celebrated Anastasius had placed at the throats of the enemy, had withdrawn from there with no small loss, and they did not advance against it again.

29. When the emperor wrote a pragmatic sanction to the prefect with reference to me, he employed words such as the following.

πολλήν μὲν σύνισμεν τὴν ἐν λόγοις παιδεῖαν τὴν τε ἐν γραμματικοῖς ἀκρίβειαν τὴν τε ἐν ποιηταῖς χάριν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πολυμάθειαν, καί, ὅπως τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνὴν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πόνοις ἀποδείξει σεμνοτέραν, καίτοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ὀρθῶς φερομένης, ἐλέσθαι 5 μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ἀσκῆσαι βίον καὶ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἀναθεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις. τὸν τοῖνυν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἀναβάντα ἀγέραςτον ἀπολιπεῖν ἀνάξιον τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων εἶναι κρίνοντες, προστάττομεν τῇ σῇ ὑπεροχῇ ἐπιδοῦναι ἑαυτῷ τοῦ δημοσίου τόδε. ἴστω δὲ ὁ εἰρημένος σοφώτατος ἀνὴρ ὡς οὐ μέχρι 10 τούτου στησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξιώμασι | καὶ ἱεραῖς μείζοσι φιλοτιμίαις τιμήσομεν αὐτόν, ἄτοπον ἡγούμενοι τοιαύτην εὐγλωττίαν οὕτω μικρᾶς ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιώσθαι, ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ πολλοῖς ἐτέροις τῆς οὔσης αὐτῷ μεταδοίῃ παρασκευῆς. τούτοις ἐπιψηφισαμένου τοῦ τηνικαῦτα τὴν πολιαρχίαν ἰδύνοντος καὶ 15 τόπον διδασκάλους ἀπονενεμημένον ἀφορίσαντός μοι ἐπὶ τῆς Καπιτωλίδος αὐλῆς, ἐχόμενος τῆς στρατείας, ἐπαίδευον καὶ μεγαλοφρονεῖν ἐξηγόμην.

〈30〉 Παρὰ μέντοι τῆς στρατείας βαθμῶν τε καὶ πόρων ἄνευ τινὸς ἐλαττώσεως, ὥσπερ ἀνεπαισθήτως τοῦ χρόνου τροχάζοντος, 20 ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς στρατείας ἀνῆλθον. καὶ κερδῶν μὲν ἔνεκα, ὡς εἰ μὴδ' ἐν στρατείᾳ τελῶν, παρηνέχθην, ἔτυχον δὲ τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν κρατούντων αἰδοῦς καί, τὸ δὴ πάντων γλυκύτερον, ἐν ἀνέσει τὸν βίον παρέδραμον. ἡ δὲ πάνσοφος Δίκη, δικαίοις με παραμυθουμένη τρόποις, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις, ὡς 25 ἔφην, αἰδέσιμον ἔδειξεν, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἀπάξιον τιμῆς. καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τῆς προελθούσης ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ψήφου ὅτε τὴν ζώνην ἀφείς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐχώρουν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀναβάντα με ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῆς ἐπαρχότητος, κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σὺνῆδες, εὐχαριστήσαι τῷ κρείττονι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπώσασθαι, τιμήσας 30 〈ὁ〉 ὑπαρχος (Ἥφαιστος δὲ ἦν ὁ χρηστός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ

1 πολλήν f b w πολλῆς (quod corr. in πολλήν) P σύνισμεν f b w σύνεισμεν quod corr.) P 2 ποιηταῖς P₂ b ποιηταις P ποιητικοῖς f w 4 ἀποδείξει b w ἀπεδείξεν P ἀπέδειξεν P₂ ἀπέδειξε f 9 ἑαυτῷ by ἐ αὐτῷ P ἐ del. P₂ f b w 14 μεταδοίη w μεταδόη P μεταδῶ P₂ f b 16 ἀπονενεμημένον P₂ f b w ἀπονεννημένον P 17 Καπιτωλίδος w καπετολίδος P καπετωλίδος P₂ Καπετωλίδος f b 18 ἐξηγόμην f b w εξηγόμην P εξηγοῦμην P₂ 22 μὴδ' ἐν f b w μὴδεν P 24 Δίκη by δίκη P f b w 25 δικαίοις f b w [...]οις P 27 προελθούσης f b w προσελθούσης P 28 ἀφείς f b w αφῆς P ἀφ' ἧς P₂ 29 ἐπαρχότητος f b w ἀρχοτη|τος P ἀρχότητος P₂ 31 〈ὁ〉 f 296 b w

We are conscious of the fact that the most learned John's education in scholarship, both his precision in language matters and his grace among poets, and the rest of his erudition are, indeed, extensive; and that, in order to render by his own efforts the language of the Romans more dignified, although he is properly discharging the service in your Excellency's courts of justice, he has chosen along with it both to spend his life among books and to dedicate his whole self to scholarship. Therefore, since we judge it to be unworthy of our times to pass over unrewarded one who has ascended to such degree of excellence, we instruct your Excellency to present to him such-and-such a grant from the public treasury. Let the aforementioned most wise man know, however, that we will not stop at this but will reward him with both dignities and greater imperial liberalities, because we consider it absurd for such eloquence to be deemed worthy of so small a reward, commending him if he should impart also to many others the skill which he possesses.

After the one who was heading the city prefecture at that time had confirmed this and had set aside for me a place assigned to teachers in the court of the capitol, I began to teach, while retaining the service, and to be led on to contemplate high-minded matters.

30. Without, of course, any diminution of both ranks and income from the service, as time ran on imperceptibly, as it were, I arrived at the end of the service. And, whereas as regards profits I was borne along as if I were not even in the service, yet I did obtain honor and respect from those in authority and, what was obviously the most pleasant thing of all, I passed my life in ease. All-wise Justice, consoling me in just ways, rendered me, as I said, respectable to the civil servants and not unworthy of honor in the eyes of the magistrates; and this was evident from the decree issued with reference to me when I went to the court after I had laid aside the belt. For, first of all, when I had gone up to the bar of the prefect, clearly in accordance with the familiar custom, to express gratitude to my superior and to lay aside my office, the prefect (it was the upright Hephaestus, a man who was good and from his name

ἐκ μόνης τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν οὖσαν εὐγένειαν αὐτῷ δεικνύς·
 Ἡφαίστου γὰρ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὸν
 Σικελιώτην ἀπόγονος εἶναι διεφημίζετο) ἐγερθεὶς ἀντησπάσατό
 με λιπαρῶς, καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτίκα μὲν τὸ πρόσταγμα τῶν ἀν-
 νωνῶν χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἐπιδίδωσιν εὐχαριστῶν, μετὰ δὲ μυρίους
 ἐπαίνους, πάσης τῆς τάξεως παρούσης, ψῆφον ἀνέγνω ἔχουσαν
 ὧδε· ‘Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ λογιώτατος (τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρει τῷ προσρή-
 ματι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων αὐτῷ γερῶν προσγε-
 νομένοις γνωρίσμασιν) ἤδη φθάσας τοῖς ἀπάντων ἑαυτὸν καλ-
 λίστοις, παιδεῖα τε καὶ λόγοις φαμέν, τοιοῦτον ἀπέδειξεν, ὥς
 οὐκ αὐτὸν θαυμάζεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους, οἱ
 δὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἔργον γεγόνασιν· μικρὸν δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν,
 εἶναι νενομικῶς εἰ μόνοις κοσμοῖτο τοῖς ἐκ λόγων ἐπιτηδεύ-
 μασιν (καίτοι γε τί ἂν τις τούτων ἡγήσοιτο μεῖζον;) καὶ τοῖς
 πολιτικοῖς ἐνέμιξε πράγμασιν· ὑπηρετησάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις
 δικαστηρίοις μίαν τινὰ διὰ πάντων ἐφύλαξεν ἀρμονίαν, τοῖς
 οἰκείοις πανταχοῦ κατακολουθῶν παραδείγμασι καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν
 διδάσκων τῶν ἔργων ὥς φύσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ τίκτειν οἷα τε οὖσα
 τὰ χρησιμώτερα, πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν βίου σχῆμα τραπεῖη, τῶν οἰκείων
 οὐκ ἐξίσταται πλεονεκτημάτων, σεμνοτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀπερ-
 γάζεται, λόγοις αὐτὴν καὶ πολιτικοῖς ποικίλλουσα πράγμασιν.
 τούτοις τοίνυν ἅπασιν ἐνευδοκιμηκῶς Ἰωάννης ὁ λαμπρότατος,
 τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις δικαστηρίοις βαθμούς τε καὶ πόνους
 διανύσας, ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως δραμεῖται ἵχνη καὶ
 μειζόνων ἐκείθεν ἀπολαύσει δωρεῶν. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τοῖς
 ἄλλοις πλεονεκτήμασι καὶ φιλόλογος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο καλῶς
 ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πεποιηκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅπως ἂν ἡ τοῦ προστατοῦντος
 σεμνότης καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν τάξιν ἐπὶ τι φέροι λαμπρό-
 τερον.’ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἀντὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τοῦ δικαστη-
 ρίου λαβὼν, ἡγουμένων τῶν πάντα μοι γλυκυτάτων ἐταίρων,
 ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀνεχώρησα, στρατευσάμενος τοὺς πάντας τεσ-
 σαράκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸς μησὶ τέσσαρσιν, καὶ τυχὼν τοῦ εἰωθό-
 τος παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιώματος τοῖς πληροῦσιν ἐπιδίδοσθαι
 αὖτις ἐπὶ τὰ βιβλία παρήλθον.

4 περιβαλὼν P₂ b w περιλαβὼν P περιλαβὼν f ἀννωνῶν f b w ἀννώνων
 P ἀννόνων P₂ 5 μυρίους f b w μυριους P μυρίους P₂ 7 τούτῳ f b w τούτο P
 τούτῳ P₂ προσρήματι f b w προσήματι P 14 καίτοι γε τί ἂν τις (τί adscriptum
 super ἂν) P καίτοιγε τί ἂν τις f b w ἡγήσοιτο w ἡγήσοιτο P ἡγήσαιο f b 18
 οἷα τε b οἷα τε P οἷά τε P₂ f w 24 μεγάλου βασιλέως f b w μεγα βασιλεως P
 μεγαλ βασιλέως P₂ 26 φιλόλογος by φιλογος (quod corr. in φιλόλογος) P φιολόγος
 f b w βασιλεὺς b w βασισιλευς P βασιλεὺς P₂ f 30 ἐταίρων f b w ἐτέρων P

alone displayed the nobility which he had, for he was reputed to be a descendant of Hephaestus, who, according to the Sicilian, had reigned as the first king of Egypt), because he had revered me, arose and earnestly greeted me in turn, and, after he had embraced me, he forthwith delivered to me with his own hands the warrant of the *annonae*, expressing his gratitude, and after countless praises, with the entire staff present, he read a decree which ran as follows.

John the most learned (for he delights in this title rather than in the distinctions which have accrued to him from the rewards conferred upon him) already previously rendered himself such by the finest of all things (we mean by both education and learning), so that not only is he himself admired but also many others who clearly have become the product of his instruction. Because, however, he had considered it to be a small thing, as it seems, if he should be adorned with only the pursuits of learning (and yet, indeed, what would one regard as greater than these?), he involved himself also in civil affairs. When, however, he had rendered service to our courts of justice, he preserved a certain single harmony through all things, thoroughly following his own models everywhere and teaching through his deeds themselves that a nature which is noble and capable of engendering what is more useful, to whatever form of life it might turn, does not depart from its own excellences but makes its virtue more respected when it embellishes it with learning and with civil affairs. For this reason John the most illustrious has gained good repute in all these things, and now that he has completed both ranks and duties in our courts of justice he will hasten after the footsteps of our great emperor and will enjoy greater awards from him. For the emperor, in addition to his other excellences, is obviously also a lover of learning, time having effected this well in our time in order that our august ruler might lead also the rest of our entire political order to something more illustrious.

After I had received from the court of justice this honor, as good as a large amount of money, with associates who were dearest to me in all respects leading the way, I departed for the court, after having been in the service for forty years in all and four months; and, after I had obtained the dignity customarily bestowed by the emperor upon those who complete the service, I went on again to my books.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΚΡΙΝΙΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΕΩΝ
ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟῦ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΤΩΝΙΚΟῦ ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΓΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΩΝ

f 78^v <31>|Εἰ πᾶσάν τις ἐπέλθοι κατὰ πόδα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστο-
ριαν, οὔποτε εὐρήσει πρὸ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας τὸ σκρι- 5
νιάριον ὄνομα. σκρινίον μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκρίβαν καὶ τὰ τούτων
δὴ παράγωγα εὐρήσει, τὸ δὲ σκρινιάριον ἐπώνυμον οὐδαμοῦ.
ὥστε οὐκ οἶδε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τὸ πολίτευμα, οὐδ' εἰσὶ
μέρος οὐ τῆς τοῦ ἱππάρχου οὐδὲ μὴν τῆς τῶν ἐπαρχῶν τάξεως,
ιδιωτεύοντες δὲ παρήλθον κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα· 10
καὶ ὅπως, ἐρῶ. Κωνσταντίνος πρῶτος, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται,
Σκυθίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων φόρους ἄκων
ἐζημίωσε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, τὰς φρουρούσας δυνάμεις
τὴν ὁχθὴν τοῦ πρὸς βορέαν Ἰστροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν δέει
τυραννίδος διασκεδασάμενος. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ βραχὺ παρατραπέντι 15
τοῦ σκοποῦ περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ βραχέων
εἰπεῖν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ Ἰστρον, νῦν δὲ Δανούβιον τὸν αὐτὸν εὐρί-
σκομεν ὀνομαζόμενον· ὥστε δεήσει διδασκαλίας.

<32> Ἐκ τῶν Ῥητικῶν ὁρῶν, ἃ τῆς Κελτικῆς ὀρεινῆς εἶναι
φησιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν βιβλίῳ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν Γαλλικῆς 20
Ἐφημερίδος, ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς ὃ τε Ῥῆνος ὃ τε Ἰστρος, οὐδέ-
τερος δὲ αὐτῶν μὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείψας, ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
ἐξωθεῖται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥῆνος, πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλατικὴν μεσόγειον
τριχῇ διηρημένην εἰς Κελτικὴν Γερμανικὴν καὶ Γαλατικὴν δια-
τρέχων, οὐκ ἄρδει μόνον αὐτὴν μετὰ Ῥοδανόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρεῖ, 25
φυλάττων ἀνέφοδον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ πέρας σχεδὸν τῆς ῥύσεως εἰς
Μόsson τὸν ποταμόν, γείτονα τοῦ βορείου πρὸς δύσιν ὠκεανοῦ,
ὀλισθαίνων ἀποβάλλει μὲν τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπωνυ-
μίαν, μετ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοῖς τῆς Βρεττανικῆς θαλάττης ἐπισύρεται
κόλποις. ὁ δὲ Ἰστρος, ἐάσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥῆνον πρὸς δύνοντα 30
f 79^r ἥλιον ἀναχωροῦντα,|αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν μερίζεται· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν

3 ΚΑΓΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΩΝ by ΚΑΓΚΕΛΑΡΙΩΝ P ΚΑΓΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΩΝ f καγκελ-
λαρίων w 5 σκρινιάριον P f b σκρινιαρίων f 296 w 7 παράγωγα P f b πα-
ραγωγὰ (sic) w σκρινιάριον b σκρινιαρίων P f w 14 δέει f b w δέσι P 19
Ῥητικῶν w ρητορικῶν P Ρητικῶν f Ῥαιτικῶν b 22 θάλασσαν f b w θαλασσαν P
24 διηρημένην f b w διειρημένη P 27 ὠκεανοῦ f b w ωκιανου P 28 ὀλισθαίνων
b w ολισθευων P ὀλισθεύων f κατ' ἀρχὰς P b w καταρχὰς f 29 τοῖς της f b w
τουτῆς P θαλάττης P f b w 31 ἀναχωροῦντα w αναχωροῦν P ἀναχωρεῖν f b

*On the SCRINIARII of the Dioceses, of the Military, and of
the Grain Fund, and [on the] CANCELLARII*

31. If one should go over closely the whole of Roman history, never will one find the name *scriniarius* prior to the reign of Constantine. For, while one will find *scrinium* and *scriba* and those naturally derived from these, nowhere, however, the title *scriniarius*. Consequently, though the state does not know of their existence from the first, and they are not a part of the staff either of the cavalry commander nor, indeed, of that of the prefects, they were admitted as private citizens into the affairs of government by reason of necessity; and I shall explain how. Constantine the First, as I have stated before, involuntarily caused the Roman state to suffer the loss of both Scythia and Mysia and of the tribute from them because he had had the forces that were guarding the bank of the Ister in the North dispersed over Lower Asia for fear of a usurpation. It seems to me fit, however, to digress for a moment from my immediate objective and to speak briefly about the river's name, for we find the same current called here Ister but there Danuvius; consequently, it will need elucidation.

32. From the mountains of Raetia, which Caesar in Book I of his *Gallic Journal* says are part of the Celtic mountain country, from one source spring both the Rhine and the Ister, but neither of them thrusts itself out to the sea without having changed its name. For the Rhine, as it flows through the entire Gallic interior, which is divided in three parts (into Celtica, Germania, and Gallia), including the Rhone, not only waters it but also protects it, preserving it free from invasion. Almost towards the end of its course, however, as it glides into the river Meuse, which borders on the North Sea in the West, it casts off the name which it had at the start and along with the former sweeps on to the bays of the British Sea. The Ister, on the other hand, after it has left its brother the Rhine, as the latter withdraws towards the setting sun, itself turns to the East. And it preserves its own name as far as Pannonia (which the

Παννονίας (ἦν Ἑλληνες Παιονίαν δι' εὐφωνίαν καὶ φυγὴν βαρ-
 βαρισμοῦ καινοτομοῦντες ἐκάλεσαν) καὶ Σιρμίου, τῆς πάλαι μὲν
 Ῥωμαίων εὐδαίμονος πόλεως, νῦν δὲ Γηπαίδων, τὴν ἰδίαν
 διασφᾶζει προσηγορίαν, περὶ δὲ τὴν Θρακίαν εἰλούμενος ἀποβάλ-
 λει μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, Δανούβιος 5
 μετακληθεῖς· οὕτως δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Θράκες ἐκάλεσαν δι' ὅτι ἐπὶ
 <τὰ> πρὸς ἄρκτον ὄρη καὶ θρασκίαν ἄνεμον συννεφῆς ὁ ἀὴρ
 ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀμετρίας σχεδὸν διὰ παντὸς
 ἀποτελούμενος αἴτιος αὐτοῖς συνεχοῦς ἐπομβρίας ἀποτελεῖσθαι
 νομίζεται· Δανούβιον δὲ τὸν νεφελοφόρον ἐκείνοι καλοῦσι πα- 10
 τρώως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, ὥς ἐν παρεκβάσει,
 κατὰ Σαμμωνικὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν, ὃς πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν
 καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα Περί Ποικίλων Ζητημάτων διελέχθη.

<33> Κωνσταντῖνος οὖν Σκυθίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ
 αὐτῶν φόρους, ὥς ἔφην, ἀπώλεσεν. Συρίαν δὲ ὅλην καὶ Πα- 15
 λαιστίνην (μία δέ ἐστι χώρα καὶ διὰ μόνον ἀριθμὸν εἰς πλῆθος
 ἀνάγεται) ἐπαρχίας ἀναδείξας, ἐδεήθη ὑπαρχον μετὰ τὸν Λιβύης
 καὶ Γαλατίας Ἰλλυρίδος τε καὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς ἐώας προ-
 χωρήσασθαι, σκεπτόμενος, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 λέγει συγγράμμασιν, Πέρσαις ἀδοκῆτως ἐπελθεῖν. ἥπιστατο γὰρ 20
 Κωνσταντῖνος, πολὺς ὢν ἐν τε παιδεύσει λόγων καὶ συνασκήσει
 ὀπλων (οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἑκατέραν παιδευσιν ἔτυχέ τις
 διαπρέπων, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων προεχειρίζετο) μὴ εἶναι ῥάδιον
 ἄλλως καταπολεμηθῆναι Πέρσας, μὴ ἐξαπίνης αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρομένης
 ἐφόδου. καὶ συγγραφὴν περὶ τούτου μονήρη Κέλσος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος 25
 τακτικὸς ἀπολέλοιπεν, σαφῶς ἀναδιδάσκων ὥς οὐκ ἄλλως Πέρσαι
 Ῥωμαῖοις παραστήσονται, μὴ αἰφνιδίως εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν
 f 79v Ῥωμαῖοι γνόφου δίκην ἐνσκήψουσιν, αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔξω | λόγου
 παρασχόμενος· ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ἐστίν.

1 Παννονίας f w Παννωνίας P b Παιονίαν b w παιωνίαν P Παιωνίαν f 2
 καινοτομοῦντες f b w κεντοτομουντες P Σιρμίου b w σειρμίου P Σειρμίου f 3
 Γηπαίδων by γίπαιδων P Γιπαιδῶν f Γηπαιδῶν b w 5 Δανούβιος <δὲ> f b
 6 μετακληθεῖς w μεταβάλλει P f b οὕτως P οὕτω f b w δι' ὅτι by δι' ὅτι P διότι
 f b w ἐπὶ P w ἐπεὶ f περὶ b 7 <τὰ> b w πρὸς ἄρκτον P b w πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτῶα f
 θρασκίαν b w θρασκαίαν P θρασκαίαν f leg. θρασκίαν f συννεφῆς f b w συνεφῆς
 P 9 ἀποτελεῖσθαι P f w del. b 12 Σαμμωνικὸν by σαμῶκον P Σαμῶκον f
 fort. leg. Σαμμωνικὸν f Σαμωνικὸν b w Ῥωμαῖον b w ρωμαῖον P Ῥωμαῖον f ὃς
 f b w ὥς P 15 φόρους f b w [..]ρους P Παλαιστίνην f b w παλεστινὴν P
 18 προχωρήσασθαι by προχωρῶρισασθαι P προχειρίσασθαι f b w 21 ἐν τε b w ἐν
 τε P ἐν τῇ f 22 καθ' ἑκατέραν f w καθ' ἑτέραν P καθ' ἑτέραν b 26 ἄλλως f b w
 ἄλλος P 27 μὴ P f <εἰ> μὴ f 37 b w

Greeks called Paionia, changing it for the sake of euphony and avoidance of barbarism) and Sirmium (the prosperous city which long ago used to belong to the Romans but now to the Gepids), but, as it winds around the region of Thrace, it casts off its earlier name among the local folk and is renamed Danuvius. The Thracians named it so on account of the fact that the air at the mountains towards the North and North-North-Westerly wind, because it is almost continually clouded over in consequence of the adjacent excess of moisture, is believed to constitute the cause of the continuous abundance of rain for them; in their ancestral language they call "the cloudbringer" *Danuvius*. And so much regarding these rivers by way of digression, as it were, according to Sammonicus, the Roman historian, who had held converse with Diocletian and the elder Galerius *On Diverse Questions*.

33. Constantine, then, lost both Scythia and Mysia and the tribute from them, as I said. When, however, he had reconstituted the whole of Syria and Palestine as provinces (it is one region, and because of numbering alone it is referred to multitudinously), he needed to institute a prefect of the East, too, in addition to those of Libya, Gaul, Illyria, and Italy, because he was planning, as the emperor himself says in his own writings, to attack the Persians by surprise. For, since Constantine was celebrated in respect of both education in learning and training in weaponry (for, unless one happened to be distinguished in both disciplines, one was not appointed emperor of the Romans), he knew that it was not easy for the Persians to be subdued in any other way unless an assault be let loose upon them suddenly. Celsus, the Roman tactician, has bequeathed to posterity even a separate treatise on this subject, clearly teaching that the Persians will not come to terms with the Romans in any other way unless the Romans sweep into their country suddenly after the manner of darkness. He presented an explanation which is not beyond reason, and it is such as the following.

<34> Περσῶν ὁ δῆμος ὅλος καὶ σύμπαν ἀπλῶς τὸ ἔθνος
 εἶωθεν ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὀρμᾶν, ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ τῆς Μαρρίου
 τῶν λεγομένων λεγιῶνων διατάξεως. διχοτομοῦντες οὖν ἄνθρω-
 πον αὐτοὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν δύο τοῦ σώματος τομῶν διαβιβάζουσι
 τὸν στρατόν. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ὠρισμένα οὐδὲ εὐτρεπῆ στρα- 5
 τεύματα τρέφουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι, ὡς ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὰς μάχας,
 ὥσπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. χρόνου δεῖ τοίνυν αὐτοῖς εἰς παρασκευὴν
 στρατοῦ καὶ δαπάνης ἀποχρώσης τῷ πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἀρμόδιόν
 φησιν ὁ Κέλσος ἀδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ
 τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐφόδου λαμβανούσης (Λαζικὴν 10
 αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιφημίζουσιν οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς)· ἡ γὰρ δυσχωρία
 Πέρσαις ἱππηλατοῦσι δυσέμβατος· ὅθεν ἀφόρητος αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορ-
 βουλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐφάνη· τὰς γὰρ ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν τὰς
 ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις τῆς Περσίδος διὰ τῆς Ὑγκανῆς ἀποκλείσας,
 τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς νίκην ἀφεῖλεν, ὡς ἐν στενωπῷ, ὅσον ἦκεν 15
 εἰς Περσικὰς πολυπληθείας, ζωγρηθέντας εἰς μόνην τὴν πρὸς
 τῷ Μυγδονίῳ Αντιόχειαν (Νίσιβιν αὐτὴν ἐλόντες μετεκάλεσαν
 οἱ Πέρσαι) καταφυγεῖν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπέλιπον τὸ τηνικαῦτα
 δίκην πρηστήρων τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων.

<35> Ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐννοίας ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος γενόμενος καὶ 20
 ὑπαρχον ἐπὶ τῆς ἑω χειροτονήσας διαψηφιστὰς αὐτῷ κατεστή-
 σατο τῶν φόρων ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους καὶ περὶ λεπτότητα λογισμῶν
 παρασκευασμένους. ἰδιωτικῷ τοίνυν σχήματι στελλόμενοι παρή-
 σαν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, μηδὲν ἕτερον παρὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀνὰ
 χεῖρας ἔχοντες, σκρινιάριοι χρηματίζοντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρτοφύ- 25
 λακες, ὅτι σκρινίον τὴν δρυφάκτην λάρνακα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν,
 f 80^r καὶ διέμεινεν ἡ προσηγορία παρ' αὐτοῖς | μόνη. οὐ μὴν ἐν
 στρατείᾳ ἐτέλεσαν οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδιωτῶν τύχην ἐξῆλθον, ὡς αἱ
 παλαιαὶ διδάσκουσι μάτρικες. ἐπὶ δὲ Θεοδοσίῳ τοῦ πρώτου,
 ὡς εἶδον ἑαυτοὺς μὲν ἡμελημένους, τοὺς δὲ τῆς τάξεως διοικοῦν- 30
 τας τότε τὰ πράγματα, ἑαυτοὺς διαγράψαντες καὶ χρυσίον εἰς

1 ὅλος w ὅλως P b Ὀλως f ὅλος mal. f 3 λεγιῶνων f b w λεγιόνων P
 9 ἀδοκῆτως f b w ἀδοκῆτος P 10 Κολχίδος f b w κάλχιδος P 12 Κορβουλῶν w
 κουρβολῶν P Κουρβολῶν f b 14 ἀποκλείσας f b w ἀποκλίσας P 16 <τὰς>
 Περσικὰς w 17 Μυγδονίῳ Αντιόχειαν b w μυδωνιᾶν τιστοιχιαν P Μυγδονίῳ
 Αντιόχειαν f Νίσιβιν f b w νίσηβιν P 18 καταφυγεῖν f b w καταφυγὴν P ἦν f b w
 ἦν P ἀπέλιπον τὸ f b w ἀπελίποντο P 21 διαψηφιστὰς f b w διαψηφίσας P
 23 παρήσαν f b w πάρησαν P 26 δρυφάκτην f b δρυφακτην P fort. leg. δρυφακτικὴν
 f¹ 37 δρυφακτικὴν w 31 τότε τὰ πράγματα f b w τατε τα πραγματῶν P

34. The whole populace of the Persians, that is, absolutely their entire nation, is accustomed to set out to war, as the Romans, too, used to before Marius had organized the so-called *legiones*. Accordingly, they cut a man in twain and march their army between the two sections of the cadaver. For it is evident that the Persians maintain no definite nor action-ready armies, as do the Romans, so as to be prepared for their combats. They need time, therefore, for preparing an army and an expenditure which is sufficient for war; consequently, it is expedient, says Celsus, to attack them by surprise and to initiate the attack especially through Colchis (the people of our day call it Lazica after a leader), for its rough terrain is inaccessible to the Persians because they are horse-borne. For that reason Corbulo in the time of Nero became unbearable to them; for, because he had blocked off their sallies into the wastelands of Persia through Hyrcania, he deprived them of victory by flight; so that, as is usual with Persian masses, they were trapped alive in a mountain pass and fled for refuge only into Antioch on the Mygdonius (the Persians captured it and renamed it Nisibis), which, and even it, they abandoned at the time that the Romans lashed at them after the manner of a blitz.

35. Constantine, therefore, took note of this, and, after he had appointed a prefect of the East, he set down for him accountants of the tribute, men who were respected and had trained themselves in the subtlety of finances. They were dressed, therefore, in the garb of private citizens and were present at the court of justice, having in hand nothing else but accounts. They were called *scriniarii*, namely, “guardians of documents,” because the Romans call a “fenced-around chest” *scrinium*; and that designation alone remained with them. They did not certainly belong to the service, nor did they leave the station of private citizens, as the ancient *matrices* indicate. During the time, however, of Theodosius the First, as they had seen themselves neglected but the members of the staff at that time administering the affairs, they enrolled themselves,

φίλτρα διαθροίσαντες ἐδεήθησαν τῆς βασιλείας συναριθμηθῆναι
τῇ τάξει. καὶ τυχόντες καὶ τὰς λεγομένας προβατωρίας πορισά-
μενοι εἰς μὲν ἀδιούτῳρας, οἷον εἰ βοηθοὺς, ἀνηνέχθησαν ἴσα
τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὸ δὲ Αὐγουσταλίων ὄνομα πριάμενοι τιμίως, ἄχρι
Λέοντος ὡς εἰ μὴδὲ στρατευόμενοι, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
τάξεως, ἐνομίσθησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἡ Ῥωμαίων πα-
λαιότης. ὁθεν, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος προϊούσης,
ἐξόπισθεν ὑποχωροῦντες παρέπονται, μόνης τῆς τάξεως στιχηδὸν
διευθυνούσης τὸν ὑπαρχον. εἰκόνα οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀργυρήλατον
ὄλην ἐπὶ κίονος ἀναστήσαντες τὸ πάλαι καλούμενον Πλακωτὸν
πρὸς τῷ ὠρολογίῳ τῆς πόλεως διεκόσμησαν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
τοῦ δημοσίου ἱστορουμένου ἡῦρον ἱστορημένον. καὶ ἡ μὲν
στήλη καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ χρεωδέστερα ἔργα τῆς πόλεως προεχώ-
ρησεν, ὁ δὲ κίων πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἐβδόμῳ ἀγορᾶς
ἀναστὰς τῇ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως εἰκόνι σεμνύνεται.

〈36〉 Ὡς δὲ λοιπὸν τὰ τῶν σκρινιαρίων ἀπὸ τῆς Ζήνωνος
βασιλείας τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τὰ τῆς τάξεως ἔληξεν· πολλῶν μὲν
γὰρ ἄλλων καὶ Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπα-
σθέντος ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀναστασίῳ, εἶτα καὶ Μαρίνου τὴν ὄλην ἀναζωσα-
μένου τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τῶν τῆς Συρίας
σκρινιαρίων ἐτύγχανεν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐχ ἑτέρου ἢ αὐτῶν
σχεδὸν καὶ μόνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκδεχομένων, διὰ τὴν τῶν φόρων
ἐλάττωσιν εἰς παντελεῖ ἀπώλειαν|τὰ τῆς τάξεως κατέστη. καγκελ-
λάριοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ λογοῦνται καὶ τῆς θείας καὶ γενικῆς τρα-
πέζης διοικηταί, τῆς ἀρχαίας συνηθείας ἐχούσης μηδένα εἰς
τὸ τοῦ λεγομένου καγκελλαρίου λειτούργημα ἢ μόνους τοὺς
εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐκ τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων καὶ ταχυγράφων παριέναι·
ἐπεὶ καὶ δύο μόνους καγκελλαρίους τὸ δικαστήριον ἐγνώριζεν,
οἷς καὶ χρύσινος εἰς καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀφώριστο.
ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς προσηγορίας ὧδε.

1 φίλτρα w φίλτρας P φίλτρας f b διαθροίσαντες f b w διαθρυσαν|τες
P 2 προβατωρίας w πραιβατορίας P προβατορίας f b 3 ἀδιούτῳρας f b ἀδιού-
τορας P w 9 διευθυνούσης by διευ|θουνούσης P διυθυνούσης f b διευδυν|θείσης,
παραπεμπ|ούσης w 10 Πλακωτὸν w πλακωτον P Πλάκωτον f b 11 τῷ f b w
το P ὡς ἐν τοῖς f b w ὡς ἐν τοῖς P ἀρχαίοις f αρχαῖς P ἀρχαῖς b ἀρχείοις w 12
ἡ μὲν P f b μὲν ἡ (sic) w 19 τῷ f b w τῶν P 20 ὃς f b w ὡς P 21 ἡ
αὐτῶν f b w εἰ αὐτῶν P 22 μόνων f b w μόνον P 23 καγκελλάριοι b w καγ-
κελάριοι P Καγκελλάριοι f 26 τὸ f b w τὴν P 29 χρύσινος f b w χρυσίνος P

collected gold by way of allurement, and petitioned the emperor to be reckoned in with the staff. And, after they had gained their petition and had procured for themselves the so-called *probatoriae*, they were elevated into the ranks of the *adiutores*, that is to say, "assistants," on an equal standing with the others. But, though they had bought dearly the name of *Augustales*, down to the time of Leo they were regarded as if they were not even in the service, so far as the members of the staff were concerned. For the ancient tradition of the Romans has no knowledge of them; for this reason, still even to this day, whenever the magistrate goes forth to the bar, they follow along trailing behind, the staff alone in rows escorting the prefect. Therefore, they set up in honor of the emperor a statue entirely of wrought silver on a column and adorned what long ago was called "the Plakoton" near the city's clock, as I have found recorded in the archives of the public *instrumentum*. And, while the monument in our day has given way to the more useful works of the city, the column has been set up before the forum at "the Hebdomon," as it is called, and is dignified by the statue of our most excellent emperor.

36. Thereafter the fortunes of the *scriniarii* increased from the time of Zeno's reign proportionately as those of the staff came to an end. For, after both many others and also Polycarpus, too, from their ranks had been heaved up into the magistracy under Anastasius, then even Marinus, who himself also happened to be one of the *scriniarii* of Syria, had vested upon himself the entire administration of the affairs of state, and none other any longer but almost they and they alone were succeeding to the magistracy, on account of the diminution of the tribute the fortunes of the staff were reduced to complete ruin. For they themselves were *cancellarii*, intendants of finance, and managers of the imperial and general bank, although ancient custom held that no one was to be admitted into the office of *cancellarius*, so-called, but those alone of the *Augustales* and speedwriters who were of high repute; since, in fact, the court of justice used to recognize only two *cancellarii*, for whom, indeed, one gold coin daily had been set aside from the public treasury. The reason for their designation is as follows.

<37> Τὸ πρὶν καθ' ὁμαλοῦ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ὥσπερ ἔτι
 καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐστίν, ἔρυμα καί, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι
 'διαφραγμόν,' ξυλουργές, ἀπὸ σχιδάκων μακρῶν ἀντιπλαγιαζομέ-
 νων ἐφ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διόπτρας ὀξυτελεῖς, καθάπερ δικτύου τινός, 5
 ἀποτελούντων, ἐπὶ μέσου διέτεινε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, χωρίζον τὸν
 ἄρχοντα τῶν ὑποδίκων· κάγκελλον αὐτὸ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν
 ὑποκοριστικῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ δικτύδιον, ὅτι πρωτοτύπως κάγκρους
 αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκτυα λέγουσιν, ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ καγκέλλους. ἐπὶ
 τούτου <τοῦ> διατμήματος ἴσταντο δύο ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς
 καγκελλάριοι, ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιφημιζόμενοι· δι' ὧν, ἐπεὶ 10
 μηδεὶς ἐθάρρει ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνεχωρεῖτο προσπαῦσαι τῷ βήματι,
 οἱ τε πρὸς ὑπογραφὴν χάρται τῇ ἀρχῇ προσεφέροντο ἢ τε τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων ἐγίνετο μήνυσις. ἀλλ' ἤδη πρότερον εἰς πλήθος τοῦ
 ἀξιώματος ὑβρισθέντος, τὸ μὲν δημόσιον ἀνήρτησε τὴν ἐπίδοσιν,
 πάντες δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ ὅπως οὖν δικασπολίαν περικεῖμενοι καγκελ- 15
 λάριοι καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματίζουσιν, καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
 ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις χαλκολογοῦντες τὸ καγκελλαρίων περιάπτουσιν
 ἑαυτοῖς ἀξίωμα ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἀδεῶς προσά-
 γοιτο.

<38> Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ 20
 f 81^r σχήματος, τοῖς δὲ σκρινιαρίοις | προστέθενται καὶ οἱ τοῦ στρα-
 τιωτικοῦ, οἷον εἰ ἀννωνιακοῦ, προεσθηκότες φροντίσματος· οὐχ
 ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μέρος ἐτύγχανον τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀψεως τοῦ δι-
 καστηρίου, ἀλλ' ὅτι, τῶν στρατηγικῶν παρωθηθέντων σκρινια-
 ρίων, καὶ τούτων συνέβη ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὸν κατάλογον. τῇ δὲ 25
 βασιλέως ἀρετῇ τὸ πρὸς ἄλλων ἐπηρείας ἐξηυρηθῆναι νομισθὲν
 εἰς λυσιτελοῦν καλῶς διοικούμενον ἀπεδείχθη. τοῦ γε μὴν σιτω-
 νικοῦ ἀνέκαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν πολιαρχίαν τελούντος, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ
 αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ βδελυροῦ Καππαδόκου, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον
 ἐρῶ, ἀφαιρεθέντος, προσδεῖν γὰρ ᾤετο τοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν 30

1 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ b καθωμαλοῦ P καθομαλοῦ f w 3 διαφραγμόν by διαφραγμόν
 P διάφραγμα f b w 4 αὐτοὺς f b w αὐτο[.] P 6 ὑποδίκων w υποδ[....] P
 ὑπ' αὐτόν f ὑπ... b 7 δικτύδιον f 296 b w δικτυδίου P δικτυδίου f κάγκρους
 by κα[.....] P κάσσης f b w 9 τούτου <τοῦ> b w του[.] P τοῦδε τοῦ mal. f
 11 μηδεὶς ἐθάρρει b w μηδεθαρρει P μηδεὶς ἐθάρρει f 12 ὑπογραφὴν f b w
 ὑπογραφειν P 13 ἐγίνετο by ἐγίνε|το P ἐγίνετο f b w 15 ὅπως οὖν by
 [.....] P ὅπως οὖν f b w δικασπολίαν by [.....] P ...f b δικαστηρίοις w
 18 ἐπαρχιῶν w [.....] P εὐφενῶν f b 21 ab τοῖς paragraphum ordiuntur f b
 τοῦ P w σίτου f b 22 ἀννωνιακοῦ b w [.....] P ἀννωνιακοῦ f 27 σιτωνικοῦ
 f b w σιτονικοῦ P 28 τελούντος f b w τελούντων P

37. In the past uniformly in the courts of justice, just as still even today in the country ones, a fence or, as one might say, "a barrier," made of wood, consisting of long laths that are set upon one another crisscross and constituting diamond-shaped meshes, precisely as those of a net, extended across the middle of the court of justice, separating the magistrate from those on trial. The Romans call it by the diminutive *cancellum*, namely, "little net," because they render "nets" in its primary form *cancrici* and diminutively *cancelli*. At this partition stood two *cancellarii*, one on each side, getting their name from that thing. Since no one dared, nay, was not even permitted, to touch the bar, it was through them that both the documents for signature were presented to the magistracy and the declaration of the facts was made. But, because already in former times this office had been abused multitudinously, the public treasury suspended its funding of it, yet almost all those who in any way whatever are invested with a judicial function are called in our day *cancellarii*, and not only they themselves but even the exactors of copper money in the provinces have attached to themselves the office of *cancellarii* in order that the affairs of the provinces might be brought to them freely.

38. While such was the case regarding the commingling, in fact, of this position, even those who were in charge of the administration of the military provisions, that is to say, "the *annonae*," were added to the *scriniarii*. Not only were they themselves also not a part of the old form of the court of justice, but, after the *scriniarii* of the generals had been abolished, it came about that the service roster consisted of these, too. By the emperor's grace, however, whatever was thought to have been devised by the capriciousness of others was rendered to advantage whenever administered well. Although the grain fund, in fact, used to function from the beginning under the jurisdiction of the city prefecture but had been removed by the power and high-handedness of the loathsome Cappadocian, about whom I shall speak a little later, for he thought that there was still need to subject even the sovereign's city

ἀδικήμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλέως πόλιν ὑπαγαγεῖν, μόνος Γαβριήλιος πολιάρχων ἀποκατέστησεν ἐκεῖνο τῷ δικαστηρίῳ· πέφυκε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καλὸς ὢν καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἐρυθρίαν τοὺς γένει καὶ βίῳ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ ζηλοῦντας αὐτὸν κατὰ δύναμιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ Γαβριηλίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένου, αὐθις πρὸς 5 τὸ μεῖζον ἢ φροντὶς τῆς εὐθηνίας δικαστήριον ἐπανήλθεν, ὡς δῆλον ἀντικρυς πᾶσιν ἀποδειχθῆναι ὅτι Γαβριηλὶ κατ' ἀξίαν χαίρων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνδεδώκεν. ἔδει γὰρ αὐτόν, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀσύγκριτον, τὸ πλέον εὐρεῖν παρὰ βασιλεῖ τιμῶντι δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ θεοφιλίαν καὶ γένους λαμπρότητα. 10

〈39〉 Ὑπόλοιπον ἄρα τυγχάνει τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἐλαττώσεως καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τῶν πραγμάτων παραλλαγῆς ἀποδοῦναι. κἂν εἰ τυχὸν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῆς καὶ μεῖζονα καὶ κλεινοτέραν τῇ βασιλέως ἀγρυπνίᾳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστι συνιδεῖν (οὐδὲ γὰρ μέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας ὃ μὴ καθ' ὅλου εἰς ὕψος τε ἅμα καὶ 15 δύναμιν ἰσχυρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνέστησεν, περινοστών ἅμα καὶ περιθεώμενος, μήτε τῶν ἀνέκαθεν ὑπαρξάντων αὐτῇ γνωρισμάτων ὃ μὴ μετὰ προσθήκης τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑπολάβοι), ἀλλ' f 81^v ὅτι ὁ | χρόνος, λυμαντικὸς ὢν κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τῆς πειδομένης τῇ ἀρχῇ τάξεως χρειώδη ἅμα καὶ κόσμια ἢ παν- 20 τελῶς ἔσβησεν ἢ τοσοῦτον ἐνήμειψεν, ὡς ἱχνος ἀμυδρὸν τῶν ποτε θαυμαζομένων τὸ λοιπὸν διασῶζειν, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει συνισταμένης, τῆς δὲ τάξεως, νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης παραλλαγῶν, νῦν δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ῥαθυμιῶν, εἰ μὴ θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὁ πάντα καλὸς ἐπεκούρει, ἐγγὺς εἰς 25 παντελῇ κατάλυσιν ὀλισθαινούσης. εἰ δέ που τυχὸν τῷ περὶ τὴν κοινήν ἐλευθερίαν ζῆλῳ τινὸς τῶν μὴ κατὰ σκοπὸν τῆς βασιλέως καλοκαγαθίας τὰς ἀρχὰς διανυσάντων δριμύτερον ἡρέμα προΐων ὁ λόγος καθάψεται, μὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς οὐ 30 προσηκόντως ἀποχρησαμένοις αὐταῖς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν οἱ σωφρό- νως εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέποντες ἀναγέτωσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐλέγχειν μόνον ὁ λόγος ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς,

2 ἐκεῖνο w ε[....] P ἐκεῖν f b ἐκεῖνο ? b 5 ἀποθεμένου by [....]μενου
P ἀποδεξαμένου f ἀπο...μένου b ἀποδυσμένου w 7 ἀντικρυς P ἀντικρὺ f b w
15 καθ' ὅλου by καθόλου P καθόλου f b w 16 καλοῦ by καλ[...] P καλ... f
b κάλλους w 19 ὅτι f b [...]τι P aptius οὖν b οὖν w 25 καλὸς f b w καλῶς
P 26 ὀλισθαινούσης f b w ὀλισθενουσης P τῷ f b w το P 28 καλοκαγαθίας
w καλοκαγαθίας P b καλοκαγαθίας f τὰς ἀρχὰς f b w τὰραρχὰς (quod corr. in τὰς
ἀρχὰς) P 29 καθάψεται ταῖς (postea supra lineam addito μὴ) P 32 μόνον f b w
μονους P

itself to his crimes against the provinces, Gabrielius alone, while he was prefect of the city, restored it to his court of justice. For the emperor, being good and liberal, is naturally inclined to respect those who emulate him in descent, mode of life, and munificence in accordance with their ability. However, after Gabrielius had divested himself of the magistracy, the administration of the grain fund was again restored to the greater court of justice, so that it was made absolutely clear to all that the emperor had yielded to Gabrielius because he was pleased with him according to desert. For it was meet that he, being a good man and incomparable in his virtues, should find favor with an emperor who revered both justice and love of God and illustriousness of descent.

39. There remains, then, to explain the causes of its reduction and of so great a change in its circumstances. Even if perchance it is possible to perceive still even to this day the magistracy itself both greater than itself and more renowned by reason of the emperor's vigilance (for there is no branch of the entire government which the emperor by his careful consideration and at the same time all-round scrutiny did not elevate in general simultaneously to both grandeur and effective power coupled with elegance; nor was there any of the distinctive features which it had had from the beginning that it had not taken up with the addition of perfections), but it is clear that time, because it is destructive by nature, either has completely extinguished the many at once useful and seemly features of the staff obedient to the magistracy or has altered them so much as to preserve henceforward only a faint trace of what was at one time admired. Whereas the magistracy would exist by its own power, its staff, sometimes as a result of the former's changes and sometimes as a result of its own instances of indolence, would be slipping almost into complete disintegration unless God and the present emperor who is good in all respects were rendering aid to it. If my account, however, as it slowly proceeds, because of my zeal for common freedom shall in any way perchance have upbraided rather sharply anyone of those who have not executed their magistracies in accordance with the intent of the emperor's nobleness, let those who prudently evaluate matters not impute their vexation to the magistracies themselves but to those who have made improper use of them. For my account has not merely dared to expose the wicked but has also lauded men of merit, if even not

εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν, ἐκόσμησεν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑβρίζειν μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σπαράττειν τοὺς ὑπηκόους οἱ τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀγνοοῦντες ἐντραπήσονται, οἱ τε ζηλοῦντες τὴν βασιλέως πραότητα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ ὁξεῖ τῷ δρόμῳ σπουδάσουσιν, καιρὸς δὲ ἄρα τὴν ἀφήγησιν διελθεῖν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας εἰπεῖν, ὧν 5 ἕνεκα <τὰ> τῆς τάξεως ἐπὶ τοσαύτην ἐναλλαγὴν κατηνέχθη.

<40> Κωνσταντίνου, ὥσπερ ἔφην, μετὰ τῆς Τύχης τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολιπόντος καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ὅσαι τὸν Ἰστρον ἐφρουροῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν ψήφῳ τοῦ βασιλέως διασπαρεισῶν, Σκυθίαν μὲν καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων φόρους ἐζημιώθη τὸ δημόσιον, τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον βαρβάρων, μηδεὶνδὸς ἀνθισταμένου, κατατρεχόντων τὴν Εὐρώπην· τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑὼ δασμῷ οὐ μετρίως f 82^r βαρηθέντων, ἀνάγκη γέγονε τὸν ὑπαρχον μη|κέτι μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ὅπλοις ἄρχειν δυνάμεων (τῆς μὲν τῷ λεγομένῳ μαγίστρῳ παραδοθείσης, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἄρτι προελθοῦσι στρατηγοῖς 15 ἐκτεθεισῶν), ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπαρχον τῆς ἀνατολῆς χρηματίζειν. διεσύρη δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον θανατῶσα καθ' ἐκάστην ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυναστεία ἄχρι τῆς Ἀρκαδίου, τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Νέου, βασιλείας· ἐφ' οὗ συμβέβηκεν Ῥουφῖνον τὸν ἐπικλὴν ἀκόρεστον, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος αὐτῷ, τυράννιδα μελετήσαντα τοῦ μὲν σκοποῦ ὑπὲρ 20 λυσιτελείας τῶν κοινῶν ἐκπεσεῖν, εἰς βάρανθρον δ' ἄχανὲς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταρρίψαι. αὐτίκα μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἴτα τῆς τῶν λεγομένων φαβρικῶν, οἷον εἰ ὀπλοποιῶν, ἐξουσίας, τῆς <τε> τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου φροντίδος καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας αὐθεντίας δι' ὧν τὸ λεγόμενον συνέστη 25 μαγιστέριον. ὥς δὲ δύσεργον ἦν ἀποτρέφειν μὲν τὸν ὑπαρχον ἀνὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας τοὺς δημοσίους ἵππους καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐφεστῶτας, ἐτέρους δὲ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν καὶ διοίκησιν, νόμος ἐτέθη θεσπίζων, ἀντέχεσθαι μὲν τὸν ὑπαρχον τῆς τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου φροντίδος, τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι τῶν φρουμεν- 30

4 αὐτοῦ f b w αὐτοῦς P τῷ f b w το P σπουδάσουσιν by σπουδάσωσιν P 12 δασμῷ by δασμῶς (quod corr. in δασμῷ) P δασμοῖς f b w 13 βαρηθέντων f βαρηθέντων P βαρυνθέντων b w 14 δυνάμεων f b w δυναμεων P 15 προελθοῦσι f b w προσελθουσιν P στρατηγοῖς f b w στρατηγικοῖς P 16 ἐκτεθεισῶν P f b w ἐκτεθεισῶν P ἀλλ' οὖν f b w ἄλλων P 19 οὐ f b w ου P οὐ (sic) w 22 καταρρίψαι b w καταρῖψαι P καταρρίψαι f 23 φαβρικῶν P f b w 24 <τε> w 26 μαγιστέριον P w μαγιστήριον f b w ὥς δὲ b w ὥστε P Ὡς δὲ f ἀποτρέφειν f b w ἀποστρεφειν P 30 μέντοι τῶν f b w μεν των P τῶν del. f¹ 38

according to their worth. For thus, while those who fail to recognize the limitation of the magistracy will be made to feel ashamed to outrage freedom and to rend the subjects, those, too, who emulate the emperor's gentleness will hasten with speedy course to meet also his other virtues. It is, however, time, therefore, to go through my narrative in detail and to state the reasons why the staff's fortunes were reduced to the point of such great change.

40. After Constantine, just as I said, along with his Fortune had left Rome, and after all the forces that were guarding the Ister had been dispersed over Lower Asia by the decision of the emperor, the public treasury suffered the loss of Scythia and Mysia and of the tribute from them because the barbarians who were living beyond the Ister were overrunning Europe since no one was opposing them. Because, however, the peoples in the East had been immoderately burdened with taxation, necessity arose for the prefect no longer to command the court and the forces under arms (the former was handed over to the so-called *magister*, while the latter were turned over to the recently produced generals) but to be called prefect of the East. The magistracy's exercise of power, however, although dying every day, was no less broken up until the reign of Arcadius, the father of Theodosius the Younger, during whose time it happened that Rufinus, surnamed "the insatiate," who was his prefect, because he had aimed at a usurpation, lapsed from the objective [of working] on behalf of the advantage of the public good and hurled the magistracy down into a vast pit. For the emperor immediately deprived the magistracy of its power derived from arms, then of its authority over the so-called *fabricae*, that is to say, "manufactories of arms," and of its administration of the public post and of its every other authority through which the so-called *magisterium* became constituted. Since, however, it was impracticable for the prefect to maintain the public horses throughout the provinces and those in charge of them, and for others to wield authority over them and management, a law was enacted which decreed that the prefect retain the administration of the

ταρίων (πρίγκιπα αὐτὸν σήμερον τοῦ μαγίστρου καλεῖσθαι συμβαίνει) παρῆναι διὰ παντὸς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχου καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνᾶν ὧν ἕνεκα πολλοὶ ποριζόμενοι παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ λεγόμενα συνθήματα τῷ δημοσίῳ κέχρηται δρόμῳ (ταύτη καὶ κουριῶσος ὠνομάσθη, 5 ἀντὶ τοῦ περιέργος· καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι κὰν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστήκασιν ἵπποις), προσυπογράφοντος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ συνθήμασι καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου f 82^v μαγίστρου. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως, αὐτῆς |δυνατὸν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς διατάξεως, ἐν μὲν τῷ παλαιῷ Θεοδοσιανῷ κειμένης, ἐν δὲ τῷ νεαρῷ παρ- 10 οφθείσης.

〈41〉 Οὕτως οὖν ὥσπερ δι' ὑποβάθρων τινῶν καταφερομένης τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς μὲν στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους ἔταξεν ἡ βασι- λεία ὑπὸ τοῖς τότε καλουμένοις κόμισιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς, τὰς 15 δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τάξεις ὑπὸ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα οὐ μικρόν, καθάπερ τοὺς λεγο- μένους στρατηλάτας, αἱ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος ἐλαττώσεις ἀπετέλεσαν. τὰ γὰρ πολυτελεῖ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καταλυόμενα πολλοῖς ἐπαρκεῖ πρὸς οἰκοδομήν. καὶ ἕως μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπεξίεναι δι' 20 ἑαυτῶν τοῖς πολέμοις συνέβαινεν, εἶχε τινα ἡ ἀρχή, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσαύτην, πλὴν ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς ἄλλας ἰσχύν τε καὶ δύνα- μιν· ἐξ ὅτε 〈δὲ〉 συνέβη τελευταῖον Θεοδοσίον νέον κομιδῇ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς νομοθεσίαν μὴ συγχωρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις παρῆναι, καὶ τούτου νόμῳ γενικῶ 25 κωλυθέντος ἀπολέγοντι βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον, εἰκότως τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰ τῶν πολέμων, τῷ δὲ μαγίστρῳ τὰ τοῦ παλατίου γέγονε χώρα, ὥς μηδὲν ἕτερον ἔχειν τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐπαρχότητα ἢ μόνον τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς δαπάναις φροντίδα, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐστί γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τε τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παραφυομένους ἄρχοντας καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γε μὴν, ὧν αὐτοῖ 30 ἄρῃθεν ἐτάχθησαν ἄρχειν.

1 μαγίστρου f b μαγίστρου P μαγιστερίου w 2 πραιτωρίων f b w πραι-
το|ριω P 3 πολυπραγμονεῖν f b w πολλυπραγμονήν P 4 τῆς f b w ἔ P 5
κουριῶσος f b w κουριωσος P 7 προσυπογράφοντος by προῦπογραφοῦντος P
προῦπογράφοντος f b w 12 ὑποβάθρων f b w ὑποβαράθρων P 14 κόμισιν w
κομησιν P κόμησιν f b καὶ w και P ἡ f b 16 καθάπερ f b w καθ' ἅπερ P 20
δι' ἑαυτῶν f b w διαυτων (postea e additum super a) P 22 ἐξ ὅτε by ἐξότε P
ἐξότε f b w 〈δὲ〉 f b w 24 πολέμοις b w πολεμίους P f 27 γέγονε f b w γεγωνα
(quod corr. in γεγоне) P μηδὲν f b w μηδενι P 28 ἦν w ἦν P ἄς f b 30
ἄρχοντας P f 296 b w ἄρχοντος (sic) f καὶ περὶ f b w καίπερ (quod corr. in καί περὶ) P

public post, but that the chief of the *frumentarii* (today he happens to be called *princeps* of the *magister*) be continually present at the court of justice of the prefect of the *praetoria* and closely scrutinize and investigate the reasons why many procure for themselves from the magistracy the so-called travel warrants and enjoy the use of the public post (for this reason, indeed, he was named *curiosus*, namely, "inquisitive," and not only he himself but also all who even in the provinces superintended the public horses), the so-called *magister*, too, countersigning the travel warrants for the postroad. That this is so can be understood from the regulation itself set down in the old *Codex Theodosianus* but omitted in the new one.

41. Thus, then, as the magistracy was being brought down by steps, as it were, the emperor placed the military registers under the authority of those who were called at that time *comites*, that is, generals, and the staffs in the *palatium* under the authority of the head of the forces of the court. The reductions of the prefecture made the latter himself, too, just as the so-called army commanders, no small magistrate. For the dissolution of costly structures suffices for the construction of many others. And, so long as it was the case that the emperors went out to wars personally, the magistracy had both some might and power, if even not so great, nevertheless more than all the others. From the time, however, that it happened that the last Theodosius assumed the imperial office when he was altogether a child and in accordance with his father's legislation was not permitted to be present at wars, and after this had been barred by a general law which forbade the emperor of the Romans to set out to war, naturally the business of wars became the province of the generals, while the affairs of the *palatium* that of the *magister*; so that henceforth the prefecture had nothing else than only authority over expenditures, which naturally occurs of necessity both with regard to the magistrates who sprout from it and with regard to those, in fact, whom they themselves obviously were appointed to govern.

<42> Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προρρήσεων στοχασμούς,
 οὓς τινες καλοῦσι χρησμούς, ἐν ἀριθμῷ λόγων παραλαβεῖν ὑπο-
 μένοι, πέρας ἔλαβε τὰ Φωνητῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ ῥηθέντα ποτὲ· φησὶ
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ στίχους τινὰς δοθέντας δῆθεν Ῥωμύλῳ ποτὲ
 πατρίοις ῥήμασιν ἀναφέρει τοὺς ἀναφανδὸν προλέγοντας, τότε
 Ῥωμαίους τὴν Τύχην ἀπολείψειν ὅτε αὐτοὶ τῆς πατρίου φωνῆς
 f 83^r | ἐπιλάθωνται. καὶ τὸν μὲν λεγόμενον χρησμὸν τοῖς Περι Μηνῶν
 γραφεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἐντεδείκαμεν, πέρας δὲ μᾶλλον ἔσχε τὰ τοιαῦτα
 μαντεύματα. Κύρου γάρ τινος Αἰγυπτίου, ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ ἔτι καὶ
 νῦν θαυμαζομένου, ἅμα τὴν πολίαρχον <ἅμα> τὴν τῶν πραιτω- 10
 ρίων ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος, καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπιστα-
 μένου, εἶτα παραβῆναι θαρρήσαντος τὴν παλαιὰν συνθήειαν καὶ
 τὰς ψήφους Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ προενεγκόντος, σὺν τῇ Ῥωμαίων
 φωνῇ καὶ τὴν Τύχην <ἀπέβαλεν> ἡ ἀρχή. νόμον γὰρ ἀντιγρά-
 φειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεπίσθη πάσης ἀφαιρούμενον ἐξουσίας τὴν 15
 ἐπαρχότητα. ἡ γὰρ ἄρτι καὶ κουφίσαι φόρους καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ
 φῶτα καὶ θέας καὶ ἀνανεώσεις ἔργων αὐθεντοῦσα ταῖς πόλεσιν
 ἐπιδουῖναι οὐκ ἤρκεσε τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε μικρὰς γ' οὖν
 τινος παραψυχῆς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων μεταδοῦναι τι. ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡμᾶς
 Δημοσθένης, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπαρχος ἦν, οὐδὲ μετὰ κέλευσιν τῆς 20
 βασιλείας γραμμάτων, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ πραγματικὸς ἡργάσατο νόμος,
 ἄδειαν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπαρχότητα ἐπιδουῖναι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, κατεπρά-
 ξατο, μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς εὖ ποιῆσαι τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς παραφυλαξά-
 μενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποκλείσας. τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς
 ἤδη καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιπόλαιον ὅψιν ζημιωθείσης, ἡκολούθησε 25
 τοῖς τὰς δίκας λέγουσιν ἐκκλητήτους εὐτελίσαι τὸ δικαστήριον
 παρὰ τὸ πάντη κεκωλυμένον. καὶ νόμῳ τοῦτο διωρίσθη· οὐ γὰρ

2 οὓς b w οὓς P ἄς f 3 Φωνητῷ w φωνητῷ P Φωνητῷ f b 4 δο-
 θέντας f b w δεθέντας P 6 ἀπολείψειν f b w ἀπέλειπεν P 10 <ἅμα> f b w 13
 προενεγκόντος f b w προενεγκοντος P 14 <ἀπέβαλεν> f b w ἀντιγράφειν w
 αὐτιγράφειν P αὐτιγράφειν f b αὐτίκα γράφειν f¹ 38 16 φόρους f w ὄρους P b
 17 ἀνανεώσεις f b w ἀνανεώσεις P 18 λοιπὸν f b w λογιον P γ' οὖν by γουν P
 γοῦν f b w 20 <τῶν> τῆς w 21 χωρὶς f w χωρὶς P χωρὶς, b εἰ μὴ f b w ἡμη
 P πραγματικὸς f b w πραγματικῶς P ἡργάσατο by ἡργήσατο P εἰργήσατο f
 ἡργήσατο b ἡγήσατο w 23 μόνον w μόνος P f b παραφυλαξάμενος f b w πα-
 ραφυλαξαμένους P 25 ἐπιπόλαιον b w ἐπιπόλεων P ἐπὶ πόλεων f ὅψιν f b w
 ὅψιν P ἔποψιν mal. f ζημιωθείσης f b w ζημιωθείς εἰς P 26 ἐκκλητήτους w εκκλη-
 τοις P εκκλητήτοις f b 27 <τὸ> παρὰ τὸ <εἰωθὸς> w διωρίσθη P f b w ἀφωρίσθη
 mal. f¹ 39

42. If one should accept to take into account also the speculations from the predictions which some call oracles, whatever had been proclaimed at one time by Fonteius the Roman attained fulfillment, for he speaks of and mentions some verses manifestly given to Romulus at one time in his ancestral words which clearly foretold that Fortune would desert the Romans at that time when they forgot their ancestral language. And, while I have inserted the so-called oracle in what I wrote *On Months*, oracles of this sort in truth were fulfilled. For, when a certain Cyrus, an Egyptian, who still even to this day continues to be admired for poetic art, was administering both the city prefecture and that of the *praetoria*, although he knew nothing but poetry, then ventured to transgress the ancient practice and produced his decrees in the Greek language, the magistracy threw away along with the language of the Romans also its Fortune. For the emperor was persuaded to write in turn a law which divested the prefecture of every authority. For, though until then it had the authority both to lighten taxes and to grant to the cities food rations, lights, spectacles, and restorations of public works, thereafter it did not avail, nor even dared, to impart from public dues consolation, however small, for anything. Demosthenes in our day, who was himself also a prefect, ruled that, not even after the emperor's instruction in writing, unless a pragmatic sanction had effected it, did the prefecture have the licence to make grants to the subjects. Not only did he himself abstain from conferring benefits on the taxpayers, but he also excluded others from doing so henceforth. Just as soon, however, as the magistracy had suffered the loss even of its external form itself, the consequence was that those who pleaded suits of appeal despised the court of justice because of the fact that it was in every way encumbered.

ὑπέμεινεν ἡ βασιλέως πραότης τοῖς δικαζομένοις τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφέσεως περικόπτειν ἐλπίδα, ἣν προθεωροῦντες οἱ δικάζοντες ἴσως ἀδεκάστως εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσβλέψουσιν.

〈43〉 Τοσαῦτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιδακρύσας φημί. κωλύσει δὲ οὐδέν, ὥσπερ ἐν ὑποτυπώσει, μνησθῆναι τῆς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλατ- 5
 τώσεως· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπιδείξει σαφῶς τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν, μὴ
 f 83^v προαριθμησάμενος ταῦθ' ἅπερ | ὄντα τὸ πρὶν ὕστερον ἀφηρέθη.
 μετὰ γ' οὖν Θεοδόσιον καὶ Μαρκιανὸν τὸν μέτριον ἐλθὼν ὁ
 Λέων καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εὐρὼν δν Ἀττίλας ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης πο-
 λέμιος λαμβάνειν ἤμελλεν (ἦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας ἑκατοντάδας 10
 τοῦ χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν), ὀγκωθεὶς τῇ δυνάμει ἔγνω Βανδίλοις, ἔδνει
 Γερμανικῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτώας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἰσπανίας διὰ τοῦ Πυρρη-
 ναίου ἐνσκήψαντι τῇ Λιβύῃ, πολεμεῖν. μυρίαὶς οὖν ναυσὶ μακραις,
 αἷς καλοῦσι λιβύρνας, ἐπιστήσας στρατὸν οἶον ὁ μακρὸς <οὔπω>
 ἀπεθάρμασε χρόνος εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν περιέστησε τὴν ἀρχήν, 15
 ἀποτείνων αὐτὴν καὶ βιαζόμενος καὶ δαπάνην τεσσαράκοντα
 μυριάσιν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς μάχην διαπόντιον καὶ γῆς ἀλιμένοις ὄρμοις
 ὠχυρωμένης δυσχωρίαν καὶ βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ λόγον πλουτούντων
 δύναμιν ἀρκεῖν. ἀνάλωται γὰρ περὶ τὸν κακοδαίμονα πόλεμον
 ἐκείνον, Βασιλίσκου τῶν δεινῶν ἡγησαμένου, χρυσοῦ μὲν λι- 20
 τρῶν μυριάδες ἕξ πρὸς πεντακισχιλίαις, ἀργύρου δὲ χιλιάδες
 λιτρῶν ἑπτακόσiai, ἵππων δὲ καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτον
 ὅσον ἂν τις τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ἐλλιπεῖν καλῶς ἀφορίσεται.

〈44〉 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ναυάγιον τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας. οὐ
 γὰρ ἀρκέσαντος τοῦ δημοσίου χρήματος ἡ ὁ καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἴδιον 25
 τῇ βασιλείᾳ, πάντα τὰ τῶν στρατιῶν πληρώματα ταῖς ἀστοχίαις
 ἐναπώλετο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἵνα μὴ μακρηγορῷ, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ
 συμπτώματος οὐκέτι τὸ ταμιεῖον ἐπήρκεσεν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ προσ-

4 ab κωλύσει paragraphum ordiuntur f b 7 ταῦθ' ἅπερ ὄντα f b ταῦθ' ἅπερ|ὄντα P ταῦθ' ἅ παρόντα ? an ἅ ὑπάρχοντα ? b ταῦθ' ἅ παρόντα w 8 γ' οὖν by γοῦν P γοῦν f b w 10 ἤμελλεν w ἡμελλεν P ἔμελλεν f b 11 τοῦ f b w του P τοῦ deleverit b Βανδίλοις by βανδηλοῖς P Βανδῆλοῖς f b w 12 Γερμανικῷ f b w γερμανικῶς P Πυρρηναίου <μεταβάντι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν> w 13 μακραις f b w μακρᾶς P 14 <οὔπω> w <οὐκ> f 16 ἀποτείνων f b w ἀποτείνων P καὶ δαπάνην P f f^l 39 b an εἰς δαπάνην ? b εἰς δαπάνην w τεσσαράκοντα f b w τεσσαρακοντῆ P 17 ἀλιμένοις f b w ἀλιμμενοῖς P 18 ὠχυρωμένης f b w οχυρωμενῆν P 21 μυριάδες f b w μυριαδων P πεντακισχιλίαις f b w πεντακισχιλιας P χιλιάδες f b w χιλιας P 23 ἐλλιπεῖν by ἐλλειπειν P ἐκλιπεῖν f w ἐλλείπειν b ἀφορίσεται w ἀφορησεται P ἀφορίσεται f b 25 ἡ ὁ by η ο P omis. f b w 26 στρατιῶν P f b στρατειῶν f^l 39 w

And so this matter was settled by a law, for the emperor's graciousness did not forebear to cut off in the case of the litigants the hope that stems from an appeal, by foreseeing which the judges might perhaps look into the cases impartially.

43. So much about the magistracy I say tearfully. Nothing, however, will hinder me from making mention, in outline, as it were, of its gradual reduction; for one could not clearly show what was removed without having previously enumerated what precisely it formerly had which later was removed. Now, when Leo, who had come after Theodosius and Marcian the moderate, had found the wealth which Attila, the enemy of the civilized world, was about to take (it was over hundreds of thousands of pounds of gold), he became puffed up with power and decided to make war upon the Vandals, a Germanic race which, coming from the North into the Spains through the Pyrenees, had swooped into Libya. Therefore, because he had put aboard ten thousand warships called *liburnae* an army such as time for all its length had not yet marveled at, he reduced the magistracy to uttermost penury, straining it and compelling it to make good also an expenditure for a transmarine campaign by four hundred thousands of men, a rough terrain of a land protected by harborless basins, and a force of barbarians rich beyond count. For on that ill-fated war (Basiliscus had been commander of its horrors) sixty-five thousands of pounds of gold and seven hundred thousands of pounds of silver were spent but also so great a number of horses, weapons, and men as one may well determine to have been lacking to the totality of time.

44. And after this the entire state was totally wrecked. For, since the public money had not sufficed, nor that, even as much as it was, which the emperor had as personal possession, all the complements of the armies perished in the failures of the war. And, not to speak at great length, in consequence of that fiasco the treasury no longer supported

δαπανᾷ τοῖς πράγμασι πρὸ καιροῦ τὰ μήπω ἐν ἐλπίδι ἢ γ' οὖν
 τοῖς ὑποτελέσειν ὄντα, ὡς ἀπέραντον εἶναι τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῦ
 δημοσίου. ἐπιλίποι δὲ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος, εἰ τὰς ὑπὸ Λέοντι
 πεσοῦσης τῆς πολιτείας ἀπαριθμησώμεθα συμφοράς. τῷ τότε
 f 84^r οἴκοι κακῶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πυρὶ δαπανηθέντων συνέμιζεν τῶν 5
 τότε πολέμων τὸ δυστυχὲς καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ἀτυχημάτων, ὡς
 αὐτὸν ἐκείνον, τὸν βασιλέα λέγω, τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς ταρατ-
 τόμενον μὴ μόνον τὴν αὐλὴν ἀπολιπεῖν (φασμάτων αὐτὸν ὥσπερ
 Ὀρέστην ἀνανδρον ἐνοχλούντων) ἐτέρωθι διαιτᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πάγχρυσον ἀπολιπεῖν διασκέψασθαι, ἃ, πόλιν· καὶ 10
 εἰς τοιαύτην βασιλείαν μετατρέψαι εἰ μὴ θεὸς τοῦθ' ὃ δέδωκε
 τῇ πόλει διεσώσατο κράτος.

〈45〉 Καὶ Λέων μὲν ποτε ἀπηλλάττετο, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῖς ἐκείνου
 κατακλισμοῖς ἐβυθίζετο, Ζήνωνος ἔνθεν τὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ κράτος
 ὑπεξεληθόντος. δειλὸς δὲ ἦν, μᾶλλον δὲ δειλαιοῦς, καὶ τοὺς πο- 15
 λέμους ἀπηργυρίζετο (μηδὲ ἐν εἰκόσι μάχην ὑπομένων ὄραν) καὶ
 συνῴθει τὸν ὑπαρχον χρυσίῳ πολλῶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὠνεῖσθαι, αὐτὸς
 περὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὀλεθρον τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆς πολιτείας ἀγρυπνῶν.
 ἔσχε δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάισιον πέρας. τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐπιχε-
 θέντων τῇ πρόσθεν εὐδαίμονι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἡ Τύχη, βραχὺ τι 20
 γνήσιον δὲ γελῶσα, τὸν Ἀναστάσιον θανατῶσιν ἐπέστησε τοῖς
 ὑπηκόοις, ὃς διὰ πάσης ἤλθεν ὁδοῦ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν κοινῶν
 ἀποτίσασθαι καὶ δίκην οἰκοδεσπότης τινὸς τοὺς φόρους, ὅσοι
 σῶζεσθαι δύναιντο ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ταῖς δαπάναις προσαρμόσας
 καὶ λογισμοὺς ἀπῆτει τῶν δαπανῶν καὶ δικαίως ἐτίθετο, τὴν 25
 ἀμετρίαν διαφεύγων· 〈οὐχ〉 ὥσπερ ὁ Νέρων ποτὲ καὶ εἰ τινες
 ἐκείνον ζηλώσαντες δαπάνας μὲν ἀμέτρους ἐποιήσαντο, логи-
 σμοὺς δὲ 〈μηδὲ〉 μέχρι μνήμης ἡ λαβεῖν πρὸς τῆς ἐπαρχότητος

1 ἢ γ' οὖν by ἦγον P ἦγουν f w γοῦ b 2 ὡς ἀπέραντον f b w οσαπερ|ἂν τον
 (quod corr.) P 3 ἐπιλίποι by επιλείποι P Ἐπιλείποι f ἐπιλείποι b w δὲ ἂν P w
 δι' ἂν (sic) f δ' ἂν b 4 τῷ... κακῶ w τῶν... κακῶν P f b τοῖς... κακοῖς leg. f
 5 συνέμιζεν w συνέμιζαν P f b leg. συμμιζαν f 7 λέγω P b w λέγω (sic) f 8
 ἀπολιπεῖν f b w ἀπολειπεῖν P αὐτὸν f b w τὸν P 9 ἀνανδρον P f b ἀντανδρον w
 〈καί〉 ἐτέρωθι w 10 ἀπολιπεῖν f b w ἀπολειπεῖν P ἃ, πόλιν by ἀπολεῖ P ἀπωλεία f
 ἀπολεῖ b πόλιν ? b πόλιν w 11 μετατρέψαι P f b μετέτρεψεν 〈ἂν〉 w ὃ P b w
 ὁ (sic) f 12 πόλει P b w πολεῖ (sic) f 15 ὑπεξεληθόντος f b ὑπεξεληθοντος P
 ὑπεξελόντος w 16 εἰκόσι f b w εἰκοσει P ὄραν f b w θρᾶν (quod corr. in οραν)
 P 19 τοσοῦτων 〈δὲ〉 w 21 θανατῶσιν f b w θανατῶσειν P 22 ὃς f b w ὡς P
 24 ταῖς ἀληθείαις ταῖς δαπάναις P f b w ταῖς ἀληθεστάταις δαπάναις ? b 25
 δαπανῶν f b w δαπάνων P 26 〈οὐχ〉 f b w 28 〈μηδὲ〉 w

itself but proceeded to spend on the business of government before time monies that were not yet in expectancy, that is, by the taxpayers, so that the penury of the public treasury was boundless. Time, however, would fail me if I were to enumerate the calamities of the state which had fallen to pieces under Leo. The ill-fortune from the wars at that time and from other countless mishaps commingled with the misfortune at home at that time from the destruction of the public buildings by fire, so that he himself, I mean the emperor, because he was being disturbed by personal ills, not only abandoned the court (apparitions were troubling him, as they had cowardly Orestes) to dwell elsewhere but also considered, alas, deserting even the all-golden city itself. And one man might have overturned such an empire as this if God had not preserved the sovereignty which He has given to this city.

45. And Leo, indeed, one day died, but the magistracy kept sinking in the floods let loose by him because Zeno thereafter gradually exceeded his father-in-law's sovereignty. He was, however, cowardly, or rather wretched, and he used to buy off his wars (not even in images could he endure to look at a battle) and compel his prefect to purchase peace at the price of much gold, while he himself was ever on the watch to confiscate and to ruin men holding high office in the government. Nevertheless, however, he himself, too, had an ill-starred end. After so many ills had been heaped upon the heretofore blessed [magistracy] of the magistracies, Fortune, laughing for a short time but genuinely, set Anastasius over the expiring subjects. He went through every avenue to make up for the indigence of the public coffers, and, like the head of a household, having adjusted to the expenditures all such taxes as could in reality be preserved, he was wont to demand audits for these expenditures and budgeted them justly, too, avoiding excess, not as Nero formerly and some who emulated him who created immense expenses but, so far as can be recollected, did not even deign either to receive audits from the

ἡ πρᾶξαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡξίωσαν, ποταμοὺς ἢ τάχα θάλασσαν ὅλην βλύζειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον οἰόμενοι.

f 84^v <46> Νεμεσήσασα δ' οἴμ' ὥς ἡ Τύχη καὶ σκοπῶ διοικήσεως
 τὰ νεῦρα παρέλυσσε τῆς πολιτείας. τῶν γὰρ βουλευτικῶν συστη-
 μάτων διοικούντων τὰς | πόλεις καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀποτρε- 5
 φόντων καὶ ἀληθῶς πολιτευομένων τοῖς πράγμασιν, Μαρῖνός
 τις ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων σκρινιαρίων τῆς ἐφ' ἧς διοικήσεως παρ-
 εισδὺς ἐντέχνως τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναπεῖθει πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πο-
 λιτείαν διαψηφίσαντι τοὺς φόρους καταπιστεῦσαι, ὁμολογήσας 10
 χρυσίον τῷ βασιλεῖ περιποιεῖν. φιλοκερδῆς δὲ ἡρέμα ἐτύγχανεν
 ἐκεῖνος, οἷα Ταυλάντιος, καὶ Ἐπιδάμνου τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος (Δουρ-
 ράχιον αὐτὴν Κρήτες ἀποικήσαντες ἐκεῖ προσηγόρευσαν ἀπὸ
 Δουρράχου τότε βασιλεύοντος Κρητῶν, ὡς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Λουκανδὸς
 ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἐμφυλίων φησίν, ἡ Κορκυραῖοι, Κορινθίων
 ἄποικοι κατὰ τὸν Συγγραφέα)· καὶ πολὺς ἦν λόγος ἀπληστίας 15
 κατηγορῶν τοῦ Ἀναστασίου, ὡς καὶ ἐλεγείας τινὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ἵπποδρομίου ἀνατεθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατ' αὐτοῦ, εἰκόνας
 αὐτῷ σιδηρᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου ἀνατεθείσης. οἱ δὲ στίχοι τοῦ
 λεγομένου παρὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίοις φαμώσου, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ βλασφη-
 μίας, ὧδε· 20

Ἐικόνα σοι, βασιλεῦ κοσμοφθόρε, τήνδε σιδήρου

στήσαμεν, ὡς χαλκῆς οὖσαν ἀτιμοτέραν,

ἀντὶ φόνου πενίης τ' ὀλοῆς λιμοῦ τε καὶ ὀργῆς,

ἢ πάντα φθεῖρει σὴ φιλοχρημοσύνη.

γείτονα δὲ Σκύλλης ὀλοὴν ἀνέθεντο Χάρυβδιν, 25

ἄγριον ὠμηστὴν τοῦτον Ἀναστάσιον.

δείδιδι καὶ σὺ, Σκύλλα, τεαῖς φρεσὶ, μὴ σε καὶ αὐτὴν

βρώξῃ, χαλκείην δαίμονα κερματίας·

1 ἡξίωσαν b w ηξίωσαν P <οὐκ> ἡξίωσαν f οὐκ ἡξίωσαν vel ἀπηξίωσαν b
 3 Νεμεσήσασα f¹ 39 w νεμασα P Νείμασα f Νέμασα b νεμεσᾶ ? b οἴμ' ὥς
 by οἴμως P ὠμῶς f οἰμως b ὅμως ? b ὅμως w 8 ἀναπεῖθει f b w ἀναπίθειν
 P 11 καὶ P f b ἐξ ? b ἐξ w Δουρράχιον w δουρράχιον P Δουρράχιον f
 Δουρράχιον b 12 ἀποικήσαντες f b w ἀπίκησαν P 13 Δουρράχου b w δουρράχου P
 ὁ Δουρρα in margine P Δουρράχου f 16 τοῦ Ἀναστασίου w τοὺς ἀναστασιου P τὸν
 Ἀναστάσιον f τὸν Ἀναστάσιον b ἐλεγείας τινὰς P b w ἐλεγεία τινα f 18 ἀνα-
 τεθείσης P₂ f b w ἀνατεθῆσεις P <ἡθους> τοῦ w 20 ὧδε f w ὧδε P οἶδε b 23
 πενίης P₂ f b w πενίης P τ' ὀλοῆς f b w δε ὀλοῆς P τε ὀλοῆς P₂ 24 ἢ πάντα
 φθεῖρει σὴ φιλοχρημοσύνη w ἢ πάντα φθειρεσει φιλοχρημοσύνη P οἷς πάντα φθεῖρει
 σὴ φιλοχρημοσύνη f b ἢ πάντα φθεῖρει, σὴ φιλοχρημοσύνη f¹ 39 25 Σκύλλης f b w
 κυλλης P

prefecture or to render them to it, thinking that rivers, or perhaps a whole sea, were gushing forth gold to them.

46. Ah me, how Fortune, having become wroth even at the aim of the administration, paralyzed the sinews of the government. For, while the curial bodies were governing the cities, were maintaining the civil servant, and were rightly dealing with public business, a certain Marinus, from the ranks of the so-called *scriniarii* of the Eastern diocese, cunningly gained access to the emperor and persuaded him to entrust the entire government to him, because he had kept account of the taxes, having agreed to procure gold for the emperor. The latter happened to be rather fond of gain; just as Taulantius, he was also from Epidamnus in Illyria (Cretans who had emigrated there called it Dyrrhachium after Dyrrhachus, then king of the Cretans, as the Roman Lucan says in Book II of his *Civil Wars*, or Corcyraeans, who, according to the Historian, were colonists of the Corinthians); and there was widespread talk accusing Anastasius of avarice, so that even some elegiac lines against him were published in the Hippodrome by the populace when a statue of iron had been dedicated to him in the Hippodrome. The verses of what is called a *famosum* by the Romans but *blasphemia* by us are as follows.

This statue of iron we dedicated to you, world-destroying Emperor,
as it is cheaper than bronze,

in return for murder, ruinous poverty, famine, and also anger,
which destroys everything, because of your fondness for money.

As a destructive Charybdis, neighbor of Scylla, they set up
this savage, brutal Anastasius.

You, too, Scylla, should dread in your heart lest you yourself also
he devour, having ground up into coins a copper goddess.

διαβάλλονται γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦντες
 σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ φιλαργυρία, ἅμα κερδαίνοντες ἅμα δαπανῶν-
 τες τὰ περιγινόμενα αὐτοῖς, οἱ δ' Ἡπειρώται μάλιστα, Σύρων
 ὄντες ἄποικοι, ὡς ὁ Πολέμων ἐν πέμπτῃ Ἐξηγήσεων τῆς κατὰ
 Λουκανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Ἐμφυλίου Συγγραφῆς ἀπεφάνετο. ὅθεν 5
 καὶ Παλαιστὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων καλεῖται, ἐν ἣ Ἡρώδης
 f 85^r ποτὲ πρὸς τιμῆς Αὐγούστου Νικόπολιν ἐδείματο | τὴν πόλιν
 παρὰ Λευκάτῃν καὶ τὸν Ἀκτιὸν κόλπον, ὅπου Κλεοπάτραν μετ'
 Ἀντωνίου παρεστήσατο.

〈47〉 Ἦν μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα συνετὸς 10
 καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ἐπεικὴς τε ἅμα καὶ δραστήριος, μεγαλόδωρος
 τε καὶ κρείττων ὀργῆς, ἐρυθριῶν τε τοὺς λόγους, ὡς καὶ πλήρωμα
 χρόνου καὶ βαθμὸν τοῖς τῶν λόγων διδασκάλοις βουλευθέντα
 παρασχεῖν ταῖς αὐτῶν διχονοίαις ἐμποδισθῆναι· πέφυκε γὰρ ἐξ
 ἀπραγμοσύνης τὸ λογικὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸ διαφωνεῖν. ἦν οὖν ἀγαθός, 15
 ὡς ἔφην, καὶ μηδένα τῶν δεομένων σκυθρωπὸν ἀποπέμπων, ὡς
 μὴ πόλιν, μὴ φρούριον, μὴ ἐλευσίνιον ἢ λιμένα ἢ τόπον οὖν
 τινα τῆς πάσης Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀμοιρεῖν τῶν ἐκείνου κατὰ
 τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δωρεῶν. ὅτι δὲ μόνος αὐτὸς μετὰ Κωνσταντῖνον
 τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ἐκούφισε δασμολογίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν (οὐδὲ 20
 γὰρ ἔφθασεν), θεὸν ἐχέτω ἱλεων τῶν ὅπως δὴ ποτε πλημμελη-
 θέντων αὐτῶ· καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν. πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν 〈ὦν〉 Ἀναστάσιος ἔπραξεν, ἀρκέσει μόνῃ πρὸς
 ἀπόδειξιν ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην κατασκευασθεῖσα πόλις
 (Δάραν αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, Ἀναστασίου δὲ πόλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ 25
 προσαγορεύουσι καθ' ἡμᾶς), ἦν εἰ μὴ θεὸς πρὸς ἐκείνου ταῖς
 φάρυγι Περσῶν ἐπέβρισεν, ἔκπαλαι ἂν τὰ Ῥωμαίων Πέρσαι,
 οἷον προσεχῇ αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, κατεσχέκασαν.

1 τῶν ἀρχαίων f b w τον ἀρχαῖον P 5 Ἐμφυλίου by ἐμφυλίου P ἐμφυλίων f
 ἐμφυλίου b w Συγγραφῆς by συγγραφεῖς P συγγραφῆς f b w 6 Παλαιστὴν b w
 παλαιστὴν P Παλαίστη f 9 παρεστήσατο f b w μαρεστησατο (quod corr. in
 παρεστησατο) P 12 κρείττων f b w κρίττων P 13 βαθμὸν f b w βαθμὸν P 15
 ἀγαθός b w ἀγαθὸν P ἀγαθός f 16 ἀποπέμπων f b w ἀπὸ πέμπων P 17 ἐλευσίνιον
 by εὐσίνιον P f fort. leg. εὐθνήνιον ab εὐθηνία f del. b συσκήνιον w τόπον οὖν
 τινα f w τόπον οὖν τινὰ P τόπον οὖν τινὰ b 21 ἱλεων w ἱλέω P ἱλεω f b ὅπως
 δὴ ποτε by ὅπως δῆποτε P ὅπως δῆποτε f b w πλημμεληθέντων f 41 b w πλημμελη-
 θέντων P f 22 ἄνθρωπος f b w ἀνδρ P καὶ P b w aut excidit aliquid aut leg. ἃ f
 23 ὑπὲρ 〈ἀριθμὸν ἃ ὑπὲρ〉 mal. b ὑπὲρ 〈ἀριθμόν, ἃ ὑπὲρ〉 w ὦν by 28 οἷον f b οἷον
 P ὅσα ? b ὅσα w προσεχῇ f b w προσέχη P ἐστίν by ἔστιν P ἐστὶ f w ἐστὶ b

For almost all who inhabit Europe are maligned by the ancients for avarice both in their making profit and in their spending whatever comes to them, and especially the Epirotes, since they are colonists of the Syrians, as Polemon pointed out in Book V of his *Commentaries* on the Roman Lucan's treatise *On the Civil Wars*. For this reason it is called also Palaistene by the ancients, where Herod in honor of Augustus once built Nicopolis, the city by [Cape] Leucas and the Bay of Actium, where he had brought Cleopatra along with Antony to terms.

47. Now, while such was the emperor, in other respects, however, he was intelligent and cultured, gentle and at the same time also energetic, munificent and also too great for anger, and he respected learning so that, though he had wanted to grant to the teachers of learning a retirement and rank, he was hindered by their discords, for intellectuals are naturally prone to disagree with themselves because of their detachment from reality. He was, therefore, a good man, as I said, and he used to send away no one of those who were in need looking sullen, so that no city, no fort, no church, or harbor, or any place at all in the entire realm of the Romans did not share in his bounties according to need. Because, however, he alone after Constantine had lightened the taxation of persons, if even not all of it (for he did not achieve [that]), he should have God gracious unto the offenses committed by him in any way whatsoever; for he, too, was human. Although many were the deeds which Anastasius had done also on behalf of the common good, the city constructed by him beyond the Euphrates (the natives call it Dara, whereas our people call it "Anastasius' city" after him) will alone suffice as proof. Unless God by the former's hand had heavily fortified it at the throats of the Persians, long ago the Persians would have seized the domains of the Romans inasmuch as these are adjacent to them.

<48> Χαλεπὸν δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ μιᾶς αὐτοῦ σκοτίας καὶ λανθανούσης ἔτι ἐπιμνησθῆναι πράξεως· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἰδικῶν τάνδρὸς ἀρετῶν μίαν ἐναποθέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ. Παῦλος ἀνὴρ εὐπα-
 τρίδης ἐκ Βιβιανοῦ πατρὸς ἐπισημοτάτου γέγονεν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, 5
 δς καὶ τοὺς πῶποτε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ θαυ-
 μασθέντων ὑπάτων ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ἀπέκρυψεν. οὗτος χρειῶν
 ἰδιωτικῶν ἔνεκα λυσιτελῶν αὐτῷ ἐπωφείλησε Ζηνοδότῳ, δς καὶ
 f 85^v αὐτὸς τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσ|<ετέθη, τοῦ> ἀξιώματος καὶ μόνου τυχόν,
 ἀναφαίρετον χρυσίον εἰς χιλίας χρυσίου λίτρας συναγόμενον.
 τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρὸς τὴν ἔκτισιν ἀδυμοῦντος, ὁ Ζηνόδοτος 10
 ποτνιώμενος τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀντεβόλει ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ συν-
 ορῶν μὴδὲ τὸν Παῦλον ἀρκεῖν πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν μὴδὲ Ζηνόδοτον
 πρὸς ἔνδοσιν, δύο χιλιάδας χρυσίου δέδωκε λιτρῶν αὐτῷ, τὰς
 μὲν χιλίας τῷ χρήστῃ, τὰς δὲ λειπομένας (τοσαῦται δὲ ἦσαν) τῷ
 Παύλῳ χαρισάμενος. 15

<49> Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναστρέφω τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς Μαρῖνον. ἐκλαβὼν
 τοίνυν Σύρος ἀνὴρ καὶ πονηρὸς ὡς ἐπιεικὲς τοὺς φόρους, τὰ
 μὲν βουλευτήρια πασῶν παρέλυσεν τῶν πόλεων, ἀπεμπολῶν τοὺς
 ὑπηκόους παντί, ὡς ἔτυχεν, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τὸ πλεον ὑπόσχοιτο,
 καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν στηριζόντων τὰ προστάγματα βουλευτῶν 20
 προχειρίζεται τοὺς λεγομένους βίνδικας (<οὕτως γὰρ ἔθος> Ἰτα-
 λοῖς <νεμέτορας> θεῶν ἀποκαλεῖν), οἱ παραλαβόντες τοὺς συντε-
 λεῖς οὐδὲν πολεμίων ἦσσαν τὰς πόλεις διέθηκαν. καὶ γίνεται
 μὲν πολύχρυσος, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ
 Μαρῖνος καὶ ὅσοι Μαρινιώντες ἀπλῶς, ἀπορία δὲ παντελὴς καὶ 25
 πενίας βάθος κατέπτε τὰ πράγματα, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἐπαρχότητος
 τρόπῳ χαμαιζήλου δικαστοῦ μόναις ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς διαδικασίαις
 σχολαζούσης. ἡρυθρία δὲ ὅμως ὁ Μαρῖνος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδόκει
 τιμᾶν, τέχνη τὸν φθόνον ἀπωθοῦμενος. ἔνθεν τῶν δημοσίων ὥσπερ

3 τάνδρὸς f b w τάνδρός P ἐναποθέσθαι f b w ἐνάποθέσθαι|θαι P 6 οὗτος
 f b w οὕτως P 7 ἐπωφείλησε f b w ἐπόφελη|εν P δς w ὡς P f b 8
 τοῖς ὑπάτοις b w τοῖς ὑπάτοις P τῆς ὑπατείας f προσ<ετέθη, τοῦ> by προς P f b
 [...]|μοῦντος P ἀτονοῦντος f b Ζηνόδοτος f b w ζνωδοτος P 10 ἀδυμοῦντος w
 ποτνιούμενος P ποτνιούμενος f 17 ἐπιεικὲς w επιεικής P ἐπιεικής f b 19
 ὑπόσχοιτο f b w ὑπόσχοι τὸ (quod corr. in ὑπόσχοι το) P 20 προστάγματα w
 προσταγματα P πράγματα f b 21 <οὕτως γὰρ ἔθος> w 22 <νεμέτορας> θεῶν by
 θεὸν P f b w an <τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους> θεῶν ? w 25 Μαρινιώντες b w μαρινιοντες P
 Μαρῖνον ὄντες f

48. It is not at all difficult to mention yet also one secret and unperceived deed of his, for I ought to include in my account one of the man's private merits, too. Paulus lived under his reign, a patrician gentleman born of a most distinguished father, Vibianus, who, by his acts of munificence, had eclipsed even those who had ever yet lived of the consuls previously admired for magnanimity. This man, because of private needs profitable to himself, owed Zenodotus, who had himself also been added to the ranks of the consuls (he had obtained the honor and only that), a non-cancelable contract in gold specie amounting to a thousand pounds of gold. Since Paulus, however, was despondent regarding its payment in full, Zenodotus imploringly appealed to Anastasius to help him. Perceiving that Paulus did not have the sufficiency to repay it, nor Zenodotus to cancel it, Anastasius gave the former two thousand pounds of gold, having granted one thousand to the creditor and the remaining (it was as much) to Paulus.

49. I now return in my story to Marinus. Now, when he, a Syrian and knavish, as is usually the case, had taken over the taxes, he undid the curial councils of all the cities, selling off the subjects to anyone, as it chanced, provided only that the latter promised him the greater amount, and, in place of the municipal councillors, who from the first had been fixing the tax requisitions, he appointed the so-called *vindices* (for thus the Italians are accustomed to call the "avengers of the gods"), who, when they had gotten control of the contributors, treated the cities as nothing less than enemies. And, whereas the emperor became rich in gold, if anyone else did, and after him so did Marinus and simply all who were suffering from "Marinusitis," complete perplexity and depth of poverty swallowed up public business because henceforth the prefecture was devoting itself to only the litigations of private individuals in the manner of a petty judge. Nevertheless, however, Marinus respected and seemed to honor the prefecture, artfully thrusting away ill-will from himself. Hence, because the public dues were subject to the jurisdiction of others, as it were, and were not being managed in accordance with

ὕφ' ἐτέρους τελούντων καὶ μὴ κατὰ τάξιν πραττομένων, ὑπώλισθεν ἡ τάξις καὶ πενίας ἐνήρχετο· τί γὰρ περιεγίνετο αὐτῇ, μόναις ταῖς δίκαις τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐξυπηρετουμένη;

〈50〉 Οὕτως οὖν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῷ Μαρίνῳ πεσόντων, συνείδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτέρᾳ τιμῇ τὴν ἀτιμίαν παραμυθήσασθαι 5 τῆς ἀρχῆς. τῶν γ' οὖν δικανικῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προῦφερεν. | καὶ ποτε, πρὸς τῆς γαμετῆς Ἀριάδνης ὀχλούμενος Ἀνθεμῖω τῷ Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ Ῥώμης βεβασιλευκότος παιδί τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίσαι, ἡγανάκτησεν, εἰπὼν δέ, μηδενὸς ἢ μόνων λογικῶν ἀξίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαρχότητα. ὅπως δὲ ἡρυθρία 10 τὴν ἀρχὴν, γινώσεται τις ἐκ τοῦτου. Ἑρμίας τις τοῖς Λυδίας σκρινιαρίοις συναριθμούμενος ὑπὸ μέμψιν γέγονε Σεργίου, τοῦ τότε τὴν ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος, ἀγανακτήσαντος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πρὸς τῆς Ἑρμίου μητρὸς ὀχλούμενος, πολὺς ἐγίνετο τὸν ὑπαρχον παρακαλῶν παραχωρεῖν Ἑρμῖα· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀνε- 15 βάλλετο καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνεδίδου, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν τε Σεργίου σεμνότητα παρατηρούμενος. ἴσχυσε δ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ δικαίου παρακαλῶν. αὐτῶν οὖν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἀμοιβαδὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβανόντων, παραδιδόασιν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων Αὐγουσταλίων, οἱ μάλιστα τοῖς λόγοις ἐνέπρεπον, καὶ μὴν καὶ ταχυγράφων τοῖς 20 ἀκολούθοις παριέναι καὶ λόγους παραδιδόναι καὶ ἀκροάσεσι δημοσίαις ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις παρασκευήν, γερῶν τε οὐ μικρῶν τυγχάνειν.

〈51〉 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα τότε ἐπράττετο, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐτρύφα ταῖς Μαρίνου περινοίαις πλουτῶν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπάτων εὐφη- 25 μίαις ἐναβρυνόμενος. εἰρήνην δὲ βαθεῖα τὴν πᾶσαν ἐχάινου πολιτείαν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν στρατιώτην, πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς ῥαστώνην ζηλούντων καὶ διωκόντων τὰ βασιλέως ἐπιτηδεύματα. καὶ πέρας ἦν λοιπὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν δογμάτων καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ θορύβοις ταραττόμενον. Ἰουστίνου 30 δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος (ἀνὴρ δὲ ἦν ἀπράγμων καὶ

1 κατὰ τὴν f¹ 41 πραττομένων f b w πραττομενον P 2 πενίας ἐνήρχετο f b w πενίας ἐνήρχετο P πενία συνέιχετο ? b 4 οὖν τῶν f b w οὕτων P 6 γ' οὖν by γουν P γοῦν f b w 7 προῦφερεν by προύφερεν P προύφερε f b 8 προῦφερε w Ἀριάδνης b w ἀρεαδνης P Ἀριάδνης f 14 μητρὸς f b w μητρος P ἐγίνετο b w εγενετο P ἐγένετο f 15 παραχωρεῖν f b w παραχωρων (quod corr. in παραχωρειν) P 19 παραδιδόασιν by παραδωσιν P παραδίδωσιν f b an δίδωσιν ? b δίδωσιν w 22 δημοσίαις f b w δημοσίοις P 23 μικρῶν f b w μικρὸν P 30 ταραττόμενον f b w ταραττομένων P

established procedure, the staff lapsed and began engaging in penury. For what was left over to it when it was rendering service to only the lawsuits of private individuals?

50. Since, then, public business had suffered ruin in this way under Marinus, the emperor resolved to palliate the magistracy's dishonor with an honor of another sort. Therefore, he proceeded to promote to the magistracy the best of the trial rhetoricians. And, when he was once being importuned by his wife Ariadne to put the magistracy into the hands of Anthemius, the son of the Anthemius who had been emperor at Rome, he became vexed and said that the prefecture was deserving of no one but the learned alone. How he respected the magistracy, one will understand from the following incident. A certain Hermias, who was enrolled among the *scriniarii* of Lydia, fell under the censure of Sergius' displeasure, who at that time was administering the prefecture. The emperor, because he was being importuned by Hermias' mother, frequently kept appealing to the prefect to show forbearance to Hermias, but the former every time kept refusing and so the emperor gave in, deferring to both the magistracy and Sergius' dignity. Nevertheless, however, he did prevail whenever he made a request on behalf of a person in his rights. Since, then, men who were themselves engaged in oratory were assuming the magistracy by turns, they would allow their emulators from the ranks of the so-called *Augustales*, who were especially distinguished for orations, and, in fact, of the speedwriters, too, to come forth, to deliver orations, and to display to public audiences the skill which they had for orations and to receive no small rewards.

51. Whereas some such things were being done at that time, the emperor was faring sumptuously, amassing wealth by Marinus' acts of craftiness and priding himself on the consuls' plaudits. Profound peace was weakening the entire state, and not least the civil servant, because all alike were mimicking the court's indolence and were pursuing the emperor's ways of living. And the end finally of Anastasius' life was troubled by turmoils over matters of dogma and Vitalian. However, after Justin had assumed the imperial office (he was an inactive man and

μηδὲν ἀπλῶς παρὰ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων πεῖραν ἐπιστάμενος), Μαρῖνος
 f 86^v οὐκ ὄντων δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς κρατοῦσι | κερδῶν, ὥσπερ τὸ
 πρότερον (καὶ γὰρ ἀπεστρέφοντο τὰς κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπη-
 ρεΐας), ἅπας μὲν ὁ πλοῦτος Ἀναστασίου εἰς ἀπείρους μυριάδας 5
 χρυσοῦ λίτρων συναγόμενος διερρῦη, ὄχλος δὲ πολέμων τὰ
 Ῥωμαίων ἐδόνει, Περσῶν τὴν ἀειθρύλητον ἐπὶ ταῖς Κασπίαις
 πύλαις ἀπαιτούντων δαπάνην. ὁ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος τοιοῦτος.

〈52〉 Πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ὑπὸ λέοντι ἥλιον ἐν ἀρχῇ στενῇ τοῦ
 Καυκάσου, πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν χωριζομένων 10
 φύσει τῶν τοῦ Καυκάσου σφυρῶν, εἰσοδος ἀπετελέσθη βαρβάρων
 τοῖς ἀγνοούμενοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ Πέρσαις, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ὑγκανὴν
 νέμονται· δι' ἧς εἰσβάλλοντες τὰ τε πρὸς εὖρον Πέρσαις, τὰ τε
 πρὸς βορέαν Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντα ἐδήουν. καὶ ἔως μὲν Ἀρτάξατα 15
 καὶ ἔτι ἐπέκεινα εἶχον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀντέβαινον
 παρόντες ἐκεῖ· ὥς δὲ τούτων ἐξέστησαν καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐπὶ
 Ἰοβιανοῦ, οὐκ ἐξήρκουν οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τε ἑαυτῶν τὰ τε πάλαι
 Ῥωμαίων φρουρεῖν καὶ θόρυβος ἀεὶ τὰς ἐκατέρων Ἀρμενίας
 εἶχεν ἀφόρητος. γίνονται δὴ οὖν λόγοι μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ 20
 Ῥωμαίων ἀστοχίαν Σαλουτίῳ τε, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος, ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ
 Περσῶν τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις καὶ Ἰσδιγέρδῃ ὕστερον, ὥστε κοιναῖς
 δαπάναις ἅμφω τὰ πολιτεύματα φρούριον ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρημένης
 εἰσόδου κατασκευάσαι, ἐπιστῆσαι τε βοήθειαν τοῖς τόποις πρὸς
 ἀναχαιτισμὸν τῶν κατατρεχόντων δι' αὐτῆς βαρβάρων. Ῥωμαίων 25
 δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον πολέμοις ἐνοχλου-
 μένων, οἱ Πέρσαι ἔσχον ἀνάγκην, οἷα προσεχέστεροι ταῖς τῶν
 βαρβάρων ἐφόδοις, ἀντοικοδομεῖν φρούριον ἐκεῖ, Βιραπαρᾶχ
 πατρίως αὐτὸ καλέσαντες, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπέστησαν· καὶ πολέμιος
 οὐκ εἰσῆι.

f 87^r 〈53〉 Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀφορμῆς | οἱ Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπετέθη- 30
 σαν, κατὰ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας ἐκχεόμενοι,
 ὥς δῆθεν ἀδικούμενοι καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένην

2 〈ἔτυχον, ἀπηλλάττοντο〉 w 7 ἀειθρύλητον b w αειθρύλητον P ἀειθρύλλητον (sic) f 14 ἐδήουν f b w ἔδη οὖν (quod corr. in ἐδήουν) P 16 ὅσων ἄλλων f b w ὅσον ἄλλον P 17 ἐξήρκουν f b w ἐξήρκον P 20 Σαλουτίῳ by σαλουστῳ P Σαλουσιῳ f b Σαλλουσιῳ w 21 Ἰσδιγέρδῃ b w εἰσδιγέρδῃ P Ἰσδιγέρδῃ f 22 εἰρημένης f b w εἰρήνης P 23 τε f b w ται (quod corr. in τε) P 24 ἀναχαιτισμὸν f b w ἀναχετισμὸν (deleto postea prius σ) P 27 ἀντοικοδομεῖν f b w ἀνθυκοδομεῖν (quod corr. in ἀντοικοδομεῖν) P Βιραπαρᾶχ b w βιραπαραχ P Βιραπαραχ f

had no knowledge at all except experience in warfare), Marinus and as many as had obtained advancement from Anastasius were discharged, but, because the authorities did not have sources of gain any longer, as they previously had (for they were abandoning, in fact, their abuses against the subjects), all of Anastasius' wealth amounting to countless tens of thousands of pounds of gold trickled away, while a host of wars proceeded to disturb the empire of the Romans inasmuch as the Persians kept demanding their ever talked of outlay over the Caspian Gates. The story regarding that item is as follows.

52. Because the ankle-spurs of the Caucasus are parted by nature towards the north wind by the Caspian Sea towards the sun when it rises under the constellation of Leo at the narrow beginning of the Caucasus, an entrance was formed for the barbarians who dwell around Hyrcania, unknown both to us and to the Persians. They would attack through that entrance and ravage both the areas towards the East that belonged to the Persians and the areas towards the North that belonged to the Romans. And, as long as the Romans held Artaxata and even farther lands under their own authority, they used to march against them because they were present there; but, when they had given up possession of that territory and so much else during Jovian's reign, the Persians were not strong enough to guard both their own territory and that which formerly belonged to the Romans, and unbearable agitation constantly beset the Armenias of both sides. Naturally, then, after the ill-success of the Romans during Julian's reign, discussions were held by both Salutius on our side, who was prefect, and the most eminent men of the Persians, and later Yazdegerd, to the effect that both governments with mutually shared expenses build a fort at the aforementioned entrance and set up a garrison in the area for curbing the barbarians who were pouring down through it. Because, however, the Romans were being troubled with wars in the West and the North, the Persians, inasmuch as they were closer to the raids of the barbarians, were compelled to erect a bastion there against them, which they called *Biraparach* in their ancestral speech, and stationed forces, and no enemy intruded.

53. From this pretext the Persians, streaming forth little by little into the Syrias and Cappadocias, attacked the Romans for allegedly being wronged in consequence of being deprived of the Romans' share in the

δαπάνην κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστερούμενοι, ὥστε
 Σποράκιον τὸν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μείζονος ἐκπεμφθῆναι
 διαλεχθῆσόμενον Πέρσαις· ὁ δὲ δυνάμει τε χρημάτων καὶ συνέσει
 λόγων ἐγγὺς ἔπειθε Πέρσαις, Ῥωμαίων ὥσπερ χαριζομένων
 αὐτοῖς, ὑποφόρων Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχάζειν καὶ φίλους εἶναι. καὶ 5
 ταῦτα ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Αναστασίου διεσύρη λαλούμενά τε καὶ
 τυπούμενα καὶ ἀπλῶς ἡρτημένα. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ, Κωάδου τοῦ
 γέροντος ὅλην Περσίδα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄγοντος, γίνεται πόλεμος.
 καὶ χειρὶ μὲν νικᾶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δυνάμενοι, ἀσωτίᾳ δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ
 Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ τελευταίου (ἦν γὰρ φιλωδὸς καὶ φίλαυλος καὶ 10
 φιλορχήμων) καὶ ἀπειρία καὶ δειλία Πατρικίου καὶ Ὑπατίου
 τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἡλαττώθησαν μὲν τὸ πρότερον, ἐξαπίνης τῶν
 Περσῶν ἐπιχεθέντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοὺς τε Πέρσας διωζάντων
 καὶ Ἀμίδαν ἀλοῦσαν ῥυσαμένων αὐθις, ὁ Πέρσης λόγους ἐκίνησε
 πρὸς Κέλερα, ὃς ἦν μάγιστρος τῶν <θείων ὀφικίων> τῷ Ανα- 15
 στασίῳ, περὶ Βιραπαράχ, ὡς προέφαμεν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ μόνας
 ὑπὸ Περσῶν γενομένης περὶ αὐτοῦ δαπάνης. καὶ πέρας ἔσχεν ἡ
 φιλονεικία, μετρίων τινῶν ὑπὸ Αναστασίου χαρισθέντων Κωάδῃ·
 τὸ γὰρ μεγαλόφρον Ἀναστασίου καὶ εὐμέθοδον εὐσεβῶς τὴν
 ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ζημίαν ὑπέμενε. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ περὶ τῶν 20
 Κασπίων πυλῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῦσιν ὁ λόγος. Ἀρριανὸς
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλανικῆς Ἱστορίας, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης τῶν
 Παρθικῶν, ἀκριβέστερον διεξέρχεται, αὐτὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστὰς
 οἷα τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἡγησάμενος ὑπὸ Ἀδριανῷ τῷ χρηστῷ.
 f 87^v τοιούτους γὰρ ἄρχοντας ἐκεῖνος ἔσχεν, οἱ τοῖς τε λόγοις τοῖς 25
 τε ἔργοις εἰς τοσαύτην εὐκλειαν τὴν τε πολιτείαν ἀνέστησαν.

3 χρημάτων f b w χρωματων (quod corr. in χρηματων) P 4 Πέρσαις f w
 περσαις P Πέρσας b 5 ὑποφόρων Ῥωμαίων w ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων P ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
 delend. f del. b 8 γίνεται w γίνεται P γίνεταί f b 11 φιλορχήμων f b w
 φιλορχήμων P Πατρικίου w πατρικου P Πατρικοῦ f b leg. Πατρικίου f 13
 ἐπιχεθέντων f b w ἐπισχεθέντων P τὸ w τῶν (eraso postea v) P τῶν f b λοιπὸν
 P w λοιπῶν f b διωζάντων f b w ἐδίωξεν|των P 14 Ἀμίδαν by αμειδαν P
 Ἀμίδαν f Ἀμίδαν b w 15 Κέλερα f b w κελλερα (priore λ eraso) P μάγιστρος
 f b w μαγίστρος P <θείων ὀφικίων> by <ὀφικίων> f w 16 Βιραπαράχ w
 βιριπαράχ P Βιριπαράχ f Βιριπαράχ b προέφαμεν f b w προέφα|μεν P 17 πέρσας
 f b w πέρσας (quod corr. in πέρας) P 20 ὁ περὶ f b ο περὶ P ὁ del. w 21 ὁ
 λόγος, <ὄν> ? b ὁ λόγος, <ὄν> w Ἀρριανὸς b w αριανός P Ἀρρίανδος f 22
 Ἀλανικῆς b w σαλανικῆς P Ἀλανικῆς f οὐχ f b w οχ P 23 Παρθικῶν b w
 παροικων P παροίκων f αὐτὸς b w αυτοῖς P αὐτοῖς f 24 Ἀδριανῷ by τραϊανου
 P Τραϊανῷ f b w 26 τὴν τε πολιτείαν by τὴν τε πολιτειαν P τε del. f b w

expense incurred for their common interests; consequently, the first Sporacius was dispatched by the elder Theodosius to confer with the Persians, and he by both might of money and sagacity in argument hard by the Persians attempted to persuade them, as if the Romans were conceding to them, to be at peace, if the Romans should pay tribute, and to be friends. And this state of affairs dragged on down to the time of our Anastasius with both conferences and pacts, and, in a word, with suspensions. During his reign, however, a war occurred when the aged Kavadh led all Persia against the Romans. And, although the Romans were able to conquer by main force, yet because of the profligacy and wantonness of the last Areobindus (for he was fond of song, the flute, and dance) and the inexperience and cowardice of the generals Patricius and Hypatius, at first they were worsted, when the Persians had suddenly swooped down upon them, but thereafter, when they had both pursued the Persians and had again recovered Amida, after it had been captured, the Persian held discussions with Celer, whom Anastasius had as *magister* of the imperial *officia*, regarding *Biraparach*, as I indicated above, and the expense unilaterally incurred for it by the Persians. And the dispute came to an end after some moderate concessions had been made to Kavadh by Anastasius, for Anastasius' magnanimity and adroitness piously endured loss on behalf of peace. Such, then, is the account by the historians of the Romans concerning the Caspian Gates. Arrian discusses the latter rather accurately in his *History of the Alans*, and especially in Book VIII of his *Parthian Wars*, because he himself had been placed in charge of the area as governor of the very region under the upright Hadrian. For such magistrates had he as by both their words and their deeds elevated the state, too, to so great renown.

<54> Τοιούτων μὲν περὶ Πέρσας, μυρίων δὲ ἄλλων πολέμων
 ἀναπτομένων, τὸ λοιπὸν λογικοῖς πάροδος οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρ-
 χότητα. 'ἔδει δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀνευ αὐτῶν πραχθῆναι
 τῶν δεόντων.' ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῆς πρόσθεν
 εὐπραγίας παροφθεῖη, σάλοι σκιρτῶντες καὶ διίστῶντες τὴν γῆν
 5
 ῥιζοῦσιν τὴν Σελεύκου Αντιόχειαν κατέαξαν, τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ
 βουνῷ τὴν πόλιν σκεπάσαντες, ὥς μηδεμίαν διαφορὰν ὅρους
 καὶ πόλεως ἀπολειφθῆναι τῷ χωρίῳ, νάπην δὲ τὸ πᾶν καὶ
 σκοπέλους, οἱ πάλαι τὸν Ὀρόντην παρολισθαίνοντα τῇ πόλει
 ἐσχίαζον. χρυσίον οὖν ἄπειρον ἔχρην ἐπομβρίσαι τὴν ἐπαρχότητα
 10
 πρὸς ἐκφορὰν τέως τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος ἐξογκωθέντων καὶ
 εἰς ἡλίβατον δυσχωρίαν ἀνοιδησάντων χωμάτων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν
 ἀσφαλὲς τὴν Σύρων πρωτεύουσαν παριδεῖν ἐρριμμένην εἰς ἔδα-
 φος. ὥς δὲ κόπῳ πολλῷ καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τεχνῶν
 15
 συνεργείᾳ ὥσπερ ἐρεβόθεν ἡ πόλις ἀνεφύετο, Ἰουστίνου τέλος
 λαβόντος, Χοσρόης ὁ κακοδαίμων διὰ τῆς Αραβίας ἐμπεσὼν
 σὺν ἀπείρῳ στρατιᾷ ταῖς Συρίαις αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν ἄρτι καταπεσοῦ-
 σαν, εὐχείρωτον αὐτῷ φανείσαν ὥς ἄφρακτον λαβὼν πολέμῳ
 κατέφλεξεν, φόνον ἄπειρον ἐργασάμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας,
 οἷς ἐκοσμεῖτο τὸ ἄστυ, σὺν πλαξὶ καὶ λίθοις καὶ πίναξιν ἀπλῶς
 20
 ἀναρπάσας ὅλην εἰς Πέρσας Συρίαν ἀπήλασεν. γεωργὸς δὲ οὐκ
 ἦν, οὐχ ὑποτελὴς τῷ δημοσίῳ λοιπὸν, καὶ δασμὸς μὲν οὐκ
 εἰσεφέρετο τῇ βασιλείᾳ, τὸν δὲ στρατιώτην ἀποτρέφειν ὁ ὑπαρχος
 f 88r ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πάσας τὰς συνήθεις ἐπιδιδόναι|τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 25
 δαπάνας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ Σύρων φόρους ζημιούμενος, οἱ καὶ
 μόνον ῥοπὴν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ προσεπιδιδόναι
 δαπάνας ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονας συνωθούμενος περὶ τε τὰς ἀλούσας
 τῶν πόλεων περὶ τε τοὺς συντελεῖς, εἴ ποὺ τινὰς τὰ Περσῶν
 δεσμὰ διαφυγόντας ἐμπλανᾶσθαι ταῖς ἐρημίαις τῶν πάλαι θαυμα-
 30
 ζομένων χωρίων συνέβαινε.

5 παροφθεῖη w παρωφθεῖς P παροφθῆ P₂ f b 9 Ὀρόντην b w ὄρον την P
 ὀρόντην P₂ Ὀρόντην f παρολισθαίνοντα P₂ f b w παρολισθενον|τα P 10 ἐπομ-
 βρίσαι f b w ἐπομ|βρισαι P ἐπομβρῆσαι P₂ 11 τέως τῶν P₂ f b w τε ὥστων P
 12 ἡλίβατον P₂ f b w ἡλιβάτων P 13 ἐρριμμένην P₂ b w ἐρριμμένην P ἐρρίμ-
 μένην f 15 συνεργείᾳ f w συνεργείᾳ P συνεργίᾳ P₂ συνεργίᾳ b 16 λαβόντος
 P₂ w λαβώντος P λαμβάνοντος f b 17 στρατιᾷ f b w στρατεία P στρατεία P₂
 22 ὑποτελὴς P₂ b w ὑποτελεῖς P ὑποτελὴς (sic) f 24 συνήθεις P₂ f b w συνήθειας
 P 27 κρείττονας P₂ f b w κριττονος P 28 εἰ ποὺ τινὰς b ποὺ τινὰς P <εἰ> ποὺ
 τινὰς P₂ εἴπου τινὰς f εἴ που τινὰς (sic) w

54. Such being the dispute with the Persians and countless other wars flaring up, learned men no longer had entry to the prefecture. "There was need of money, and without it none of the imperative tasks could be done." In order, however, that nothing of whatever was necessary for overturning the previous prosperity might be neglected, tremors, springing and splitting the earth from its roots, crushed Seleucus' Antioch, having buried the city by the mountain situated above it, so that no distinction between mountain and city was left to the site, but the whole thing was glen and rocks, which erstwhile used to shade the Orontes as it flowed past the city. The prefecture, therefore, had to rain down over it an immense amount of gold meanwhile for the removal of the mounds which had been heaped up as a result of the collapse and had swollen up to a high rough terrain, for it was not safe to neglect the capital of the Syrians after it had been cast to the ground. As the city, however, was recovering, just as if from nether gloom, with much toil, abundance of funds, and collaboration of trades, after Justin had reached his end, Chosroes the evil genius with a vast army invaded the Syrias through Arabia, and, when he had captured by war the recently collapsed city because it had appeared to him easily subdued as it was unfortified, he burned it down, after working incalculable massacre, and indiscriminately looted the statues with which the city was embellished, including marble tablets, carved stones, and paintings, and drove away all Syria to the Persians. There was no farmer nor contributor any longer for the public treasury, and yet, whereas revenue was not being brought in to the empire, the prefect was obliged to support the civil servant and to furnish the government with all its customary expenses at a time not only when he was being deprived of the taxes from the Syrians, which even alone used to turn the scale for the authorities, but, besides, was also being hard pressed to supply added outlays too great to be counted both for the captured cities and for the contributors, if perhaps any chanced to have escaped the Persians' bondage and to be wandering about in the deserted ruins of sites that used to be admired long ago.

<55> Τοιοῦτοις κλύδωσι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ θυέλλαις κακῶν
 ῥιπταζομένου, ἀντίρροπον προὔθηκεν ἡ Τύχη τῆς πάλαι ῥαθυμίας
 τὴν ἐμμέλειαν, Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν πάντων βασιλέων ἀγρυπνό-
 τατον ἐπιστήσασα τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὃς ζημίαν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ᾤετο
 συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ πάντες κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγρυπνοῖεν καὶ ὑπερ- 5
 μάχοντο τῆς πολιτείας <ὥς> μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίοις διενεγκόντα ποτέ,
 εἴτα ῥαστώνῃ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐξολωλότα μόνα, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ
 πολεμίων πρὸς ἐκείνοις λαμβάνοιεν. καὶ Πέρσας μὲν οὖν καὶ
 Χοσρόην τὸν ἄτακτον χρυσίῳ μὲν πρῶτον, εἴτα παλιμμαχοῦντα
 καὶ σιδήρῳ κατέχρυσεν· Βανδίλοις δέ, ἔδνει Γερμανικῷ, τὴν 10
 Λιβύην κατεσθίουσιν, πόλεμον ἐξαπίνης ἐπιχέων, ἐν μόναϊς δύο
 σελήναις εἰλέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πολέμῳ λαβὼν παρεστήσατο τῇ
 βασιλείᾳ, Γελίμερα αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τοῦ ἔθνους (οὓς
 ἐκάλουν Ἀστίγγους οἱ βάρβαροι) γαμετῇ τε καὶ παισὶ καὶ πλούτῳ
 βαθεῖ, καθάπερ οἰκέτας ἀχρειοτάτους, πρὸς δουλείαν Ῥωμαίοις 15
 ἐκδούς. μικροῦ δὲ τούτου φανέντος αὐτῷ, Γέταις <τὴν> τε ἱερὰν
 Ῥώμην καὶ πάντα ὅσα ὑπ' ἐκείνην ἐτέλει διασπῶσιν, Ῥωμαίων
 τε τοὺς ἀνέκαθεν εὐπατρίδας ὑβρίζουσιν ἐπελθὼν ἥρπασεν αὐτοὺς
 πανεστίους σὺν <τε> Οὐϊττίγει τῷ τυράννῳ παρεστήσατο, τῇ δὲ
 Ῥώμῃ τὰ Ῥώμης ἀπέσωσεν. 20

f 88v <56> Ὡς δὲ καὶ Συγάμβροις ἐπαγρυπνεῖν ἠπεῖλει (Φράγγους
 αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἡγεμόνος καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος οἱ περὶ Ῥήνον
 καὶ Ῥοδανόν), αὐτῆς Χοσρόης, ὥς μηδεὶς ἄρτιπραχθέντος,
 ἐπὶ τὰς Συρίας ἀπροόπτως ἐξεχύθη, τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων
 Λιβύης τε πρὸς Μαυρουσίῳν σειομένης καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας πρὸς 25
 Γετῶν ὅλης ταραττομένης ὑπερμαχουσῶν, Κόλχους τε καὶ τὸν
 Καύκασον Σκυθῶν καὶ τὴν Θράκην μυρίων ὄσων θηρίων ἐνο-
 χλούντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἤρκει πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πολέμους,
 ὥς εἰ πρὸς ἓνα μαχόμενος, ἡ δὲ ἐπαρχότης θεηλάτοις συνείχετο
 θυέλλαις, τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων ταῖς ἀκινήτοις κτήσεσι δι' ἔνδειαν 30

2 ῥιπταζομένου w ριπταζομένου P ῥιπιζομένου P₂ f b προὔθηκεν P₂ w προὔθη-
 κεν P προὔθηκεν f b 3 Ἰουστινιανὸν w ἰουστινιανὸν P Ἰουστινιανοῦ f Ἰουστι-
 νιανοῦ b 5 ὑπερμάχοντο P₂ f b w ὑπερμαχοντο P 6 <ὥς> P₂ f w 9 χρυσίῳ P₂
 f b w χρυσίον P παλιμμαχοῦντα P₂ b w παλινμαχοῦντα P πάλιν μαχοῦντα f 10
 Βανδίλοις by βανδιλοῖς P βανδίλοις P₂ Βανδήλοις f b w Γερμανικῷ f b w γερ-
 μα|νικῷ P 14 παισὶ P₂ f b w πασι P 15 καθάπερ P₂ f b w καθ' |απερ P 16
 <τὴν> f b w 19 σὺν <τε> w συν P <καὶ> οὖν f σὺν b Οὐϊττίγει f b ουττιγι P ουττι-
 γίτω P₂ Βιττίγει w 21 Συγάμβροις f b w συγαμβροις P συγγάμβροις P₂ 26 ὅλης-
 f b w όλων P Κόλχους w κολχους P κολχούς P₂ Κολχούς f b 27 Θράκην w
 θράκην P Θρακιῇν f b 29 θεηλάτοις P₂ f b w θειλατοις P

55. While the government was being tossed about by such flood-waves and squalls of troubles, Fortune put forth diligence as a counterpoise for the indolence of the past, for it had set Justinian over the state, the most vigilant of all emperors, who used to think that a loss of his own life was happening to him unless all were as vigilant as he and fought for the state in order that they might attempt to capture not merely whatever had once belonged to the Romans, then because of the indolence of men of yesteryear was utterly lost, but, besides, also whatever belonged to the enemy, in addition to the former. And he overwhelmed, therefore, the Persians and the unruly Chosroes with gold at first, then, when he started warring again, also with steel, and, when he suddenly unleashed war upon the Vandals, a Germanic race, who were devouring Libya, he both captured them in only two months, and, after taking them in war, presented them to the empire, having delivered to the Romans for servitude Gelimer himself along with the illustrious men of his nation, whom the barbarians called Asdings, his wife and children, and vast wealth, just as though they were most worthless domestics. Since, however, this had seemed a little thing to him, he attacked the Getans, who were both tearing asunder sacred Rome and all that was under its authority and were abusing the time-honored patricians of the Romans, and captured them with all their households, and presented them along with Vittiges their king, and restored to Rome what was Rome's.

56. While he was threatening to keep a vigilant eye also on the Sygambrians (those who dwell around the Rhine and Rhone call them at the present time *Franci* after a leader), Chosroes, as though no agreement had recently been negotiated, unexpectedly invaded the Syrias again at a time when the Roman forces were fighting both for Libya, which was being staggered by the Moors, and for the whole West, which was being harassed by the Getans, and at a time when the Scythians were troubling the Colchians and the Caucasus and when prodigiously countless beasts were troubling Thrace. And, whereas the emperor was a match for all these wars, just as if he were engaged in waging one [war], the prefecture was being afflicted by demon-driven storms because the subjects were renouncing their immovable possessions on account of

ἀπολεγόντων, τῶν δὲ πρακτόρων μηκέτι τοὺς φόρους εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ὄντων ὑποτελῶν, τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἰσχυόντων. ὑπουργεῖν δὲ ὁμως ταῖς δαπάναις τοσαύταις οὔσαις καὶ οὕτως ἀνενδότοις <ὁ> κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπαρχος συνωθεῖτο. εἰκότως οὖν ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου 5 συνεχεῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρεῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν διέσπασαν. ἡ δὲ τάξις 'οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῳ,' ἀπωλώλει δὲ παντελῶς· τῶν γὰρ περιεχόντων ἀπολλυμένων, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπο- λέσθαι τὰ περιεχόμενα.

<57> Καὶ πού μέ τ' αὐτὸ δαιμόνιον συνωθεῖ πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν ἐξαγὼν μυρίων κακῶν. Ἰωάννης τις ἐκ Μαζάκων ὁρμώμενος 10 (Καيسάρειαν τὴν πόλιν Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ μετωνόμασεν, Ἀρχέλαον τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα δόλῳ μεταστελλάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ κατασχὼν ἐν αὐτῇ· τὴν δὲ Καππαδοκίαν, οὐκ οὔσαν ἄνωθεν, πρῶτος ἐπαρχίαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφορον ἀπέφηνεν)—οὗτος ὥρμητο 15 μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐξ ἐκείνης, τοῖς δὲ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς σκρι- νιαρίοις συναριθμοῦμενος, δολερῶς, οἷα Καππαδόκης, παρεισδύς οἰκιοῦται τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κρείττονα πίστεως ἐπαγγειλάμενος πρᾶξαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς λογοθέτας προῆλθεν. εἰτ' ἐκείθεν, 20 ὥσπερ κατ' ἐπιβάθραν, ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἰλλουστρίους|ἀνελ- θὼν καὶ μήπω γνωσθεὶς ὁποῖός τις ἐστὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπως εἰς τὴν ὑπαρχον ἀνηρπάσθη τιμὴν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὕστερον ὑπέμενεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καλὸς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς τυγχάνων, πονηροῖς ἄρχουσι κα- ταπιστεῦσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἥδη μαθὼν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εὐρὼν ὡς 25 'Καππαδόκαι φαῦλοι μὲν αἰεὶ, ζώνης δὲ τυχόντες φαυλότεροι· κέρδους δ' εἵνεκα φαυλότατοι· ἦν δ' ἄρα δις καὶ τρις μεγάλης δράξωνται ἀπήνης, 30 δὴ ῥα τότ' εἰς ὥρας φαυλεπιφαυλότεροι.'

οὕτως οὖν ὡς ἔφθην εἰπὼν, ὁ πονηρὸς Καππαδόκης, δυνάμεως ἐπιλαβόμενος δημοσίας, ἀπηργάσατο συμφοράς, πρῶτον μὲν δεσμὰ καὶ πέδας καὶ ποδοκάκας καὶ σίδηρα προθεῖς, ἔνδον τῆς 30

3 <ὁ> f b w 6 οὐδ' ἐν f b w ουδενὶ P οὐδενὶ P₂ οὐδ' ἐν b w ουδε P οὐδε P₂ οὐδὲ f leg. οὐδ' ἐν f ἀπωλώλει w απολω|λει P ἀπολώλει f b 9 Καὶ f b w και P καὶ P₂ πού w που P f b μέ τ' αὐτὸ δαιμόνιον by μεταυτὸ δαιμόνιον P μετὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον f b με τὸ δαιμόνιον w συνωθεῖ P₂ w συνωθεῖ P συνώθει f b 10 ἐξαγὼν w ἐξαγων P ἐξαγὼν f b Μαζάκων w μαζακῶν P Μαζακῶν f b 12 τῶν P τὸν f b w 19 ἐπιβάθραν P₂ f b w επιβάραθραν P 21 ὕστερον f w υ[....] P ὑ... b 22 καλὸς P₂ f b w καλως P 25 εἵνεκα f b w ενεκα P ἔνεκα P₂ φαυλότατοι f b w ἐπιφαυλότατοι P 26 δράξωνται P₂ f b w δράζωνται P 29 ἀπηργάσατο by απηργασατο P ἀπειργάσατο P₂ f b w 30 πέδας P₂ f b w παιδας P ποδοκάκας f b w παιδοκάκας P πεδοκάκας P₂

destitution and the tax-collectors were no longer able to bring in the taxes to the authorities because there were no taxpayers. Nevertheless, however, the prefect in office at the time kept being obliged to render service to expenses so great and so unabating. Naturally, then, because frequent and at the same time oppressive prefects of necessity succeeded one after the other, they tore the magistracy asunder. As for the staff, however, it was "not spoken of nor taken account of" but perished completely; for, when the holders were perishing, it was natural for the holdings to perish.

57. And in some degree rage again impells and compells me to the recollection of countless evils. One John who came from Mazaca (Tiberius Caesar renamed the city Caesarea after he had summoned Archelaus, king of the Cappadocians, to Rome by a ruse and had detained him there; he first made Cappadocia a province tributary to the Romans, which was not so from the beginning) – this man had come from that [city], as I said, but, while he was enrolled among the *scriniarii* of the military magistracy, he craftily, Cappadocian that he was, gained access to the emperor and won his friendship; and, because he had promised to do things beyond belief on behalf of the government, he was promoted into the ranks of the intendants of finance. Then from there, as if on a stepping-stone, he was elevated to the ranks of the so-called *illustres*; and, though not yet known as to what sort of a man he was by nature, he was suddenly hoisted into the prefectural dignity. Thereafter the emperor, since he was good and benign, could not by any means bear to entrust the magistracy to wicked magistrates because by this time he had learned and discovered by their deeds that

Cappadocians are always foul; when, however, they have gotten the belt, they are fouler and for the sake of profit they are foulest.

But if, then, they lay hold of the grand chariot twice or thrice, clearly then straightway hour by hour they are foulest-on-foulermost.

Now, after the wicked Cappadocian had assumed public power in such manner as I have just stated, he produced calamities; first of all because he had set up fetters, shackles, stocks, and irons, having set aside within

πραιτωρίας αὐλῆς ἰδιωτικὴν ἐν σκότῳ φυλακὴν ἀφορίσας ταῖς
 ποιναῖς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τελούντων, Φάλαρις ὥσπερ ἄνανδρος καὶ
 μόνοις τοῖς δούλοις ἰσχυρότατος, ἐκεῖ τε ἐνείργων τοὺς πιεζο-
 μένους, οὐδένα τύχης οἷας οὖν ἐξαιρούμενος τῶν αἰκισμῶν, 5
 ἀναρτῶν τε ἀπλῶς ἀζητήτως τοὺς μόνον ἔχειν χρυσίον δια-
 βαλλομένους καὶ ἡ γυμνοὺς ἡ νεκροὺς ἀπολύων. καὶ τούτων
 μάρτυς μὲν ὁ δῆμος, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα θεωρὸς γενόμενος καὶ παρῶν
 τοῖς πραττομένοις· καὶ ὅπως, ἐρῶ. Ἀντίοχος τις, ἥδη γέρων τὴν
 ἡλικίαν, ἐμηνύθη αὐτῷ χρυσοῦ δεσπότης εἶναι τινος. συσχὼν 10
 οὖν αὐτὸν καλωδίους στιβαροῖς ἀνέδθησεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἕως ἑξαρνος
 γενόμενος ὁ γέρων νεκρὸς τῶν δεσμῶν ἡλευθερώθη. ταύτης
 ἐγὼ τῆς μαιφονίας γέγονα θεωρὸς· ἡπιστάμην γὰρ τὸν Ἀντίοχον.

〈58〉 Πρᾶξις μὲν οὖν αὕτη τῷ Καππαδόκῃ πασῶν μετριωτάτῃ
 καὶ εἶθε γ' οὖν μόνος ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἐνηγγρύπνει. Βριάρεως δὲ 15
 καθάπερ ὁ τοῦ μύθου μυρίας χεῖρας ἔχειν τοῖς ποιηταῖς λέγεται,
 οὕτως καὶ ἐκεῖνος Ἀλάστωρ ἀπείρους ὑπουργοὺς τῶν κακῶν
 f 89^v ἔχων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλέως μόνον εἰργάζετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντα
 τόπον τε καὶ χώραν ἀπέστελλε τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ, δίκην ἐξιπωτῆ-
 ρος τὸν ἀπανταχοῦ λαμβάνοντα τέως ὁβολὸν ἀνιμῶμενος. ἐκ δὲ
 τῶν πολλῶν ἐνδὸς πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν βδελυρίας 20
 ἀναμνησθῆσομαι. ὁμώνυμός τις ἦν αὐτῷ, πρὸς γένος ἐγγύς, ἀνὴρ
 ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν θεηλάτου κακίας, Καππαδόκης μὲν καὶ
 αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκ μόνης τῆς τοῦ σώματος διασκευῆς τὸ βδελυρὸν
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκκαλύπτων. ἦν μὲν γάρ τις πολὺσαρκος καὶ περιττὸς
 τὴν ὄψιν· πλάτει μὲν ἀμόρφω καὶ κρεῶν περιττώμασι τὰς σιαγόνas 25
 ἐξοιδημένος καὶ τῷ βάρει τῶν σαρκῶν οἷα μανδύην ἀποκρε-
 μάσας τοῦ προσώπου τῶν θυλάκων· Μαξιλλοπλουμβάκιον αὐτὸν
 ὁ δῆμος ἀπεκάλει. οὗτος ὁ Κέρβερος ὁ καρχαρόδους κοινὸς
 μὲν ἐτύγγανεν ἀπάντων ὄλεθρος, τὴν δ' ἐμὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν

1 πραιτωρίας P₂ f b w πραιτορίας P 2 ἄνανδρος P₂ f b w ανανδρος P an
 ἄντανδρος ? w 3 ἐνείργων P₂ f b w ενεργῶν P 4 οἷας οὖν P οἰασοῦν P₂ f b w
 5 ἀναρτῶν τε f b w αναρτῶνται P 10 αὐτὸν P₂ f b w αὐτῶν P καλωδίους b w
 καλωδίους P f χειροῖν P f b w χεροῖν P₂ ἑξαρνος w εξαρ[.]ος P ἑξαρμος P₂ f b
 14 γ' οὖν by [...] P γούν f b w μόνος f b w μόναις P 16 καὶ w [...] P f b
 ὑπουργοὺς f b w [...] P 18 ἐξιπωτῆρος by εξειποτηρος P ἐξειποτῆρος P₂
 ἐξιμότηρος f ἐξειπότηρος b ἐξυγοτῆρος w 21 γένος f w γενος P γένους P₂ b
 22 θεηλάτου P₂ f b w θεϊλατου P Καππαδόκης b w καππαδόκης P f 26 ἐξοι-
 δημένος P ἐξωδημένος f b w 27 τῶν θυλάκων P f b τὸν θύλακον w Μαξιλ-
 λοπλουμβάκιον by μαξιλλοπλ[...]κιον P μαξιλλοθυλάκιον f μαξιλλοπλουμάκιον
 b w 29 δ' ἐμὴν f b w δέμην P

the praetorian court a private, darksome prison for the punishments of those who were under his authority, just as Phalaris, cowardly and to his slaves alone most powerful, both imprisoning there those who were being constrained, exempting no one of whatever station in life from his tortures, and suspending absolutely without investigation those who were merely being calumniated as possessing gold and besides releasing them either destitute or dead. And, whereas the populace is an attestor of these things, I know because I had been a spectator and was present at the things that were being done; and how, I shall explain. A certain Antiochus, already an old man by age, was reported to him as being a possessor of a certain amount of gold. For that reason he arrested him and suspended him from both hands with stout ropes until the old man, having denied it, was freed from his bonds as a corpse. I was a spectator of that vile murder, for I knew Antiochus.

58. This act, then, was the Cappadocian's mildest of all, and would, however, that he alone had been vigilant over acts of injustice, but, just as the legendary Briareus is said by the poets to have countless hands, so that Fiend, too, because he had innumerable minions for his evil deeds, did not carry on his activities only in the emperor's city, but he used to send out to every place and region, too, men who were similar to himself in his attempt to draw up in the manner of a suction-pump any obol which hitherto lay hidden anywhere. From the ranks of his many [minions], however, I shall recall one to point out the loathsomeness of the rest. There was a certain namesake of his, akin to him in respect of family, a man of demon-forged viciousness beyond all conception, who was himself also a Cappadocian and from the mere structure of his body revealed the loathsomeness of his soul. For, while he was a very fleshy man, he was also strange in his appearance because his jaws were swollen out by reason of misshapen width and excretions of flesh, and because of the weight of the flesh sacks hung down from his face just like a cloak. The people used to dub him *Maxilloplumbacius*. This shark-toothed Cerberus, though he was the common plague of all mankind,

οὕτως εἰς λεπτόν ἀπεμασήσατο, ὥς μετ' αὐτὸν ἔρημον οὐ χρη-
μάτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων γενομένην μηδεμίαν ἐπιδέ-
χεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολῆς.
περιχηθῆναι γὰρ ὁ μηδὲν ἢ νερτέριος δαίμων, ὥς Εὐριπίδης
εἶπεν, 'Αὐδῶν' ὑπάρχειν 'τὰς πολυχρύσους γαίας,' στίφος θηρίων 5
καὶ Καππαδοκῶν στρατὸν ἐπαγόμενος ἐνσκήπτει τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲν
κοινόν, οὐδὲν μέσον, ἀλλ' ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίων χρηματίζων. εἶτα
διατρίβων ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδενὶ τῶν δειλαίων τῆς χώρας οἰκητόρων
οὐ σκευὸς οἶον οὖν, οὐ γαμετήν, οὐ παρθένον, οὐ μειράκιον
ἀπῆμναντον καὶ φθορᾶς ἔξω καταλέλοιπεν, ταῖς μὲν ποιναιῖς τῶν 10
ἀναιτίων ὥς Φάλαρις, ταῖς δὲ ξενοκτονίαις ὥς Βούσιρις, ταῖς
δὲ ραθυμίαις καὶ τρυφαῖς ὥς Σαρδανάπαλος διατελῶν.

〈59〉 Καὶ εἶθε ἄχρι τούτων, καὶ μὴ καὶ πόνων καὶ φόβων
ὑπὲρ τραγωδίαν ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπηκόοις αἰτιώτατος. τὰ πλεῖστα
δὴ οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ μiasμάτων ἐξηγεῖσθαι φρίττων (ἄπειρα 15
f 90^r δέ | ἐστίν, ὥς δὴ αὐτὰ καὶ μόνα μεγίστας βίβλους πενθήρεις
ἀποτελεῖν), μίαν αὐτοῦ πρᾶξιν τέως χρημάτων ἔνεκα τραγωδήσω
τῷ λόγῳ. Πετρώνιος τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς Φιλαδελφείας, ἀνὴρ ἀξιο-
λογος γένοιτε τε 〈καὶ〉 περιουσία καὶ λόγοις διαπρεπής—οὗτος ἐκ
προγόνων κύριος ἦν λίθου τιμίας πολλῆς ἅμα καὶ διὰ κάλ- 20
λος καὶ μέγεθος τοῖς ιδιώταις ἀπόπτως. τοῦτον ἀρπάσας ὁ
Κύκλωψ σίδηρά τε περιθεὶς γυμνὸν ῥάβδοις ἔξαινε διὰ βαρ-
βάρων ἀφειδῶς, ἐνεῖρξας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαύλεως τῶν ἡμιό-
νων (στάβλον αὐτὸν Ἴταλοι λέγουσιν). οὐ δὴ γνωσθέντος, ὥρτο
πόλις πτήξασα καὶ ὄμμασι πῆξατο χεῖρας, ἀνεκώκυε τε ὁ 25
δῆμος, 〈μηδὲ〉 βοηθεῖν τῷ διασπωμένῳ μηδὲ πείθειν τολ-
μῶν τὸν Ἀλάστορα. ὁ γε μὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπισκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς
ἱερωμένοις ἅπασιν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια ἔδραμεν ὥς

2 ἀνθρώπων f b w ἀνῶν P 4 ἢ P₂ f b w οἱ P 5 γαίας P f γύας b w 7 πραι-
τωρίων f b w πραιτορίων P 8 οἰκητόρων f b w οἰκηστόρων P 9 σκευὸς f b w
σκευος P σκευδς P₂ οἶον οὖν by οἶον οὖν P οἰονοῦν P₂ f b w 13 ἄχρι τούτων,
καὶ μὴ καὶ πόνων καὶ φόβων f [......]των καὶ μὴ καὶ μόνων καὶ φόβων P καὶ ante
μόνων del. P₂ ...τούτων καὶ μόνων καὶ μὴ καὶ φόβων b ἄχρι τούτων καὶ μόνων, καὶ μὴ
καὶ φόβων w 14 ἐγένετο P ἐγίνετο f b w 15 δὴ οὖν f b w [......] P φρίττων
P b w φρίττω f 16 ὥς δὴ P ὥς καὶ f b w αὐτὰ P w αὐτῶν f b καὶ P omis.
f b w μόνα P w μόνων f b 17 πρᾶξιν b w πραξιν P πράξιν (sic) f 18 Πετρώνιος
f b w περῶνιος P ἀξιόλογος P₂ f b w ἀξιολογος P 19 〈καὶ〉 b w καὶ mal. f
οὗτος P₂ f b w οὕτως P 21 ἀπόπτως by ᾤ[...]τως P ἀπόβλεπτος P₂ ἀχρήστω
f b ἀπόπτου w 22 σίδηρά τε f b w σιδηρά τε P σιδηρά τε P₂ 23 ἐνεῖρξας P₂
f b w ἐνειξας P 26 〈μηδὲ〉 f w

chewed up my Philadelphia so finely that after him, because it had become reft not only of money but also of human beings, it could no longer admit any opportunity of change for the better. For, when he who was nothing but a nether demon had gotten wind of the fact that there existed, as Euripides said, "the gold-glutted fields of the Lydians," bringing with himself a band of beasts and an army of Cappadocians, he swooped into the country, operating as nothing common, nothing middling, but prefect of the *praetoria*. Then, while he remained there, he left behind to none of the wretched inhabitants of the country any vessel of any kind, any wife, any virgin, any youth unharmed and free of defilement. By his punishment of the innocent he acted as Phalaris, by his murdering of strangers as Busiris, and by his acts of indulgence and wantonness as Sardanapalus.

59. And would that he had been most guilty to this degree and not also of sufferings and acts of terror against the subjects beyond the point of tragedy. Now, though I shudder to recount his obviously very numerous deeds of defilement (they are countless, so that naturally they and they alone can fill up very large volumes of grief), I shall tell at this point the tragic tale of one act of his perpetrated for the sake of money. A certain Petronius in my Philadelphia, a man worthy of account and distinguished for family, property, and learning — this man was the possessor of precious stones from his ancestors, which were numerous and at the same time kept from the sight of private individuals because of their beauty and size. The Cyclops had him seized and had irons put around him, and proceeded to have him mercilessly scourged, while naked, with rods by barbarians, having shut him up in his mules' stead-*ing* (the Italians call it *stabulum*). Just as soon as this had become known, "the city stirred itself in alarm and pressed its hands to its eyes," and the people began wailing aloud, not having the courage either to help the one being racked to shreds or to conciliate the Fiend. The city's bishop, however, accompanied by all the priests, took up even the sacred scrip-

αὐτόν, πείθειν δι' αὐτῶν ἐννοήσας. ὁ δὲ Σαλμωνεύς, ἴσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεὸν ὁρῶν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐλθόντας πράττειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος τῶν ὅσα ἐν πορνείοις κεκλημένοις τοῖς ἀκολάστοις λόγοις ἀσελγαίνεσθαι. καὶ ἀσκεπῇ καὶ πᾶσι κάτοπτα παρῆν τὰ θεοῦ γνωρίσματα καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ὑβριζόμενος ἐθῆρηνει πικρῶς, οὕτως ὁρῶν τὸ θεῖον περιωρόμενον ἀτίμως. ὁ δὲ Πετρῶνιος, τῆς οἰκείας περιουσίας πρῶτον ὁρῶν τὸν θεόν, πέμψας εἰς οἶκον πάντα ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ σὺν καὶ τοῖς λίθοις ἐκείνοις ἐνεγκὼν ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλείου τοῦ Κύκλωπος· καὶ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τόκῳ κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τιμωροὺς, ὡς δὴ κεκηκόςτας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, σπορτοῦλων ἕνεκα (οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἔρανον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν).

〈60〉 Μετρίου δὲ τούτου δόξαντος εἶναι, συνείδεν ὁ Κέρβερος καὶ μαιφονίας ἐργάσασθαι. Πρόκλον οὖν τινα, ἀπόμαχον τῆς ἐπιχωρίου στρατιᾶς, εἴκοσι χρυσίνους ἀπαιτῶν | εἰσφέρειν αὐτῷ συνῶναι οὐκ ἔχοντα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ποινῶν ὄργανα ἀπήμβλυνε τοῖς νεύροις τοῦ ἀθλίου πένητος, ὃς τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲ ζῆν ὑπομένων μηδὲ τελευτᾶν συγχωρούμενος τέχνῃ μετέτληε τὸν θάνατον. λαβὼν οὖν τοὺς ποινουργοὺς καὶ δοῦναι τοὺς εἴκοσι χρυσοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπαγγειλάμενος εἰ τυχὸν ἔψονται ἐπὶ τὸ καταγώγιον αὐτῷ γινομένῳ, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐκεῖ, παρελθὼν, τῶν φυλάκων ἔξωθεν προστηρούντων, βρόχον ἐνάψας τῷ τραχήλῳ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπηλλάγη. ὡς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ προῆλθεν, εἰσφρήσαντες ἐκείνοι καὶ ἐξηρτημένον αὐτὸν ἰδόντες τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ἔρριψαν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς συμπατοῦντες, ὡς δὴθεν ἠπατημένοι, τὰ δὲ ὄντα αὐτῷ διήρπασαν, μηδὲ πρὸς ταφὴν οἰκτροῦ τινος ἐπιρρίμματος ἀξιώσαντες.

〈61〉 Τοιοῦτοις κατορθώμασιν ἐνασχολούμενος ὁ Λαιστρυγών, ἢ μᾶλλον 'ὁ τεκνοραίστης λυμεὼν ἐμῆς πάτρης,' ὥς φησιν ὁ

1 ἴσα by εἴσα P ἴσα P₂ A εἰς f b w τοῖς ἀνθρώποις P τοὺς ἀνθρώπους f b w 3 ὑποστελλόμενος f b w ὑποστελλομένους P πορνεῖοις (τοῖς) w 4 ἀσελγαίνεσθαι P₂ f b ἀσελγεσθαι P ἀσελγαίνεται w 5 κάτοπτα f b w καθοπτά P καθοπτά P₂ 6 οὕτως f b w οὕτος P 9 τοῖς λίθοις ἐκείνοις w τοῖς λίθοις ἐκείνοις P ταῖς λίθοις ἐκείναις f b ἔρριψεν P b w ἔρριψεν f τῆς P τοῦ w omis. f b αὐλείου f b w αὐλίου P 10 τὸ δὲ by τότε P ...τό, τε f ...τό τε b τότε w 11 σπορτοῦλων f b w σπορτουλων P 15 χρυσίνους P f b w 17 ὃς f b w ὡς P 18 θάνατον f b w θανᾶ P 19 χρυσοὺς f b w χρυσους P 20 ἐπαγγειλάμενος b ἀπαγγειλάμενος P f w 24 ἔρριψαν P b w ἔρριψαν f 26 ἐπιρρίματος w ἐπιρρηματος P ἐπιβλήματος f b 27 Λαιστρυγών by ληστρυγών P f Λαιστρυγών b w 28 τεκνοραίστης b w τεκνορεστής P τεκνοράιστης f

tures and hastened to him, having intended to conciliate him through them. The Salmoneus, who regarded even God on a par with mankind, ordered them to go on stage and perform their own rites, not restraining himself at all from mentioning, by the obscene words which he had uttered, such to wit licentious acts as happen to be performed in brothels. And the symbols of God were present, uncovered and visible to all, and the pontifex who was being insulted along with them was lamenting bitterly, seeing the Deity dishonorably disregarded in this way. Petronius, however, because he regarded God above his own property, sent home, had all that he owned brought, including also the aforementioned stones, and had them cast at the outer door of the Cyclops; and he took even his gold and deposited it at interest for his torturers, for having toiled over him, of course, by way of *sportulae* (thus the Romans call “free gift”).

60. As this had seemed to be mild, the Cerberus resolved to perpetrate also acts of bloodthirstiness. Therefore, demanding that a certain Proclus, a veteran of the local army, bring in to him twenty gold coins, he kept coercing him, though he did not have them, and blunted all the instruments of castigation on the sinews of the wretched pauper, who, because he could not bear to live any longer, nor was allowed to die, cunningly sought death. Accordingly, he clutched his castigators and out of necessity offered to give the twenty pieces of gold if perchance they should accompany him on his way to his residence. When he had arrived there, he went in, the guards keeping watch outside, fastened a noose to his neck, and was released from life. Since, however, he had no longer come out, they entered, and, when they had seen him suspended, they cast his corpse in the marketplace, joining in trampling on it, obviously for having been deceived, and thoroughly plundered his possessions, not having deemed him worthy even of a paltry shroud for burial.

61. While engaging in feats of this sort, the Laestrygonian, or rather “the child-slaying scourge of my native land,” as the famous Lycophon

Λυκόφρων ἐκεῖνος, ἐφ' ὅλον ἔτους τὴν πόρθησιν τῶν Λυδῶν
 διέτεινεν. γλίσχρον δὲ καὶ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἰ μόνην τὴν πρόσθεν
 εὐδαίμονα Λυδίαν ὑπάγοι τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν, ἐφ' ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν
 τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ῥάχεως διοίκησιν συνείδεν ἐκτείνειν τὴν ἀσέβειαν.
 νόμος ἄνωθεν ἐκράτησε πλατὺν ἅμα καὶ ὀξὺν δρόμον ἐνιδρῦσθαι
 ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις, ὧν ὁ μὲν πλατὺς ὀχήμασιν ἐχρήτο, ὁ δὲ ὀξὺς
 ὑποζυγίοις ἵπποις (βεραΐδους αὐτοὺς οἱ κρατοῦντες ὠνόμασαν
 καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν ἴσμεν ἀποθέμενοι)· τῆς
 γὰρ ἡπείρου σχεδὸν ἀπάσης <μὴ τελοῦσης> ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ
 ἦν εὐχερὲς τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔω συμβαίνοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς κυρίους τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος ὡς θᾶπτον ἀναφέρειν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸν ὠκαινὸν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπάγοντας. τῷ γ' οὖν ὀξεῖ δρόμῳ τὰ τῆς μηνύσεως
 πρὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐγίνετο· καὶ ταύτην τὴν οὕτω σωτηριώδη τοῖς
 f 91^r πράγμασιν ἐπίνοιαν συνείδεν ὁ Πλατύγναθος ἀπαλβεῖν δι'
 οἰκείας μηνύσεως, ἀναπείσας τὸν ὁμόγνιον καὶ ὁμόψυχον τῆς
 αὐτοῦ βδελυρίας ὑπαρχον, περιττὴν εἶναι διαγνοὺς τὴν τῶν δημο-
 σίων ἵππων ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐ συνορῶν ὁ Νιόβης αὐτῆς λιθωδέστε-
 ρος τὸ τοῦ πράγματος χρήσιμον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρχος, ἀγνοούσης τῆς
 βασιλείας (πῶς γὰρ ἐνεδίδου τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν;), καὶ
 ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν τῆς πολιτείας ἠφάνισεν. ἔνθεν, τῶν εἰδῶν
 ἀπράτων ἐνσηπομένων ταῖς κτήσεσιν, ἐξαλίῳ σχεδὸν τῆς Ἀσιανῆς
 τυγχανούσης, ὁ συντελεστὴς ἀπώλετο, χρυσίον πρὸς τῶν δασμολο-
 γούντων ἀντὶ τῶν εἰδῶν εἰσπραττόμενος, μηδὲ διαπωλεῖν τὰ
 εἶδη δυνάμενος, πόρρω θαλάσσης ἀπωκισμένος, μηδὲ δαπανᾶν,
 ὡς ἀλᾶι, τῷ δημοσίῳ συγχωρούμενος. τούτοις ἠκολούθησε καὶ
 ἡ τῶν ἐνιδρυμένων τοῖς τόποις στρατευμάτων μετὰθεσις πρὸς
 τὸ χρεῖῳδες ὑπὸ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένη, ὡς καὶ τούτου τοῦ
 συγκυρήματος τῶν καρπῶν ἐναπομενόντων τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν φόρους εἰς χρυσίον μεταβληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἀπο-
 γεοῦσθαι κατ' ἔτος. καὶ εἴθε μόνος αὐτὸς καὶ μόνην ἐκείνην τὴν 30

1 ἐφ' f b w επ P ἔτους by ετους P ἔτος f b w 3 ἐφ' ὅλην f b w επολην P
 5 ὀξὺν δρόμον f b w οξὺδρομον P 7 βεραΐδους f b w βεράδους P 9 <μὴ
 τελοῦσης> by τελοῦσης ? b <τελοῦσης> w 12 ὑράγοντας w |[...]| ἄγοντας P
 περιάγοντας f ... ἄγοντας b γ' οὖν by γοῦν P f b w 18 τὸ b w το P omis. f 21
 ἐξαλίῳ by ἐξ αλίου (quod correxisse videtur in ἐξαλρου) P ἐξ ἀλεύρου f ἐξαλρου b
 ἐξαλεύρου w 22 συντελεστῆς w συντελεστης P συντελέστης f b 24 πόρρω P b w
 πόρρω f ἀπωκισμένος f¹ 43 b w ἀπωκεισμένον P ἀπωκισμένον (sic) f fort. leg.
 ἀποκειμένα f 27 ὑπὸ P f b w an ὑπὲρ ? b καὶ b w κακ P κακ f 28 καὶ τοὺς
 P f καὶ del. b w 29 ἀπογεοῦσθαι b ἀπογεουσθαι P ἀπογαίουσθαι f w

phrases it, protracted the ravaging of the Lydians for the whole of a year. Because, however, he regarded it a trifling and trivial thing if he subjected only formerly prosperous Lydia to his wrongdoings, he resolved to extend his impiousness at the same time throughout all the diocese of the Asian massif. A law from the beginning had prevailed to the effect that a wide road and simultaneously an express one be permanently established in the provinces, of which the wide one was used by vehicles, while the express one by draft horses (the authorities called them *veredi*, and I know that I recorded the reason in my topics *On Months*); for, unless approximately the whole continent were subject to them, it would not be easy to report as quickly as possible whatever was happening in the East to the lords of the state, who sometimes were subjecting even the ocean itself to their armed might. At any rate by means of the express road matters of intelligence were made available before the rumor about them. The Broad-jowled one, because he had considered the service of the public horses to be superfluous, resolved by an intelligence of his own to wipe away this device, too, so salutary to public affairs, having convinced the prefect, his kinsman and like-minded with him in his loathsomeness; for he who was stonier than Niobe herself did not understand the usefulness of this institution. The prefect, without the knowledge of the emperor (for how could he have given in to public misfortunes?), did away also with this aspect of the government. Hence, because the produce, being unsold, was spoiling on the farms, inasmuch as the Asian diocese was almost utterly idle, the contributor perished when gold was exacted from him in place of his produce by those who were collecting the taxes, because he was not able to sell his produce, settled as he was far from the sea, nor was he allowed, as formerly, to give it as payment to the public treasury. This was followed also by the transfer of the military forces stationed in the areas, effected by the state in consequence of necessity, so that as a result of this coincidence, too, the crops remained behind in the field, and, whereas the taxes had to be paid in gold, the crops had to be changed into earth every year. And would that he himself alone had chanced to devour just that province alone, and that others such as

ἐπαρχίαν ἔτυχε διατρῶγων καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν, οἷος αὐτός, ἄλλοι καὶ χεῖρους αὐτοῦ τὸν ὅποια δ' ἂν κατορωρυγμένον ὀβολὸν ἀνασπῶντες παρήλθον, στρατὸν ἀλαστόρων καὶ στίφη Καππαδοκῶν ἐπισυρόμενοι.

<62> Συνήχθη οὖν πλοῦτος ἄπειρος τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ὑπάρχῳ, 5
 ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τυραννίδα παρακαλεῖν, τῆς αὐθαδεστέρας
 μοίρας τοῦ δήμου συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγχειρουμένοις συν-
 απτομένης. θεραπεύων οὖν καὶ προσοικειούμενος αὐτὴν οὐκ
 ᾤετο πείθειν ὡς ἐραστής εἴη τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν κόμματος, εἰ μὴ
 πρὸς τὴν ἔω διαβαίνων αὐτὸς καὶ στολὴν ἀνθηρῶ χλοάζουσιν 10
 f 91^v | χρώματι περιυθέμενος διαφανῆς ἅπασι γένοιτο. οἷα μὲν οὖν ἔπραξε
 περὶ Κίλικας καὶ ὅσοις τοὺς δασμοὺς ἐπέβρισην ἄχθεσι παρὰ
 τὴν βασιλέως εὐμένειαν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἡγνόηται. ἐπανελθὼν
 δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς εἶδεν ὠκεανοὺς χρημάτων περιρρέοντας αὐτόν,
 πάντας μὲν ὠκειωμένους αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιούς γε μὴν ἐπὶ 15
 τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀξιωματῶν ἀνῆρπασεν, ὡς μηδένα
 καὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων αὐτοῦ ἔξω πλούτου βαθέος καὶ τιμῆς
 βουλευταῖς εὐκταίας ἀφεθῆναι γυμνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτρύφα, μει-
 ρακίοις ψιλοῖς καὶ μήπω <τῷ> λείῳ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρενοφανέσι
 καὶ πορνῶν ταῖς ἀκολάστοις συμβαλανευόμενος καὶ ἀκολασταί- 20
 νων τῷ πράττειν ἅμα καὶ πάσχειν, 'ἐξ ἑκατέρας ὠχρῶν νόσου,'
 ἔλκων τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων τὸν ἄκρατον οὕτως ἀφειδῶς, ὡς
 φορὰδην ἐκκεχυμένον ὑπὸ τῶν γυμνῶν ἀναβαστάζεσθαι, πρὸς
 ἀντιβολὴν ὀψων ἐπιχωννύντος τὸν οἶνον. οὐκ ἐξαρκουῖντος τῇ
 τρυφῇ οὐ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τῇ πόλει πορθμοῦ, οὐχ Ἑλλησπόντου 25
 σύμπαντος, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κτενός, οὐκ ἔλοπος, <οὐ> χρυσοστάθμου
 ἰχθύων ποικιλίας καταλειφθείσης τῷ πελάγει, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον
 οἱ τῆς τρυφῆς ὑπηρέται ἐτρέποντο, μὴ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἰχθύος, μὴ
 τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἄλσεσιν ὀρνέου συγχωρουμένου, μὴ Φάσιδος
 ὅλου ταῖς εὐωχίαις ἀποχρῶντος, ὡς ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς κτένας, 30

2 τὸν ὅποια δ' ἂν κατορωρυγμένον w τὸν ὅποια δ' ἂν κατορωρυγμένον P τὸν
 ὅποια δ' ἂν κατορωρυγμένον f b 3 ἀνασπῶντες f b w ἀναπῶντες P 9 εἰ μὴ f b w
 ἢ μὴ P 11 διαφανῆς f b w διαφανῇ P 12 δασμοὺς f b w δεσμούς P 14
 περιρρέοντας b w περιρέοντας P περιρρέοντας f 17 βαθέος b βαθέως P f w 18
 μειρακίοις f b w μηρακίοις P 19 <τῷ> w λείῳ w λῖω P b λείῳ (sic) f 21 τῷ
 by τὸ P f b w νόσου f b w νοσοῦς P 23 ἐκκεχυμένον P b w ἐκκεχυμένον (sic) f
 πρὸς <δ'> w 24 ἐπιχωννύντος w επιχωννυντος P ἐπιχωννύντων f b ἐξαρκουῖν-
 τος <δὲ> ? b 26 <οὐ> f w χρυσοστάθμου b w χρυσοστάθμους P χρυσοβαφοῦς
 f 27 καταλειφθείσης f b w καταληφθείσης P

himself, or even worse than he, had not gone about throughout both every city and district, sucking up the obol in whatever manner it might have been buried, dragging behind themselves an army of havoc-workers and hordes of Cappadocians!

62. Immense wealth, therefore, was amassed by the "most just" prefect, so that it even encouraged him to the point of usurpation, the more vulgar segment of the populace favoring him and assisting his attempts. Therefore, since he was paying court to it and drawing it to himself, he did not think that he was convincing it that he was a devotee of that faction unless, whenever crossing over to the East, he personally put on also a bright-colored green raiment and became distinctly seen by all. The sort of things, then, that he did in the case of the Cilicians and all the burdens with which he weighed down the taxes contrary to the emperor's benignity, is known well by absolutely everyone. When he had returned to us, however, as he saw oceans of money flowing around him, he hoisted into the first ranks of the state all who had become his friends, even his cooks, in fact, so that none of them, even of his purchased slaves, was left naked without vast wealth and honor desirable by municipal councillors. As for himself, however, he lived riotously, bathing together with adolescents who were bloomless and not yet masculine-looking because of the smoothness of their body and with licentious harlots, and gratifying his lust both by doing and by submitting, "becoming pallid as a result of both vices," and quaffing unmixed wine over burnt-offerings so unsparingly that, exhausted to prostration, he would be lifted up in a litter by his naked companions, because he used to pile on the wine to match the victuals. Since neither the strait which lies below the city, nor the Hellespont in its entirety, was quite enough for his fancy palate, since no scallop, no sturgeon, no variety of fish worth their weight in gold had been left any longer to the open sea, the servants of his luxurious palate turned to the Euxine, no fish being conceded to the sea, no fowl to the mountains or to the woodlands, the Phasis in its entirety not sufficing for his banquets, so

μη τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον πῆσει καταπιστεύοντας
ἑαυτοῦς, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀέρα, τοῖς ὀστράκοις ὡς εἰ πτέρυξι χρωμένους,
δοκεῖν ἐκκλίνειν τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀδηφαγίαν.

〈63〉 Ὅτι δὲ τυχὸν ἔλοπος τοῦ ἰχθύος μνήμη παρῆλθεν, περὶ
αὐτοῦ τὰ γνωσθέντα μοι παραθήσομαι. ἰχθύς ἐστὶν ἀπαλός, 5
διαυγής, ὡς <ὡς> εἰ πηκτὴν καὶ κρυσταλλώδη ἀλλ' οὐ ναστὴν καὶ
ἰνώδη δοκεῖν ἔχειν τὴν σάρκα· ζωτόκος μὲν καὶ μηρυκισμὸν
f 92^r τινα ἀνάγων. πέφυκε δὲ τοῖς εὐτυχέσιν ἐνδιατρίβειν τόποις·
ὄθεν μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κυμβάλων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρετίθετο, ὡς
φησιν Ἀθήναιος. ἐν δὲ τῷ νήχεσθαι σκέπει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ταῖς 10
παραπεφυκυῖαις αὐτῷ πτέρυξιν. καὶ ἔλοπα μὲν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης
καὶ πάντες οἱ φυσικοὶ καλοῦσιν καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος
ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ τῶν ἐν ἰχθύσι Φυσικῶν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκνιπὴν-
σερα, δι' ἃς αὐτοὶ γεγράφασιν αἰτίας. Κορνήλιος δὲ Νέπως καὶ
Λαβέριος ὁ ποιητής, ἄμφω Ῥωμαῖοι, φασὶν Ὀπτᾶτόν τινα ναύ- 15
κληρον τοῦ Καρπαθίου στόλου, οἰκεῖον Κλαυδίου βασιλέως,
ἐνεγκόντα ἐκ τῆς κάτω θαλάσσης ἔλοπας ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς Ὀστίας
καὶ Καμπανῆς περισπεῖραι θαλάσσης.

〈64〉 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα τοῦ ἰχθύος χάριν εἰρήσθω. περὶ δὲ
τὴν ἄνοδον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνακομιδὴν, τοῦ Καππαδόκου στιχηδόν 20
αὐτῷ παρεφαίνοντο κόραι σάνδουξι περιεχυμένοι τὰ μέλη, προ-
φανῶς ἐκκαλύπτουσαι ὅσα 'καλύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων ἔχρην.'
πρὸς βραχὺ δὲ τὸ προκείμενον ἀφεῖς, ὃ τι τυγχάνει σάνδουξ καὶ
ποῖον εἶδος ἐσθήματος γέγονε Λυδοῖς τὸ πάλαι, ἐρμηνεύσαι
πειράσομαι. σπουδῇ γέγονε τοῖς πολυχρύσοις τὸ πάλαι Λυδοῖς 25
εὐπορίᾳ χρυσοῦ, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Πακτωλὸς μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμόν
ἐχορήγει, καὶ χρυσοστήμονας διεργάζεσθαι χιτῶνας (καὶ μάρτυς ὁ
Πείσανδρος εἰπών· 'Λυδοὶ χρυσοχίτωνες'), καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνους
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους σάνδουκας (χιτῶνες δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν

1 εἰς τόπον f b w εἰστον P καταπιστεύοντας f b w καπιστεύοντας P 2 ὀστρά-
κοις b w οστρακοις P ὀστράκοις (sic) f ὡς εἰ by ὡσει P ὡσει f b w 6 ὡς <ὡς> εἰ
by ὡσει P ὡσει f b ὡς w οὐ ναστὴν f b w οὖν αστην P 7 ἰνώδη f b w εἰνώδη
P δοκεῖν w δοκεῖν P δοκῶν f b 13 ἀκνιπὴνσερα b ακνιπηνσερα P ἀκνιπὴνσερα
f w 14 Κορνήλιος δὲ Νέπως w κορνηλιος δὲ πῶς P Κορνήλιος Νέπως f b
15 Ὀπτᾶτόν w οπτάτον P Ὀπτάτον b Ὀπτάτον f 17 ἀνὰ f b w ἀνανα P
'Ὀστίας w οστειας P Ὀστησίας f Ὀστησίας b 18 Καμπανῆς w καμπάνης P
Καμπάνης f b 19 ab περὶ paragraphum ordiuntur f b 20 στιχηδόν f b w στη|χιδόν
P 23 τυγχάνει σάνδουξ b w τυγχανοισάνδουξ P τυγχάνοι σάνδουξ f 26 Πακτωλὸς
f b w πάκτωλος P 28 Πείσανδρος f b w πῖσανδρος P 29 καλουμένους σάνδουκας
f b w καλουμενους ἄνδουκας P

that the scallops seemed not to entrust themselves to their natural flight from place to place but to retire into the air, using their shells as if they were wings, in order to dodge the gluttony of the Cappadocians.

63. Because mention of the fish sturgeon happens to have presented itself, I shall set forth what I have learned about it. It is a soft, translucent fish so as to seem to have flesh that is compact and crystal-like, as it were, but not dense and fibrous. Whereas it is vivaporous, it also brings up a kind of cud. It is disposed by nature to abide in pleasant places; for this reason it used to be served before the Romans to the accompaniment of flutes and cymbals, as Athenaeus says. While swimming, it protects its eyes with the barbels that are grown at its sides. And, whereas Aristotle and all the naturalists and Aristophanes the Byzantian, too, in his *Compendium of the Physical Properties of Fishes* call it *elops*, the Romans call it *aquipenser* for the reasons which they themselves have written down. Cornelius Nepos and the poet Laberius, both Romans, say that a certain Optatus, commander of the Carpathian fleet, freedman of Emperor Claudius, brought sturgeons from the Southern Sea and scattered them about between the Ostian and Campanian Seas.

64. Let some such points stand said as regards this fish. As, however, the Cappadocian used to make his way up to the capital, or rather used to be escorted back, girls were seen at his side in troops, their bodily frame draped with *sandyces*, clearly revealing such parts as they "ought to have concealed from the eyes of males." I shall leave the present subject for the moment and try to explain what the *sandyx* is and what sort of garment the Lydians had in days of old. The Lydians, being rich in gold in days of old because of the abundance of gold such as which the Pactolus, including the Hermus, supplied to them, had the expertise also to produce gold-woven tunics (and Peisander attests this when he said "Lydians gold-robed"), and not only these but also the so-called *sandyces* (they were tunics invented by them; though of the linen ones

εὐρημένοι, λινῶν μὲν οἱ διειδέστατοι, σάνδουκος δὲ χυλῶ τῆς
 βοτάνης καταβάπτοντες αὐτούς· σαρκоеιδῆς δὲ ὁ χρώς τῆς βο-
 τάνης), οἷς αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Λυδῶν γυμνῶ τῷ σώματι ἐπισκιάζου-
 σαι οὐδὲν μὲν ἐδόκουν ἢ ἀέρα μόνον περιεῖσθαι, κάλλει δὲ
 f 92^v ἔξω τοῦ καλοῦ | καὶ σώφρονος ἐφείλκοντο τοὺς θεωμένους. 5
 τοιοῦτῳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χιτῶνι περιβαλοῦσα Ὀμφάλη ποτὲ
 αἰσχρῶς ἐρῶντα παρεθήλυνεν· ταύτῃ καὶ Σανδῶν Ἡρακλῆς
 ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς Ἀπουλήιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα-
 φομένῳ Ἑρωτικῷ καὶ Τράγκυλλος δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Ἐπισήμων Πορνῶν ἀνενηνόχασιν. ἐνθεν οἶμαι σανδόνας ἔτι καὶ νῦν 10
 πρὸς διασυρμοῦ λέγεσθαι, οὓς τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς
 τῶν σινδόνων σανδόνας ὡς ἂν εἰ σινδόνας οἶεται χρηματίζειν.
 <65> Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἂν τις ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει λέγοι, ἐγὼ δὲ
 πρὸς τὸν Καππαδόκην ἐπάνειμι. ἐπεσπῶντο δὲ αὐτὸν πόρνοι ὑπ’
 ἄλλων πορνῶν γυμνοφανῶν βασταζόμενον φιλήμασιν ἐκλύτοις 15
 πρὸς μίξιν αὐτίκα βιαζομένοις. ὁ δὲ κεχυμένος ἐκ τῶν προτει-
 νομένων ὄψων τε καὶ ποτῶν πρὸς κιναιδῶν ἄλλων ἐλάμβανεν·
 τοσαῦτα δὲ ἦν καὶ οὕτω μαλακά, ὡς ἔμετον αὐτῷ κινεῖν, μηκέτι
 χωροῦντος τοῦ στόματος, χειμάρρου δὲ δίκην ἐξαυλακίζοντος
 τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἐξολισθαίνουσι τοῖς κόλαξι 20
 τῷ στυλινῷ τῶν ψηφολογημάτων ἐπιφέροντος. οὕτω διετέλει
 σηπόμενος, συνάπτων ταῖς νυξὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ὥστε πέρας μὲν
 αὐτῷ ἐστιωμένῳ τὸν φωσφόρον, ἀρχὴν δὲπραγμάτων τὸν ἔσπερον
 γίνεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τυχὸν ἐμπόδισμα ταῖς ῥαθυμίαις ἐγγένοιτο,
 ἀπολέγει καθ’ ἅπαξ τῷ Τεμένει τῆς Δίκης (Σήκηρτον αὐτὸ κα- 25
 λοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις), φαίνεσθαι μόνον ὑπομένων ἐν αὐτῷ
 ὅτε περιφερόμενος τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῶν σιτίων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους
 τῆς τάξεως ταῖς ποιναῖς ἐξέθετο. δικαστὰς δὲ προβάλλεται ἐπὶ
 τῆς βασιλέως Στοᾶς, ὥστε, ἐκείνων τῶν ἐπὶ χρήμασι δικῶν
 f 93^r ἀκροω|μένων, αὐτόν, ὡς ἐφθήμεν εἰπόντες, ἀγρυπνεῖν. 30

1 εὐρημένοι f b w εὐρημενοι P 2 καταβάπτοντες f b καταβαπτοντες P κα-
 τέβαπτον ? b κατέβαπτον w 3 οἷς w οὓς P f b οἷς mal. f 7 Ἡρακλῆς b w
 ηράκλῆς P Ἡρακλῆς f 8 Ἀπουλήιος b αποληῖος P Ἀπολήιος f Απολήιος w
 9 Ἑρωτικῷ by ἐρωτικῷ P ἐρωτικὸν f ἐρωτικῷ b w Τράγκυλλος b w τράκυλλος
 P Τράκυλλος f 12 ὡς ἂν εἰ by ὡς ἀνὶ P ὡσανεῖ f b w 13 παρεκβάσει f b w
 ἐκπάρα|παρεκβάσει P ab ἐγὼ paragraphum ordiuntur f b 16 μίξιν P f μῖξιν b w
 18 ἔμετον w αιμετὸν P ἐμετὸν f b αὐτῷ f b w αὐτὸ P 24 ἐγγένοιτο f b w
 ἐγγένοιτο P 25 ἀπολέγει w απολέγειν P ἀπολέγειν f b excidit aliquid aut leg.
 ἀπολέγει f καθ’ ἅπαξ by καθάπαξ P καθάπαξ f b w Σήκηρτον by σίκηρτον P σή-
 κρητον f b w 26 αὐτῷ f b w αυτοῖς P 29 Στοᾶς by στοᾶς P f b w 30 αὐτόν
 f b w αυτων P ὡς f b ως P an οἷς ? b οἷς w ἐφθήμεν w εφθην P ἐφθην f b
 εἰπόντες w ειποντες P εἰπών f b ἀγρυπνεῖν P f b w an ἐναγρυπνεῖν ? b

they were the sheerest, yet they used to dye them with the juice of the sandalwood plant; the color of this plant is fleshlike), with which the women of the Lydians, casting a shade over their naked body, seemed to be wearing nothing but air alone and by beauty beyond morality and decency used to entice those who gazed at them. When Omphale at one time had clothed Heracles with such a tunic when he was disgracefully in love with her, she made him womanish; for this reason, in fact, Heracles was referred to as *Sandon*, as Apuleius the Roman philosopher in his work titled *Eroticus* and before him Tranquillus, too, in his work *On Famous Courtesans* have mentioned. Hence it is, I suppose, that still even to this day *sandones* are spoken of disparagingly, which, from the construction of sheets, the common folk believe are called *sandones*, "sheets," as it were.

65. One had to say such things by way of digression, as it were, but I now return to the Cappadocian. Harlots were wont to entice him, as he was being embraced by other naked-appearing harlots, with lascivious kisses which forthwith impelled him to sexual intercourse; and, after he had been worn out, he used to taste of both the delicacies and drinks offered him by other catamites. So many and so frothy were they as to cause him to vomit when his mouth no longer could contain them but, in the manner of a torrent, belched out what he had eaten and imposed no small danger on his flatterers, who, because of the glaze of the tessellated pavements, used to slip away. In this manner he continued to rot away, joining the days to the nights, so that, while the morning star marked the end of his dining, the evening star marked the beginning of his business.¹ In order, however, that interference with his pleasures might not happen to occur, he renounced on each occasion the Temple of Justice (it is called *Secretum* in the courts of justice), undertaking to make his appearance in it only when, turning mad because of the immoderation of his food, he had picked out the most distinguished men of the civil order for punishments. He had judges appointed at "the Emperor's Stoa," so that, while they were listening to the lawsuits that pertained to money, he might remain awake at night in such manner as I have just recounted.

<66> Οὐκ ἦν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ δικηγόρῳ σπουδὴ λόγῳ κοσμήσαι
 τὴν συνηγορίαν πείθειν ἄρχοντα δυναμένῳ μέγιστον, οὐδενὸς τὸ
 λοιπὸν ἐπὶ Σηκρήτου πραττομένου, οὐ πρεσβείας ἢ μονομεροῦς
 ἐντυχίας ἢ διδασκαλικοῦ ἢ μετρήσεως ἢ ἐξισώσεως ἢ τινος
 ἑτέρου τῶν πάντων, ὥστε λοιπὸν οὐδένα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰω- 5
 θότων εὐδοκιμεῖν περὶ λόγους τοιοῦτοις τισὶν ἐπαγρυπνεῖν. τίτι
 γὰρ ἡμελλέ τις ἀρέσκειν ἢ τίνος χάριν τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀντέχεσθαι
 ὅτε μηδὲ μάρτυς ἦν τις ἢ ὅλως ἐπαινεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῶν δικαστη-
 ρίων δυνάμενος; ἔνθεν ἀπόλωλεν ἡ τάξις καί, πραγμάτων οὐκ
 ὄντων, ἀσχήμων ἐρημία κατερρύπωσε τὸ δικαστήριον· οἰμωγαί 10
 τε καὶ δάκρυα τῶν πρὸς τὸ πέρας τῆς στρατείας ἀφικνουμένων,
 εἰς γῆρας ἄπορον καταφερομένων. εἰκότως οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ στρα-
 τείαν ἀπήγγελλεν, τὸ πρὶν εἰωθός, ὑπὲρ χιλίους κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον
 ταχυγράφους στρατευομένους τοῖς παυομένοις τῶν πόνων,
 μάλιστα τῷ λεγομένῳ ματρικουλαρίῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν καταλόγων 15
 φύλακι, πόρον οὐ μικρὸν περιποιεῖν. καὶ ταύτης ἐγὼ μετέσχον
 τῆς ἀστοχίας, μηδὲ τὴν ἐφήμερον δαπάνην ἐν τῷ πληροῦν τὴν
 στρατείαν εὐράμενος. μαρτυρούσης γάρ μοι τῆς Ἀληθείας, ἕνα
 ταχυγράφων παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἑνιαυτὸν τοῦ πληρώματος οὐκ οἶδα
 στρατευσάμενον, πολυτρόπου τῆς ἀφορμῆς τυγχανούσης· πρῶτον 20
 μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι παντελοῦς ἀπορίας, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τῆς
 τῶν καλουμένων προβατωριῶν δυσπορίστου μεταλήψεως· καὶ
 ὅπως, ἐρῶ.

<67> Ἡ παλαιότης πέντε χρυσίνους οἶδε παρεχομένους τοῖς
 μεμοριαλίοις ὑπὲρ προβατώριος ἀδιούτωρος πρὸς τὴν ἔπαρχον 25
 f 93^v ἐξουσίαν καταπεμπομένης καὶ τότε, ἡνίκα|κατὰ τὸν μυθικὸν
 ὁ χρυσοῦς αἰὼν ἐξέλαμπεν· νῦν δέ, ὅτε οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἔστιν εὐρεῖν
 τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ ἀρκοῦν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μοχθηρίαν,

1 οὐ f b w ου P οὐ(δὲ) ? b λόγῳ w λόγων P f b 2 <ῆ>πείθειν b δυναμένῳ
 f w δυναμένῳ P δυναμένων b οὐδενὸς f b w οὐδενός P 3 Σηκρήτου by σηκρή-
 του P f b w 5 πάντων πάντων P alterum del. f b w 6 τοιοῦτοις b w τοιοῦτους
 P τοιοῦτους f 7 ἡμελλέ w ἡμελλεν P ἔμελλέ f b ἀρέσκειν P ἀρκέσειν f b w
 ἀρέσκειν ? b 10 κατερρύπωσε b w κατερρίπωσεν P κατερρίπωσε f κατηρίπωσε
 f^l 43 11 ἀφικνουμένων f b w αφικνουμενον P 12 γῆρας f b w πηρας P 15
 μάλιστα τῷ f b μαλιστα τω P μάλιστα <δὲ> τῷ ? b an <καὶ> μάλιστα τῷ ? b <καὶ>
 μάλιστα τῷ w 18 στρατείαν f b w στρατιάν P Ἀληθείας by ἀληθείας P f b w
 20 πρῶτον f b w πρωτῆ P 21 τῆς ἐν f b w τοῖς εν (corr. in τῆς εν) P 22 προ-
 βατωριῶν w προβατορίων P προβατοριῶν f b 24 χρυσίνους P f b w 25 με-
 μοριαλίοις f b w μεμορλιαλίοις P προβατωρίας w προβατορίας P προβατορίας f b
 ἀδιούτωρος f b αδιούτορος P ἀδιούτορος w 26 κατὰ τὸν μυθικὸν w κατα τον
 μυθικον P κατὰ τὸ μυθικὸν f b

66. No lawyer, therefore, any longer had any zeal to adorn his pleading with a speech capable of convincing a very great magistrate when nothing was any longer being transacted at the *Secretum*, no intercession or unilateral petition or elucidation or assessment or equalization or any other thing at all, so that no one of those who earlier were accustomed to be highly esteemed for speeches was vigilant any longer over such matters. For whom was one to please, or why should one cling to plaudits when there was not even a witness or anyone at all able to commend the form of the courts of justice? Hence the staff perished; and, since there were no transactions, an ugly desolation befouled the court of justice, and those who were coming to the close of their service lamented and wept, sinking as they were into an old age of poverty. Naturally, then, no one applied for service, although formerly it was customary for upwards of a thousand speedwriters, when entering the service each year, to procure no small income for those who were retiring from their duties, especially for the so-called *matricularius*, namely, "custodian of the registers." I shared in this ill-fortune, too, because not even my daily expense had I obtained while fulfilling this service. For, as Truth bears witness to me, I do not know of a single speedwriter who served throughout the entire year of completing the appointment. The reason varied: first of all there was complete penury in transactions, and then the acquisition, too, of the so-called *probatoria* was hard to procure; and I shall explain how.

67. Antiquity knows that five gold coins were presented to the *memoriales* for a *probatoria adiutoris* when it was dispatched to the prefectural office even at that time when, according to the Poet of myth, the golden age was at its brightest. Nowadays, however, when not even a name can be found for our time sufficient to express the depravity

εἰκοσι χρυσῶν ἔκριναν αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι τὴν προβατωρίαν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν μηδένα τολμᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἔχειν τοσοῦτου χρήματος προβατωρίαν πορίζεσθαι, τύπον πραγματικὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεμύζησαν μηδενὶ συγχωροῦντα γραμμάτων ἄνευ βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις διαβαίνειν. τὸ δὲ ὅλον πρὸς ἀτιμίας 5 ἐπράττετο τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῦ νόμου δόντος ἀνέκαθεν αὐτῇ, δι' οἰκείων ψήφων οὓς ἂν ἐθέλη τοῖς ταχυγράφοις τοῦ δικαστηρίου συναριθμεῖν· καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι ἀπὸ διαλαλιᾶς στρατευσαμένους, διαπρέψαντάς τε ἅμα καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐντίμως ἀποθεμένους. καὶ ταύτης δὴ οὖν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν σχολαζούσης, 10 εἰς παντελῇ δυστυχίαν ἤλασε τὰ τῆς τάξεως· τὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ματρικουλαρίων ριζόθεν ἀνασπασθὲν ὅλωλε φρόντισμα. καὶ τί λέγω, αὐτῶν πάντων καθ' ὁμαλοῦ μετὰ τὸ τῆς στρατείας πέρας ἐν ἀπορίᾳ αἰσχυρᾷ ὀδυνηρὸν τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον παρασυρόντων; τὴν οὖν στρατείαν ἀπεθέμην τεσσαρά- 15 κοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς προσεδρεύσας καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ πληρώματος ἀπενεγκάμενος. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆσδε τῆς τραγωδίας, ἀποχώσης τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πλὴν καὶ ἄλλης χρῆναι νομίζω ἀφηγήσεως ἄψασθαι. 20

〈68〉 Νόμος ἀρχαῖος ἦν πάντα μὲν τὰ ὅπως οὖν πραττόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις, τάχα δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν ἀρχῶν, τοῖς Ἱταλῶν ἐκφωνεῖσθαι ῥήμασιν. οὐ παραβαθέντος, ὥς εἴρηται, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως, τὰ τῆς ἐλαττώσεως προὔβαινεν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν 94[†] Εὐρώπην πραττόμενα|πάντα τὴν ἀρχαιότητα διεφύλαξεν ἐξ 25 ἀνάγκης διὰ τὸ τοὺς αὐτῆς οἰκήτορας, καίπερ Ἕλληνας ἐκ τοῦ πλείονος ὄντας, τῇ τῶν Ἱταλῶν φθέγγεσθαι φωνῇ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δημοσιεύοντας. ταῦτα μετέβαλεν ὁ Καππαδόκης εἰς γραῶδη τινὰ καὶ χαμαΐζηλον ἀπαγγελίαν, οὐχ ὥς σαφηνείας φροντίζων, ἀλλ' ὅπως πρόχειρα ὄντα καὶ κοινὰ μηδεμίαν ἐμποιοῖ δυσχέρειαν 30 τοῖς κατὰ σκοπὸν 〈αὐτοῦ〉 πληροῦν τὰ μηδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀνή-

1 & 3 προβατωρίαν w προβατοριαν P προβατορίαν f b 4 ἐξεμύζησαν f b w
 εξεμοΐζησαν P 8 αὐτὸς f b w αὐτος P διαλαλιᾶς b w διαλαλ[...] P διαλα-
 λίας f 9 διαπρέψαντάς f b w διαπρεψαντες P 12 ματρικουλαρίων f b w ματρικου-
 λαρίων P φρόντισμα f b w φρόντίσμα P 13 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ b καθομαλοῦ P f w
 16 μηδὲν f b w μηδε P 18 λοιπὸν f b w λοιπὸ P 21 ὅπως οὖν P ὅπως οὖν f b
 w 24 〈ἦν〉 ἄλλως w προὔβαινεν by προύβαινεν P προύβαινε f b προύβαινε w
 29 σαφηνείας b w σαφηνίας P f 30 ἐμποιοῖ by εμποιεῖ P ἐμποιεῖ f b w δυσχέρειαν
 f b w δυσχεριαν P 31 〈αὐτοῦ〉 f b w

therein, they decided that the *probatoria* be given out by them for twenty gold coins. When they had perceived, however, that no one dared, or rather was not able, to procure for himself a *probatoria* at such a sum of money, they extracted for themselves a pragmatic sanction which permitted no one without an imperial letter to go over to service under the prefects. The whole matter turned out to be a disgrace for the magistracy, for the law from the beginning had given it the right through its own decisions to enroll among the speedwriters of the court of justice whomever it wished, and I myself know that many who had joined the service from verbal order both distinguished themselves and at the same time laid aside the belt with honor. And just as soon, then, as this system was no longer operative, the staff's fortunes plunged into utter misfortune, and the office of the so-called *matricularii*, because it had been torn up from its roots, perished. What, pray, should I say when all of them uniformly after the completion of their service drag out the remaining time of their life distressingly in disgraceful poverty? Now, I laid aside the service after having attended to it for forty years and having gained nothing except the title of its completion. And, while it would be good to depart now from this tragedy, its outcome sufficing to point out the truth, however, I think that I must touch on still another story.

68. There was an ancient law that all matters being transacted in any way whatsoever by the prefects, and perhaps by the other magistracies as well, be expressed in the language of the Italians. When this law had been sidestepped, as I have stated, since it could not have been otherwise, the process of reduction began to advance. All matters, however, that were being transacted in Europe preserved out of necessity the ancient practice on account of the fact that its inhabitants, though they were Greeks for the most part, spoke in the language of the Italians, and especially those who conducted public business. The Cappadocian changed that into a haggish and base idiom, not because he cared for clarity, as he alleged, but in order that it might be handy and colloquial and cause no difficulty to those who, in accordance with his aim, dared to fill in what from no aspect belonged to them. For he conducted

κοντα τολμῶσιν. πράττων γὰρ καὶ γράφων καὶ καινοτομῶν καὶ
 ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου σαλεύων τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, οὐ τοῖς ἀρμοδίοις
 τῶν χωρῶν ἐπιστάταις, οὓς καλοῦσι τρακτευτάς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κλι-
 ματάρχας, ἢ διαψηφισταῖς ἐδίδου κατὰ τὸ σὺνηθες τὰ πραττόμενα 5
 πρὸς πλήρωσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς
 διὰ τῶν οἰκείων πληροῦσθαι τὰ σύμβολα ἐκέλευσεν, τῶν εἰωθό-
 των παρέχεσθαι δαπανημάτων τοῖς ἀρμοδίοις πληρωταῖς αὐτὸς
 γινόμενος κύριος. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσήκον τολμωμένης
 τῶν χαρτῶν ἐκδόσεως μεγίστων ἀνισταμένων τοῖς ὑποτελέσι 10
 δυσχερῶν, αὐτὸς ἡγανάκτει καὶ θανάτους ἐπέφερε τοῖς οὐκ ἐπι-
 σταμένοις τὴν τῶν ἀνέδην καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀπολελυμένων χαρτῶν
 δύναμιν. καὶ νόμος ἐκράτησεν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πάντες ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ
 γράφουσι καὶ πληροῦσι καὶ ἀπολύουσι τὰ παντελῶς αὐτοῖς
 ἀγνοούμενα, τὸ πρὶν μυρίοις κατησφαλισμένα τρόποις, τοῖς τε
 λεγομένοις κοττιδιανοῖς, οἷον εἰ ἐφημέροις, τοῦ ἄβ ἄκτις, τοῖς 15
 τε προσφόροις σκρινίοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχουσι
 τὸν πόρον. καὶ τί μακρηγορῶ; πάντα παντελῶς διαπέπτωκε
 μηδεμίαν ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν πρὶν κατορθωμάτων διασφύζοντα.

〈69〉 Οὕτως τοῦ μιαιρωτάτου πολέμιου τῶν νόμων διαγενομέ-
 f 94^v νου, ἐπεστράφη θεός, ἐκδοῦναι τὸν αἵτιον | τῶν κακῶν ταῖς 20
 ἰδίαις πράξεσι ψηφισάμενος, πείδων αὐτὸν ὡς 'ἔστι Δίκη Νέ-
 μεσίς τε κακοῖς κακότητα φέρουσα.' τοῦ γὰρ ἡπιωτάτου βα-
 σιλέως μηδὲν τούτων ἐπισταμένου, πάντων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄκρα-
 τον δυναστείαν, καίπερ ἀδικουμένων, συνηγορούντων τῷ πο-
 νηρῷ Καππαδόκῃ καὶ τοῖς πάντων ἐξοχωτάτοις ἐπαίνοις ἐπ' 25
 αὐτῷ παρὰ βασιλεῖ χρωμένων (τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐτόλμησε καὶ μόνης
 ἐπαίνων χωρὶς μνησθῆναι τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας;), μόνη ἡ
 ὁμόζυγος γυνή, κρεῖττον τῶν ὄντων ὅτε δὴ ποτε ἐπὶ συνέσει
 καὶ συμπαθείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀγρυπνοῦσα, μὴ φέρουσα τὸ
 λοιπὸν περιορᾶν τὴν πολιτείαν βυθιζομένην, οὐ μετρίοις λόγοις 30
 ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ὀπλισθεῖσα διαβαίνει, ἅπαντα αὐτὸν τὰ τέως

3 κλιματάρχας w κληματούρχας (quod corr. in κλιματάρχας) P κληματούρχας
 f b fort. leg. κλιματάρχας f 4 ἐδίδου f b w δίδου (postea addito e) P 8 γινόμενος
 P γενόμενος f b w 10 δυσχερῶν f δυσχερων P δυσχειρῶν b w 11 ἀνέδην f w
 ἀναίδην P b 15 οἷον εἰ by οἶονει P οἷον f b w ἄβ ἄκτις f b w αβακτις P 16
 προσφόροις f b w προσφορος P 19 Οὕτως by οὕτως P Οὕτω f b w 20
 ἐπεστράφη θεός w ἐπεστράφη θεὸς P θεὸς ἐπεστράφη f b 21 Δίκη f δίκη P b w
 Νέμεσις f νέμεσις P νέμεσις b w 22 ἡπιωτάτου f b w ηπιστατου (quod corr. in
 ηπιστατου) P 24 δυναστείαν f b w δυναστίαν P 28 κρεῖττον by κριττον P
 κρεῖττων f b w ὅτε δὴ ποτε by ο τε δη ποτε P ὀτεδήποτε f b w

business, wrote, innovated, and in every way weakened the ancient practice and did not give the business that was being transacted to the proper overseers of the regions, called *tractatores*, namely, “regional governors,” or to accountants, to be filled in conformably to the established custom in order that nothing might be done contrary to the law, but he ordered the documents to be filled in through the agency of his own men, gaining himself authority over the expenditure-records which were wont to be handed over to their proper document-completers. Then, whenever very great difficulties arose for the taxpayers as a result of the fact that the issuance of documents was not undertaken conformably to proper procedure, he himself became vexed and inflicted sentences of death upon those who did not understand the power of the documents that had been carelessly and haphazardly issued. And a custom prevailed since his time whereby all haphazardly write, fill in, and issue documents that are totally not understood by them, whereas formerly they had been safeguarded in countless ways – by both the so-called *cottidiana*, that is to say, “daily registers,” of the *ab actis* and by the appropriate *scrinia*, and also by those very persons who got their income therefrom. Why, pray, should I speak at great length? Everything has completely collapsed, preserving no cognizance of erstwhile perfections.

69. Because this most abominable enemy of the laws had behaved in such a manner, God took heed of him, having resolved to turn over the author of these evils to his own deeds, convincing him that “there is Justice and Nemesis, bringing distress to the wicked.” For, since our most benignant emperor had no knowledge of these things, and all, though wrongfully treated, used to speak in defense of the wicked Cappadocian on account of his untempered exercise of power and to indulge in the most eminent praises of all on his behalf before the emperor (for who would have dared to mention without adulation even his name alone?), only his co-reigning spouse, being more strongly vigilant than such as have ever at any time been endowed with understanding and sympathy towards those wronged, not bearing any longer to overlook the fact that the state was being ruined, armed with grievances that were not light, went to the emperor and informed him of all

διαλανθάνοντα διδάσκουσα, καὶ ὡς κινδυνεῦοι οὐ τὸ ὑπήκοον
μόνον ἐναπολείσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐγγὺς σαλευέσθαι
τὴν βασιλείαν. εἰκὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καλὸς ὢν καὶ πρὸς ἀμύνην
τῶν κακῶν βραδύς, ἀμηχάνους ἀπορίαις εἶχετο, μηδὲ ἀποκινεῖν
τὸν καταστροφέα τοῦ πολιτεύματος εὐρίσκων. οὕτως ἔτυχεν, 5
οἷα κακῶς ταράζας τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπορία καὶ
συγχύσει ἀδιακρίτῳ σκοτώσας, ἀλλήλαις τὰς λεγομένας ἐπινε-
μήσεις ἐμμίξας, ὡς μηδέποτε πέρας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς
μηδέ τινα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ὅλως τοῦ δικαίου περὶ ἀγρ(υ-
πν)οῦντα τολμᾶν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς διοικήσεως. ἐπεκούρει δὲ ὁμως 10
τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καθ' ὅσον ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν.

〈70〉 Οἱ δὲ ὑποτελεῖς, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ
ἀφεθείσης περιουσίας διὰ τὰς συνωνὰς καὶ ἀγγαρείας καὶ τοὺς
ἐξ αὐτῶν πόρους, γυναικῶν τε σὺν ἐπιμαζίοις βρέφεσιν ἀχθο-
φορουσῶν καὶ διακομιζουσῶν τὰ εἶδη ἐκ μεσογείου μακρᾶς ἐπὶ 15
θάλασσαν, ἀνελεεῖς καὶ ἄταφοι ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας θάνατοι, τῶν
f 95^r τε τοὺς δασμοὺς πρατ[το]μένων πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυσημάντους
ἐφόδους αἰτούντων κηνσουάλια, ὀλογραφικά, βουλευτικά, ὁμό-
δουλα, ὁμόκηνησα, ἀφαντικά, ἐγκαταλελειμμένα, πολιτικά,
ταμιακά, δηπουτᾶτα, ῥεκολλᾶτα, ῥελεγάτα, ῥεφοῦσα, κερατισμοὺς, 20
ῥοπάς, παραλλαγάς, τόκους, ἐνδοματικά, μητατωρικά καὶ μετὰ
τὴν τούτων ἀνελεῖ φόρων ἀπαίτησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίσματος ἄλλων
μυρίων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕδρας, ἀνισταμένων κακῶν τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν
ὑπεράνω, μεριτικῶν, σουφραγίων, [.]ίμων, κο-

3 εἰκὸς b w εἰκως P Εἰκὸς f ὡς εἰκὸς ? an εἰκότως ? b ἀμύνην w αμυνήν P
ἄμυναν f b 6 κακῶς P w κακὸς f κακός b πράγματα f b w πραγμᾶ P 9
περὶ ἀγρ(υπν)οῦντα w περιαγρουν|τα P περιαγροῦντα f b περιαλγοῦντα ? an πε-
ριεργοῦντα ? b 10 ὁμως τοῖς f b w ομοίως P 11 καθ' ὅσον P f b w 13 ἀγ-
γαρείας w αγγαριους P ἀγγαρίους f b 14 ἐπιμαζίοις f b w επιμαζήους P 15 εἶδη
f b w ἤδη P 16 ἀνελεεῖς P f w ἀνηλεεῖς b ἄταφοι f b αταφοι P ἀτάφους w
θάνατοι f b θανατοι P θανάτους w 17 τοὺς f b w τοῖς P 18 ἐφόδους w
ἐφο[....] P [.....] f b αἰτούντων w [.....] P f b 20 δηπουτᾶτα w [.....]τατα
P δεποτάτα f δεπουτάτα b ῥεκολλᾶτα w [.]e[....]ατα P ῥεκολάτα f b ῥελεγάτα w
[.]ελεκατα P omis. f b ῥεφοῦσα w [.....] P ῥέφουσα f b κερατισμοὺς by κε-
ραστισμοις P κεραστισμοὺς f w κεραστισμούς b 21 παραλλαγάς by [.....]ᾱ[.]
P παραλλα.α f b παραλλαγάς w τόκους P w τόπους f b 22 ἀνελεῖ φόρων w
...φορον P ...ελληφορον f b 24 ὑπεράνω, μεριτικῶν w [.....]ροιτικῶν P ὑπὲρ
ἀνωμεριτικῶν f b σουφραγίων by σουσουπαιδων P σουσος παιδων f b σουφρα-
γίων wίμων wίμων P f b κομιτατησίων f b w κομητατησιων P

the things that were hitherto escaping his notice and that there was the peril that not only the subjects would be ruined by such evil doings but that even the empire itself was on the verge of tottering. Naturally, then, the emperor, being good, though slow in requiting the wicked, was in the grip of baffling deadlocks and was not able to dislodge the wrecker of the government. Since the latter had badly deranged the affairs of state and had benighted the taxes with perplexity and indissoluble confusion, he succeeded in muddling up the so-called assessments in such a way that there might never be an end to his magistracy nor any member of the senate or anyone at all vigilant concerning justice might venture to assume the administration. Nevertheless, however, the emperor attempted to assist his subjects so far as was humanly possible.

70. The taxpayers, because they no longer had possessions, nay, none had been left them on account of preemptions, forced labors, and the hardships therefrom, and their womenfolk, who, with infants at their breast, were bearing burdens and transporting their produce from the distant hinterland to the sea, were unpitied and unburied corpses in the course of their journey, both because those who were exacting taxes, which were assaults of various sorts and of many names, were demanding *censualia*, *holographika*, *bouleutika*, *homodoula*, *homocensa*, *aphantika*, *enkataleimmena*, *politika*, *tamiaka*, *deputata*, *recollata*, *relegata*, *refusa*, *kera-tismoι*, *ropai*, *parallagai*, *tokoi*, *endomatika*, *metatorika*, and, after the merciless exaction of these taxes in currency, other countless evils were rising up toweringly against the taxpayers as if from a hydra—*meritika*, *suffragia*, [. . . .], *comitatensia*, *monoptera*, *monastika*, *apemelemena*, *leuko-*

μιτατησίων, μονοπτέρων, μοναστικῶν, ἀπημελημένων, λευκοχρῦ-
 σων, καὶ τὸ πέρας τὰς ἐνιδρυμένας ἀεὶ στρατιάς καὶ τῶν ὑπερ-
 μαχούντων τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν προνοουμένων λαφυραγωγούς
 ἀρπαγᾶς βίας τε καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν παραπορευομένων διὰ τῶν
 ἐπαρχιῶν στρατευμάτων ὅσα κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τοὺς πο- 5
 λέμους ὁρμᾶν συμβαίνει, δι' ὃ κουφοτέραν τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν
 βαρβάρων τῆς ἐπιστασίας τῶν οἰκείων τὸ ὑπήκοον ἑαυτῷ συλ-
 λογίζεται. διὰ ταύτας τοίνυν τὰς αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ περιστάσεις,
 τὰς ἐνεγκούσας αὐτοὺς ἀπολείποντες ἅπαντες καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν μᾶλ-
 λον ἢ κάμνειν σωφρόνως ἐθέλοντες, οἷα μὴδὲ συγχωροῦμενοι, 10
 τὴν βασιλέως πόλιν ὄχλων ἀχρήστων ἐνεφόρησαν· καὶ πολὺς
 ἦν ὁ νόμος πρὸς ἀπειρίαν παισμάτων τῷ πλήθει συνεκτεινόμε-
 νος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τὸ πρὶν ἡμελημένους ἄρχοντας προαγαγεῖν,
 πραιτώρας τε καὶ κυαισίτωρας, κατὰ τὴν ποτε κρατήσασαν παρὰ
 Ῥωμαίοις συνήθειαν, ὡς προαφηγησάμεθα. τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτή- 15
 μασι τοῦ δήμου ἐπεξιόντων σφοδρότερον, ἀναστὰν τὸ πλήθος
 καὶ εἰς κακοδαίμονα συναχθὲν ὁμόνοιαν πᾶσαν ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐνέπρησεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν Καππαδόκης ἄφαντος ἐγένετο, ἀρχῆς δὲ
 λαβόμενον τὸ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν τῆς αὐλῆς εἰσόδων, εἶτα ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ἐπὶ τὸ Πρῶτον Ἱερὸν, ἐξ οὗ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ Γερουσίαν, ἦν 20
 f 95^v καλοῦσι Σενᾶτον κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου Πανήγγυριν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ
 τὴν ἀγοράν, ἦν καλοῦσι Ζευξίππον ἀπὸ Ζευξίππου βασιλέως,
 ὑφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ὁγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος Μεγαρεῖς εἰς
 Βυζάντιον ἀποικίησαντες πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὕτως
 ἐπωνόμασαν, καθάπερ τὰς Χαριδήμου Στοᾶς οἱ Κύζικον οἰκί- 25
 σαντες Μεγαρεῖς· καὶ οὗτος βασιλεῦσαι Ἑλλήνων μνημονεύεται,
 ὡς ὁ Κάστωρ ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ Χρονικῶν ἀπέθετο. τὸ γὰρ δημόσιον
 βαλανεῖον Σεβήρειον ἀπὸ Σεβήρου, Ῥωμαίων ἡγησαμένου, παρω-

1 μοναστικῶν w μονασ[.....] P μονα... f b ἀπημελημένων w [.....]ενων P
 ἀπηλλημένων f b 2 καὶ τὸ w ... P f b ἐνιδρυμένας ἀεὶ στρατιάς w ἐν... P f b 5
 πολέμους bis scriptum P alterum del. f b w 6 δι' ὃ by διὸ P διὸ f b w 7 οἰκείων
 f b w οἰκίων P 8 αἰτίας f b w ἀρτίας P 11 τὴν P f b w fort. leg. <εἰς> τὴν f
 ὄχλων ἀχρήστων w ὄχλον|ἄχρηστον P ὄχλον ἄχρηστον f ὄχλου ἀχρήστου b 12
 συνεκτεινόμενος f b w συνεκτινομενος P 14 πραιτώρας f b πραιτορας P πραιτο-
 ράς w κυαισίτωρας f b κυεσιτορας P κυαισίτορας w 17 κακοδαίμονα b w
 κακοδαιμονας P κακοδαίμονας f ὁμόνοιαν b w ὁμόνοιαν P ὁμονοίας f 20 ἐξ
 οὗ w ἐξῶν P ἐξ ὧν f b Γερουσίαν by γερουσίαν P f b w 21 Σενᾶτον by ση-
 νάτον P σήνατον f σένατον b σενᾶτον w κατὰ τὴν f b w κατα την P fort. leg.
 καὶ τὴν f¹ 44 Πανήγγυριν by πανήγγυριν P πανήγυριν f b w 23 Μεγαρεῖς f b w
 μεσγαρις P 24 πρὸς τιμὴν f b w πρὸς τιμην P 25 Χαριδήμου f b w χαρειδήμους
 P Στοᾶς by στοᾶς P f b w οἰκίσαντες f b w οικησαντες P 26 καὶ οὗτος w
 καὶ [.....] P b καὶ γὰρ f 28 Σεβήρειον b w [..]βηριον P Σεβήριον f

chrysa – and finally because of armies that were always billeted among them and the booty-gathering robberies against them by the protectors who were looking after them, and acts of extortion and deeds of destruction by the military forces that were marching through the provinces, such as in accordance with necessity happen to set out to wars, on which account the subjects reckon an invasion by barbarians lighter for themselves than domination by their own people. For these reasons, therefore, or rather circumstances, all, abandoning the lands of their birth and wishing to idle rather than to work soberly, since they were not even allowed to do that, filled the sovereign's city with useless mobs. And the law, in view of the endless number of offenses, was increasingly extended along with their multitude, so that even magistrates that had hitherto been inactive, *praetores* and also *quaesitores*, were brought forth in accordance with the custom which had once prevailed among the Romans, as I have previously recounted. Since these officials, however, launched out rather vehemently against the crimes of the people, the multitude rebelled and, having united in one ill-starred design, burned almost the entire city. And the Cappadocian disappeared, but the fire got its start at the gates of the court. Then from there it spread to the First Temple. From the latter it leapt to the Council-house of Julian called *Senatus* after the Assembly Hall of Augustus. From this it proceeded to the forum called *Zeuxippus* after King Zeuxippus, under whom, in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, Megarians who had emigrated to Byzantium called the forum thus in his honor, just as the Megarians who had colonized Cyzicus named the Arcades of Charidemus after him. The latter, too, is mentioned as having reigned over the Greeks, as Castor recorded in his *Epitome of Annals*. As for the public bath, it was named *Severum* after Severus, a commander of the Romans, who,

νόμασται, ὃς ἀρθρίτιδι νόσῳ ἐνοχλούμενος ἐδείματο τὸ βαλανεῖον, προσκαρτερῶν τῇ Θράκῃ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Νίγρον διαφοράν. τῶν δὲ τηλικούτων σωμάτων εἰς πῦρ μεταβαλόντων, ἥρπάγησαν μὴν <αἱ> μέχρι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Ἀγορᾶς τὴν πόλιν διευθύνουσαι στοαί, κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει κίωνων εὐγράμμως διασκηνοῦσαι τὴν πλατεῖαν· Καμπανοὶ ταύτας εἰς χάριν Κωνσταντίνου λέγονται κατασκευάσαι, ἀπὸ Παρθενόπης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Νεαπόλεως καὶ τῆς ποτε Δικαιοαρχίας, νῦν δὲ Πουτεόλων, εἰς Βυζάντιον πρὸς χάριν, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ βασιλέως παραγενόμενοι. συναπετεφρώθη οὖν (πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἤμελλον;) τὰ συνημμένα τοῖς μέσοις πρὸς τὸ βορραῖον καὶ νότον ἄνεμον οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ὅρος ἦν ἡ πόλις καὶ βουνοὶ μέλανες ἀπερρωγότες, καθάπερ ἐν Λιπάρῃ ἡ Βεσβίῳ, κόνει καὶ καπνῷ καὶ δυσωδίᾳ τῶν ἀποτεφρουμένων ὑλῶν ἀοίκητος, φόβον ἐλεεινὸν τοῖς θεωμένοις ἐνσεύουσα. καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνελεὲς πλῆθος, ποιναῖς ταῖς ἀξίαις πρὸς αὐτῆς ὑπεστάλῃ τῆς νίκης, εἰς πέντε σύνεγγυς μυριάδας σιδήρῳ χύδην διαφθάρέν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἔρριπτο πυρὶ καὶ χώμασι καὶ λειψάνων ἀμορφία κατάπληκτος. ἀλλὰ θεὸς (μόνου γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ) τὴν τοσαύτην παραμυθῆσας (end of f 95v)|

..... 20
f 98v | <71> ... (line 8 of f 98v) ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁμῶς μετὰ θεὸν ἡ βασιλέως Τύχη κατὰ πάντα τὸν ἐρειπιῶνα καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ· κρείττων δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ καλλίων ὥφθη ἰσχυρά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσφαλής, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης αὐτῆς τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, καθάπερ τότε, τὸ πᾶν εἰς φῶς μόνη τῇ δυνάμει τῆς βουλῆς ἀνακαλοῦντος. 25

1 ἐνοχλούμενος f^l 44 w [.....]υμενος P ...υμένος f ...υμενος b 2 Νίγρον w [.....] P Νίγρον f b 3 μεταβαλόντων b w [.....]των P μεταβαλλόντων f μεταβαλόντων mal. f μὴν by μη P omis. f b w 4 <αἱ> f b w Ἀγορᾶς by ἀγορᾶς P f b w διευθύνουσαι b w διευθηνουσαι P διευθῆνουσαι f leg. διευθύνουσαι f 6 Καμπανοὶ w καμπάνοι P Καμπάνοι f b 9 παραγενόμενοι b w παραγενομένων P f 10 ἤμελλον w ημελλον P ἔμελλον f b πρὸς τὸ βορραῖον by προστο|βορέον P πρὸς τὸ βόρειον f b w 11 οἰκοδομήματα b w οἰκοδομητα P οἰκοδομητά f 12 ἀπερρωγότες b w ἀπερρογοτες P ἀπερρώγότες f 17 σιδήρῳ f b w σιδειρω (quod corr. in σιδηρω) P ἔρριπτο P b w ἔρίπτο f 18 χώμασι f b w χωμα² P 19 παραμυθῆσας P f w παραμυθῆσασθαι b 21 ante ἐνίκησε septem versus quinarum fere et trigonarum litterarum desunt, qui iam Fussii temporibus evanuerant; hodie nihil in codice legitur nisi apud Wünsch v. 1 extr. τὴν πό[λιν] v. 3 med. τεχ v. 5 extr. v τοῦ παρ v. 6 extr. σ προτερο v. 7 med. γ[ί]ας v. 7 extr. τῶν ὑπ... 22 τὸν ἐρειπιῶνα P w συνειπῶν f b συνειπούσα f^l 44 23 δὲ ἡ P f b w τε ἡ f^l 44 καὶ καλλίων ὥφθη w [.....]φθη P καὶ... f b 24 ὕλης by ὕλ[.] P ὅλου f b w 25 τότε, τὸ πᾶν by το[.]...|παν P τότε, πᾶν f b τότε τὸ πᾶν w 26 inter <71> et <72> ΛΟΓΟΣ P del. f b w

because he was afflicted with an illness of the joints, had the bath built for himself while he was tarrying in Thrace on account of his dispute with Niger. When structures of such grandeur had been turned into flames, the colonnades which lined the city all the way up to the Forum of Constantine and shaded the broad street with graceful contours by the beauty and size of their columns were inescapably caught up. Campanians are said to have constructed these by way of gratitude to Constantine; they had come to Byzantium from Parthenope, the Neapolis of our day, and from the city formerly called Dicaearchia, but now Puteoli, to please the emperor, as I have stated. The structures, then, adjoining the middle ones to the North and South were reduced to ashes along with them (how, indeed, could they not have been?), and the city was a mountain and black, broken off mounds, just as at Lipara or Vesuvius, uninhabitable because of dust, smoke, and stench of materials being reduced to ashes, striking pathetic dread in those who beheld it. And, though the populace, or rather the barbarous and merciless rabble, by reason of that very "victory" was subjected to retributions which it deserved by being indiscriminately destroyed by the sword to the number of approximately fifty thousand, the city lay prostrate, stricken by fire, heaps of rubble, and formlessness of the remains. But God (for it was dependent upon Him alone) relieved so dire a

71. . . . , nevertheless, however, after God, the emperor's Fortune overcame in all respects the heap of ruins, and in a short time. The city, however, appeared better and more beautiful, both strong and at the same time safe, just as if the Creator, precisely as He had done formerly, were again calling forth the universe into light out of formless matter by the mere power of His volition.

<72> Πέρας οὖν τοῦτο τῆς πρώτης λησταρχίας τοῦ πονηροῦ
 Καππαδόκου. ἀντίρροπον δὲ θεὸς τῇ κακίᾳ εὐμένειαν ταῖς συμ-
 φοραῖς ἐπιδέδωκεν. Φωκᾶς γέγονεν ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, Σαλβίου
 μὲν τοῦ δικαιοτάτου ἔγγονος, Κρατέρου δὲ τοῦ πάντων εὐσε-
 βεστάτου παῖς, ὃς τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς λεγομένοις σιλεντιαρίοις τῆς
 αὐλῆς διαπρέψας, τοὺς πῶποτε ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι ψυχῆς <θαυ-
 μασθέντας> μετὰ δόσεων ἀμετρίας ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πατέρας τῆς βασιλείας κατ' ἀξίαν ἀνῆλθεν. πλούτῳ κομῶν καὶ
 τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ τὴν φειδωλίαν διέσω-
 ζεν· δίαίτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τροφῆς ἀσιτία τοσαύτη ὅση τοῖς
 ἄγαν μεμετρημένοις τὸν βίον ἐν εὐτελείσιν ἡριθμείτο. καὶ τῆς
 μὲν περιουσίας τύχης αὐτοῦ ἀξίως τὰ τῆς ἐστίας διένεμε τοῖς
 φίλοις, αὐτὸς δὲ μόναις ταῖς τῶν δαιτυμόνων εὐθυμίαις ἐτρέφετο,
 σεμνὸς μὲν καὶ φιλόκαλος ὢν ἀλλ' οὐ καλλωπιστῆς. ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ μόνου (end of f 98^v)|. . .

f 96^r <73> . . . | καὶ δόλον ῥάπτειν, αἰτεῖν μὲν ἡρυθρία τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 δεόμενος, ἔστενε δὲ καὶ οἰμῶζε καὶ δάκρυσι πεφορτωμένος τὰς
 ὄψεις δῆλος ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἄγαν ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτὸν ὡς εἴη λυπού-
 μενος. τοῦτον ὁ Φωκᾶς ἐκ τύχης ἰδὼν, καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 καὶ λαβεῖν ἱκανὸς ψυχῆς ὁδύνην ἐκ μόνης ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ προσ-
 ὄπου γνωρίζομένην, εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεβάλλετο· ἐμὲ δὲ
 μεταστειλάμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤξιου),

4 εὐσεβεστάτου f b w εὐσεβεστατους P 5 ὃς f b w ως P <ἐν> τοῖς f 6
 μεγαλειότητι w μεγαλητι P μεγαλότητι f b <θαυμασθέντας> by <θαυμαζόμενους>
 w 8 ἀνῆλθεν by ἀνήλθεν P ἀνήλυθε f ἀνελήλυθε b w πλούτῳ <δὲ> ? b πλούτῳ
 <δὲ> w κομῶν b w κωμῶν P f 9 διέσωζεν by διεσ[.]εν P διασώζων f διέσωζεν
 b w 10 αὐτῷ f b w αὐτῇ P τροφῆς w τροφης P τρυφῆς f b τροφῆς ? b 11
 μεμετρημένοις f b w μεμετριμενοις P 12 διένεμε w διεν[.]εν P διε... f b fort.
 leg. διένεμε f 13 ταῖς P f b omis. w δαιτυμόνων b w δαίμο[.] P δαιμόνων f
 ἐτρέφετο f b w εστρεφετο P 14 σεμνὸς f b w σεμνη P 16 δόλον ῥάπτειν by
 δολοῦράπτειν P δολοῦράπτειν f δόλους ῥάπτειν b w ante καὶ δόλον ῥάπτειν deest
 una codicis pagina, quam ut legeret, ne Fussio quidem contigit; desiderantur igitur
 triginta duo versus trigenarum quinarum fere litterarum, quarum has solas cognovit
 Wunsch: v. 3 init. ...γετας v. 6 init. ἀσκέπαστον v. 7 init. ἀπάδο[ντα] v. 13 init.
 ἀ[ν]αρπά[σα]ς [ἐ]χοι φ... v. 17 init. [β]ασιλέως τὰ... v. 20 init. συμ. ρως v. 21 init.
 ηγ[ε] δ παν... v. 21 med. [σκη]τροκρα[τεῖν] v. 24 extr. ὄντων τῶν v. 25 ἡματω[μέ-
 νο]ν ἀ... v. 26 med. εσι[ν ἄ]λλην v. 27 extr. et 28 init. ὁμο[ίως] καθέστηκεν· τὰς
 μεῖζ[ονας δὲ ὁ] Σπεκιώσος λ...ας v. 28 extr. ...χαν δη[μ]ο... v. 29 init. ...ωσι τὰ
 ἐπὶ τὸ... v. 29 med. ...[μ]ετρίω[ς]... v. 30 extr. τημας πάτριω[ν] v. 31 extr. ...στον
 δὲ... v. 32 extr. π...εσο...upa... 17 οἰμῶζε f¹ 44 w οἰμῶζεν P ὦμοζε f ὦμωζε
 b 21 ἀνεβάλλετο f w ἀν[...]λετο P b

72. This, then, was the end of the wicked Cappadocian's first brigandage. God, however, bestowed upon the calamities a kindness which compensated for the evil. It was Phocas, a patrician gentleman, grandson of the most righteous Salvius and son of the most pious of all men Craterus, who, because he had become preeminently distinguished over the so-called *silentiarii* of the court, surpassing by his countless number of gifts those who had ever yet been admired for greatness of soul, deservedly was elevated to the ranks of "the Fathers of the Empire." Whereas he abounded in wealth and aided those who were in need, he used to exercise thrift of his own accord for himself alone, for he had a manner of living and an abstinence from the eating of food of such sort as was reckoned as frugal by those who were very much limited in their livelihood. And, though he used to distribute the blessings of his home among his friends in a manner worthy of his abounding fortune, he was himself nourished by the mere manifestations of his guests' good cheer, being as he was dignified and a lover of the beautiful but not a fop. From him and him alone

73. . . . and to devise a deceit. He was ashamed to ask, though he was in need of life's necessities, but he used to sigh and lament, and it was clear even to those who did not know him very much that, since his eyes were laden with tears, he was sad. Phocas by chance caught sight of him, and, because he was both a good man and capable of comprehending a soul's grief being made known from the mere neglect of the face, he deferred saying anything to him. He sent for me (for, in fact, he deigned to love

ἀπατώμενος μάλλον ὥς εἴη περὶ λογυδρίων τινῶν δῆθεν οὐκ
 ἄφροντις καὶ χάριν ἐθέλων παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἥξιου περινοῆσαι
 τινα πρὸς διδασκαλίαν αὐτῷ τῆς Ἰταλίδος φωνῆς, Λίβυν ἐπιζη-
 τῶν· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἔφασκεν ἐγνωκέναι στωμυλωτέρως παρὰ τοῦς
 Ἰταλοὺς διαλέγεσθαι. ἐνδὸς δὲ τῶν παρόντων Σπεκιώσου μνήμην 5
 ἀνάγοντος, ἐξαναστὰς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὸν εἰπόντα ἀντεβόλει πρὸς
 ἔντευξιν ἐκείνου παρακαλῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρμαιον ἡγησάμενος ὥς
 τάχος τὸν Σπεκιώσον ἄγω πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡπιστάμην τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν γονυπετῶν διετέλει καὶ
 σωφρόνως ἐκλιπαρῶν ἤτει τῆς οὔσης αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι φωνῆς. 10
 ἐμὲ δὲ χωρίσας βραχὺ τοῦ λόγου ἑκατὸν χρυσίνους λαβεῖν ἥξίωσε
 δοθησομένους ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ πρᾶξας ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων
 συστατικῶν ἔνεκα τῷ Σπεκιώσῳ δοὺς ἔπεισα συχνότερον πρὸς
 τὸν πάντα ἀγαθὸν ἐκείνον ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾶν· <ὁ δὲ> (πῶς γὰρ
 οὐκ ἤμελλεν;) ὄρθριος παρῆν, πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου τοῦ δῆθεν ἥξιωκό- 15
 τος αὐτὸν παραφυλάττων· ὁ δὲ μεταστειλάμενος καὶ θεραπεύσας
 ἀντεβόλησε μὴ πρότερον προσεδρεύειν αὐτῷ πρὶν αὐτὸς διαστει-
 λάμενος ἀξίωσιν γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτόν· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Σπεκιώσος,
 f 96v συμβάλλων τῇ τέχνῃ περιόδῳ τοῦ σκέμματος, | ἀφείθη τῆς
 προσεδρίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμελε τῷ Φωκᾷ, μάλα πρὸς ἑκατέραν 20
 παρεσκευασμένῳ παιδείαν, μαθητείαν εὐρεῖν ἐκείνοις, ἃ παρὰ
 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀξιολόγως ἡπίστατο. καὶ τίς <οὐκ ἂν> στοχάσεται
 ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἀνθρώπους τάνδρὸς κατορθωμάτων, πόσης ἦν περὶ
 τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας. μιᾶς οὖν πράξεως αὐτοῦ ἐπιμνησθεὶς πέρας
 ἐπιθήσω ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφηγήσεσιν. 25

1 ὥς εἴη by ὦσει[.] P ὦσει f b ὥς εἴην ? b ὥς εἴην w λογυδρίων b w
 λογοιδριῶν P f fort. leg. λογοδριῶν f 2 ἐθέλων f b w [.....] P 3 Λίβυν b w
 λίβ[.]v P Λιβὺν f 4 αὐτὸν by αὐτο[.] P αὐτοὺς f b w στωμυλωτέρως b
 [....]λωτερως P στομυλωτέρως f w 7 ἔρμαιον by ἔρμαϊον P f b w 8 Σπε-
 κιώσον w σπεκιοσον P Σπεκίωσον f b 9 κατ' ἰδίαν f b w καθιδίαν P 10 ἤτει
 f b ἤτει P ἤτει(sic) w 11 χρυσίνους P f b w ἥξίωσε f b w ἥξισεν P 12 ἐκείνῳ
 f b w εκεινο P ὁ b w ο P ὁ(sic) f 14 <ὁ δὲ> f w 15 ἤμελλεν w [.]|
 μελλεν P ἔμελλεν f b αὐλείου f b w αὐλίου P 18 ἀξίωσιν w αξιωσ[.] P ἀξίως
 f b ἀξίωσιν ? b παρ' P f b παρ' (sic) w Σπεκιώσος w [.....] P Σπεκίωσος
 f b 19 τῇ τέχνῃ b τη τέχνῃ P τῇ τεχνικῇ f τὴν τέχνην w ἀφείθη by [....]θει P
 ἔφθη f ...θει b ἐπαύθη w 20 ἔμελε w ἔμελλεν P ἔμελλε f b 21 παρεσκευασμέ-
 νῳ f b w παρασκευασμενω P εὐρεῖν ἐκείνοις f b w ευρεκεινοις P 22 ἀξιολόγως
 f b w [.....]ως P καὶ τίς w και τις P Καί τις f b <οὐκ ἂν> by <οὐ> w στοχάση-
 ται P στοχάσεται f b w 23 πόσης f b w πόσος P

me more than the others), and, being deceived into thinking rather that he was not unanxious, so he alleged, about some little discourses, and wishing to obtain a favor from me, he asked me to think of someone to teach him the Italian language, though he was searching for a Libyan; for he said that he had perceived that the latter conversed more elegantly than the Italians. When, however, one of those who were present made mention of Speciosus, he got up and began to entreat both me and the one who had mentioned Speciosus and to exhort us to appeal to him. I for my part, having deemed this a piece of good luck, brought Speciosus to him as quickly as possible; for, in fact, I knew the man. Phocas took him aside and proceeded to supplicate him and, modestly begging him, to ask him to impart to him the skill of speech which he had. He drew me apart from the conversation for a moment, and he asked me to take a hundred gold coins that they might be given to Speciosus. As soon as I had done this and I had given them to Speciosus by way of so-called tuition fee, I persuaded him to go rather often to that wholly good human being. He went at daybreak (for why should he not have gone?) and waited before the courtyard gate of him who, so he thought, had requested it of him. Phocas, after he had sent for him and had paid court to him, asked him not to attend on him until he himself should expressly request him to come to him; and Speciosus, as he was conversing with him by the rules of his art, comprehended his scheme and thereafter gave up his attendance on him. For Phocas, since he was altogether schooled in both disciplines, did not care to get instruction in those matters of which, compared with many people, he had remarkable knowledge. Who, pray, cannot surmise from the man's virtuous deeds towards mankind how great his reverence was for the Deity? Now, after I have mentioned just one deed of his, I shall put an end to the innumerable accounts of his benefactions.

<74> Πρὸς Πεσινοῦντι τῇ πόλει τῆς Γαλατίας (οὕτω δὲ τὸ
 χωρίον ὀνομασθῆναι συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἀπείρους ἐκεῖ
 Γαλατῶν τῶν περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐπιπεσόντων τῇ χώρᾳ, Βρέννου
 ἡγησαμένου, καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον αὐτοῖς χώραν ἐκδικεῖν βιαζομένων,
 ὡς Φνεσετέλλας καὶ Σισέννας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί φασιν, ὧν τὰς χρήσεις 5
 ὁ Βάρρων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀνθρωπίνων Πραγμάτων ἀνήγαγεν· ἐγὼ δὲ
 τὰς βίβλους οὕτω τεθέαμαι) ἐκεῖ τοίνυν τέμενος ἦν τῇ ἀχράντῳ
 στρατιᾷ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων τῷ ἀρρήτῳ θεῷ καθωσιωμένων·
 περὶ οὗ μετὰ πάντα ἀνθρώπους γνοὺς ὁ Φωκᾶς ὡς Ἑλλαμὸς
 τις τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦ λίτρας εἴκοσιν ὑφ' ἐν ἐπιδούς, τοῖς ἱερου- 10
 μένοις πρόσοδον ὀδοήκοντα χρυσῶν προσγενέσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ εἰς
 φιλοξενίαν ἐσπούδασεν.

<75> Τοιαύταις μὲν οὖν τέχναις ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐχρήτο,
 χρυσίον δὲ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπὶ λύτροις αἰχμαλώτων λαθραῖως
 ἐκχέων διετέλει δακρύων εἴ ποῦ τις περὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδου καὶ 15
 ἀπαγωγῆς αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξίει τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ μάρτυρα
 τὴν Ἀλήθειαν οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι καλεῖν ἀληθεύων. οἶδα κοιτωνιτῶν
 αὐτῷ χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτου τυχόν, ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
 τῶν λυτρουμένων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερανθούσης,
 f 97^v ἐσθῆτα διεπώλησεν | καὶ προσθεῖς ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν πρὸς 20
 χρεῖαν τῶν λύτρων ἐξέπεμψε τούτων ἀμύνην ἀντίρροπον καὶ
 Θεοπρέπους ἀνέλαβε τὸν υἱὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπαιδεύσας
 τοιοῦτοις ἐνασχολεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν παριόντα καὶ μαρτυροῦντα
 τοῖς γινομένοις κατ' εὐχὰς ἀπενίκησεν, ὡς ἐκεῖνον χάριτας εἰδέναι
 τῷ θεῷ ὅτι τῷ σώματι τελευτῶν ταῖς εὐσεβείαις ἀθάνατος διὰ 25
 τῶν παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς πραττομένων διαμενοῖ.

1 Πεσινοῦντι τῇ by πεσεινουν τηι P Πεσινοῦντι f w Πεσινοῦντι b 3 τῶν f b w
 τον P 5 Σισέννας w σισενας P Σισέννας f b 8 τῷ ἀρρήτῳ θεῷ by τῷ αρ-
 ρητω θεω P τοῦ ἀρρήτου θεοῦ f τοῦ ἀρρήτου θεοῦ b w καθωσιωμένων by καθωσιω-
 μενων P καθωσιωμένον f b w 10 ὑφ' ἐν w ὕφεν P ὕφεν f b ἐπιδούς b επιδους
 P ἐπιδούς f εἰη δούς w 16 διεξίει b w διεξιη P διεξιη f 17 Ἀλήθειαν w
 ἀλήθειαν P f b κοιτωνιτῶν αὐτῷ w κυτο[...]ων [...] P κυτονίστων ... f b leg.
 κοιτωνιτῶν αὐτῷ f 19 ὑπερανθούσης w [...]ανθούσης P ...ανθούσης f b 20
 διεπώλησεν w διε[...]σεν P διεπώλεσεν f b πρὸς χρεῖαν w προσ[...]αν P προ...αν
 f b πρόνοιαν f¹ 45 21 τούτων w [...]τον P τούτων f b ἀμύνην ἀντίρροπον καὶ
 Θεοπρέπους w ἀμυ[.....]ροπον καὶ θεοπρέπους P ἀμύνην ἀντίρροπον καὶ θεοπρεποῦς
 f b ἀμύνειν, καὶ ἀντίρροπον τοῦ θεοπρεποῦς f¹ 45 22 υἱὸν b w [...] P υἱόν
 (sic) f 23 τοιοῦτοις by τοιοῦτοις P τούτοις f b w αὐτὸν by τὸν P f b w <πατέρα>
 καὶ w 24 ἐκεῖνον w εκεινων P ἐκείνων f b 26 διαμενοῖ by διαμ[...] P
 διαμένοι f b w

74. Near Pessinus, the city in Galatia (the place happened to be so named from the fact that countless numbers of Gauls who dwelt around the Rhone had fallen there when, under the leadership of Brennus, they had invaded the region and were exercising force to claim the land bearing their name, as the Romans Fenestella and Sisenna say, whose passages Varro quoted in his *Human Affairs*, but I for my part have not yet seen the books) – now, the immaculate host of the holy angels devoted to the Ineffable God had a sanctuary there. When Phocas, including all mankind, had learned concerning it that a certain Ellamus had given to the Deity twenty pounds of gold in one sum, he saw to it that an income of eighty gold coins come to the temple for those who were performing priestly functions to offer hospitality.

75. While such, then, were the artifices which he used during his public service, he secretly kept pouring out gold each year for the ransoming of prisoners of war, shedding tears if perchance anyone talked to him about an enemy's attack and an abduction of prisoners of war. And I am not ashamed to invoke Truth as my witness since I speak truth. I know that, whenever he was away, I received from his chamberlains the required amount of gold for the throng of those being ransomed. For, since this philanthropy overflourished, he publicly sold his clothing, and, after he had added as much as he could, he sent it off to be used as compensatory aid for these ransoms, and he adopted the son of Theoprepes, having thoroughly trained him in every way to be occupied with such matters. The latter, however, outdid him, who came forward and bore witness to the deeds being done in accord with his wishes, so that he acknowledged thanks to the Deity that, though he was ending his life in the body, he would live on immortal by his acts of piety through the deeds being done by his adopted son.

<76> Τοσοῦτον ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα χαίρων ὁ βασιλεὺς πείθει
 καμάτῳ πολλῷ κοινὴν εἰς ἅπαντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀναδέξασθαι
 φροντίδα καὶ διῆθῆναι τὸν οἶακα βυθιζομένης ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς
 τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας. ὁ δὲ ἄκων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς βασιλέως 5
 αἵτησιν παρακρούσασθαι τοιοῦτου) τὴν μὲν λειτουργίαν ὑπῆλθεν,
 δεδιῶς δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν φόβων ἰλιγγίων εἶδε τὸν
 θεὸν παρόντα βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ προθυμούμενον. ἅμα γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 παραλαβὼν καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς προφανεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης ἀνεφέρετο
 <καὶ> σύμπας ὁ δῆμος ἡλικία τε πᾶσα καὶ φύσις ὁμοῦ τὰς χεῖρας 10
 εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες ὕμνους εὐχαριστηρίους μετὰ
 δακρύων ἀνέφερον τῷ θεῷ τοσαύτης ἀξιώσαντι προνοίας τοὺς
 μυρίους κατεστρωμένους κακοῖς. πείθειν δὲ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιώ-
 σας δείκνυσι παρῆναι τοῖς πραττομένοις καὶ βουλαῖς αὐτοῦ
 προῖεναι τὰ χρηστά. ὥς γὰρ ἔσται τῆς ἀπῆνης ἔμπροσθεν ὁ ὑπαρχος, 15
 βέλος ἐναφεῖς τόξῳ πονηρὸς τις (ἔτι γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τεύχεσιν
 ἐχρήτο) στοχάζεται μὲν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δὲ βέλους ἀμπλακόντος,
 f 97^r αὐτὸς μὲν ἀβλαβῆς | ὦν ἄνθρωπος τῆς Προνοίας φανερώς
 ἀπεδείχθη. τοῦτου δὲ συμβάντος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ
 θορύβων παρεχῶρει τὸν τε κράτιστον ἀνυμνῶν βασιλέα ἐν 20
 εὐθυμίαις ἡδυπαθῶν καὶ σκαρτήμασι διετέλει, ἀθρόως ἐκ με-
 γίστων θορύβων καὶ φόβων εἰς αὐλοὺς καὶ χορείας μεταβαλὼν,
 πᾶσα δὲ ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατελήλυθε τὴν πόλιν, ἀδεῶς
 καὶ μετ' εὐφροσύνης πάντων τῶν ὅπου δὴ ποτε κρυπτομένων
 καὶ διαφυγόντων τοὺς κινδύνους εἰσρεόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ παν- 25
 τοίαν συμφορούντων εὐετηρίαν· ἥδη γὰρ ἅπας ἤλπισεν ἀβλαβῆ
 καὶ λυσιτελεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὴν τοῦ βίου

4 διῆθῆναι w διειθῆναι P διυθῆναι f b οἶακα f b w οἶκα P 7 δεδιῶς f b w
 [...]ως P φόβων f w φο[...] P φο... b 9 τῆς f b της P τῆς (sic) w 10 <καὶ>
 w καὶ f b w [...] P 11 οὐρανὸν b w οὐνῶν P οὐρανον (sic) f 12 ἀνέφερον
 f b w αναφερῶ P θεῷ f b w θῶ P 13 μυρίους κατεστρωμένους κακοῖς P μυρίους
 κακοῖς κατεστρωμένους (sic) f b w πείθειν b w πείθει P Πείθειν f ἀνθρώπους
 P b w ἀνδρώπους (sic) f 15 ἀπῆνης P₂ f b w απηνῆς P 16 ἐναφεῖς by αναφεῖς
 P ἀναφεῖς f ἀναθεῖς b w τεύχεσιν w ατ[.]χεσιν P ἀτυχῆσεν f b 17 ἀμπλα-
 κόντος b w εμπλακέντος P ἐμπλακέντος f 18 ὦν ἄνθρωπος w [.....]ωπος P ὥς
 θεόπαις f b Προνοίας by προνοίας P f b w φανερώς w φανερος P φανερός f b
 22 χορείας b w χωρίας P χωρείας (sic) f 24 ὅπου δὴ ποτε by [....]δηποτε P
 ὅπουδῆποτε f b w 25 εἰσρεόντων f b w εισρεοντων P 26 συμφορούντων b w
 συμφερουντων P συμφερούντων f ἥδη P w ἥδει f b ἤλπισεν w [.....] P ...τις
 οὐν f b 27 τοῖς ὑπηκόοις f b w [.....]χοοῖς P

76. Rejoicing at the fact that the man was such as he was, the emperor with much effort persuaded him to display publicly towards all men the liberality of spirit which he possessed, to undertake the administration of public affairs, and to steer the helm of the whole state which was already in the process of being ruined because of its ills. Though he reluctantly (for it was not safe to reject such an emperor's request) undertook the public service, nevertheless, however, alarmed and agitated of mind as he was because of the magnitude of his fears, he perceived God by his side eager to help him. For, after he had assumed the magistracy and had made his appearance before the court, no sooner was he being brought up to his chariot than the entire populace, people of both every age and sex alike, lifted up their hands to the sky and proceeded to offer to God with tears of joy hymns of thanksgiving for having deemed those prostrate with countless ills worthy of such great providence. When God has resolved to convince men, He shows that He is present at what is being done and that by the acts of His volition benefits come into being. For, as the prefect stood in front of his chariot, some wretch inserted an arrow into his bow (for the people were still engaging in the use of arms) and shot at him, but, because the arrow had missed, since he was, indeed, unharmed, he was clearly shown to be a man of Providence. After this had happened, the people proceeded to desist from their arms and tumults and, praising their most excellent emperor, began to live pleasantly in mirth and revelry, all at once having undergone a change from very great troubles and fears to flutes and dances. Every abundance of the necessities of life returned to the city because all who were hiding anywhere and had escaped the dangers began to stream into the city fearlessly and with joy and to bring along every kind of prosperity. For now everyone expected that henceforth the pursuit of life would be insured from harm and profitable to the subjects

μέθοδον, τῶν γε ἀγαθῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πλημυροῦντων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπαρχον ἐνάρχεται προθύμως ἀνιστᾶν τὸ τοῦ
 μεγάλου θεοῦ Τέμενος· καὶ ποταμὸς ἔρρει χρημάτων ταῖς βασι-
 λέως εὐχαῖς καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ ὑπάρχου χεόμενος. τέσσαρας
 οὖν χιλιάδας αὐτίκα χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν ὁ ὑπαρχος τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέχεε 5
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ, μηδενὸς ἀδικουμένου μηδὲ τῆς τυχοῦσης εὐετηρίας
 εἰς ἀσεβῆ ποιήσιν ἐπινοηθείσης· ἔχαιρε γὰρ ἡξιωμένος εἰς θεοῦ
 τιμὴν καὶ σπουδὴν εὐσεβείας παρατεινόμενος. καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐκ
 ἔνεστιν εἰ, θεοῦ παρόντος, πάντα παρεῖναι συμβαίνει τοῖς αὐτῷ
 μᾶλλον ἢ περινοίαις ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνα- 10
 φέρουσιν. ἡ δὲ τάξις, καθάπερ τις σβεννυμένης ἤδη φλογὸς
 ἔλαιον ἀφθόνως ἐπιχέει, ἀνέλαμψεν· καὶ ὕδρυβος ἦν τοῖς πρατ-
 τομένοις χαρίεις καὶ κέρδη σώφρονα καὶ φίλα τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς
 ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἡκολούθει καὶ τὸ Τέμενος τῆς Δίκης ἀνεῳγει καὶ
 ῥήτορες τοῖς λόγοις ἐνέπρεπον καὶ βιβλίῳ προαγωγὰ καὶ 15
 φιλονεικία ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ χρῶμα ἐπανήει τοῦ πολιτεύματος. ὁ
 (end of f 97^r)|

1 πλημυροῦντων by πλημυροῦντων P f b w ἐξ ὧν f w ἔχων P b 3
 ἔρρει b w ερρει P ἔρρει f 4 καὶ τῇ f b w και τη P καὶ del. f^l 45 5 ἐπέχεε
 b w επεχεν P ἐπέσχε f ἔπεχεν f^l 45 7 ἡξιωμένος f b w ηξιομένος P 9 παρόν-
 τος b w παροντος P παρόντως (sic) f αὐτῷ f b w αυτον P 11 <εἰ> τις f^l 45 w 13
 χαρίεις f b w χαριῆς P 16 φιλονεικία f b w φιλονικια P ἐφ' ὅλον f b w [...]λον P
 ἐπανήει f b w επανιη P

since, that is, the blessings in it were overflowing, in consequence of which the emperor, including the above-mentioned prefect, began eagerly to erect the Temple of the Great God. And a river of money was flowing and being poured out in accordance with the emperor's wishes and the uprightness of the prefect. The prefect, therefore, immediately poured four thousands of pounds of gold over the works of the temple, no one having been unjustly treated nor the prosperity which had come about having been contrived for an impious use, for he rejoiced at having been deemed worthy of applying himself for the honor of God and the pursuit of piety. And it is not a matter of wonder if, with God being present, it happens that all things are available to those who attribute the abundance of blessings to Him rather than to the devices of men. The political order regained its brilliance, precisely as one, just when a flame is about to go out, abundantly pours oil on it and revives it. And transactions had an excitement that was gratifying, and profits that were honest and acceptable to the law came to those who served it, and the Temple of Justice was reopened, and rhetoricians became conspicuous for their speeches, and books were produced, and competition returned over the whole complexion of the government. The

COMMENTARY

2.3 οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἡγνόηται: Fuss (*Ep.* 10) assumes that this is a Latinism, but his assumption is incorrect: cf. οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων (Dem. 8. 11). Lydus does not contaminate his Greek with Latin.

2.3–4 Τυρρηνοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας μεταστάντος: the ms. reading τυρρηνοῦς is one of twenty-seven instances in which the scribe carelessly added a *sigma* at the end of a word ending in a vowel or diphthong (see *app. crit.* 16.27, 30.13, 42.18, 46.4, 50.6, 54.12, 56.11, 19, 64.8, 72.8, 88.5, 96.5, 164.10, 172.7, 176.16, 188.1, 194.4, 200.12, 204.16, 206.5, 216.5, 230.21, 26, 244.17, 25, 248.4); see also notes 40.8 & 72.10, 11. Tyrrhenus was the eponym of the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans (see Tac. 4.55.7, D. H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.27.1, 1.28.1, Val. Flaccus 4.715, Hyginus *Fab.* 274.20). Wünsch, following Kroll and Preger (*apud* Wünsch), adds τοῦ before ἐπὶ, taking μεταστάντος as an attributive participle, an addition which is unnecessary because μεταστάντος can be viewed as circumstantial; but, even if it be understood as attributive, it need not have the article; cf. ἐπισκοποῦντος (160.7) and τότε βασιλεύοντος (204.13).

2.5 Ἑτρούσκους: *Etrusci* is the Latin name for the *Tyrreni* (cf. D. H. 1.30, Str. 5.219).

2.6–7 ἐκ τῆς θυοσκοπίας Θούσκους συμβέβηκε μετονομασθῆναι: Lydus believes that an etymological connection exists between the words θυοσκοπία (*haruspicina*) and Θούσκος (*Tuscus*). The verb συμβέβηκε is a perfect of dated past action, whereby the perfect is applied to a past action whose time is specifically stated and approximates the aorist; see also συμβέβηκε(ν) (28.15, 54.4, 98.18, 140.2, 172.9, 194.19, 252.2), κατησφάλισται (18.12), προστέθεικε (20.13), γέγονε(ν) (4.4, 22.11, 46.18, 68.18, 98.11, 100.25, 116.29, 120.11, 194.13, 196.27, 208.4, 210.12, 232.24, 25, 248.3), παραδέδωκεν (26.7), τέθεικεν (40.20), δέδωκε (90.14, 208.13), ὑπέληπται (104.28), ἐνδεδωκεν (192.8), ἀνάλωται (200.19), καταλέλοιπεν (224.10), κατελήλυθε (254.23).

2.7 εἰς πλάτος: frequently εἰς is a periphrasis for adverbs (see L–S 491–492 s.v. εἰς IV.3); cf. εἰς λεπτόν (224.1).

2.7–8 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περὶ Μηνῶν γραφείσης ἡμῖν πραγματείας: the latter may be viewed as a genitive dependent upon a quantitative adjective which takes its gender from the gender of the noun in the genitive; cf. ἐπὶ χρόνου βραχύν (54.20), ἐφ' ὅλον ἔτους (228.1).

2.8–9 τὰ γὰρ ἐπίσημα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπὸ Θούσκων λαβόν: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 51: arma et tela militaria ab Samnitibus, *insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt*.

2.11 ὁ τε Καπίτων καὶ Φοντήϊος: Capito bridges the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Whereas Jörs (*R.E.* 2 (2), 1904–1910 s.v. *Ateius* 8) cites Wachsmuth for the conjecture that Lydus meant Sinnius Capito (implying that Fonteius goes with Capito), Klotz (*R.E.* 3 (1), 246–247 s.v. *Sinnius* 2) does not mention Lydus. Possibly such a work as *de jure pontifico* is implied; cf. Fr. P. Bremer *Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt*, II, 1, 287.

W. Schmitz (*Rhein. Mus. für Philologie* N. S. 11 (1856), 299) correctly proposes the emendation of *omega* to *omikron* in the ms. reading of this name (102.1, 198.3); cf. Plut. *Galb.* 15, *Ant.* 36, App. *B.C.* 1.38, Jos. *B.C.* 7.4.8; see Kappelmacher *R.E.* 6 (2), 2842 s.v. *Fonteius* 4.

2.12 ἐξ ὧν: here ἐξ is being used in periphrasis for the partitive genitive with an implied ἐστὶ, whereas ὧν refers to μάρτυρες.

2.12 Οὐάρρων: the ms. reading οὐάρρων is best retained, though the ms. has βάρρων elsewhere (10.10, 14.21, 22.27, 24.1, 38.14, 104.19, 252.6), for Lydus tends to use various forms of the same word whenever such exist.

2.13 Σαλλούστιος οὗτος: the ms. reading σαλούστιος is one of many instances of the scribal error of rendering a doubled consonant as a single consonant (see *app. crit.* 16.8, 22.12, 24.19, 42.18, 48.23, 70.20, 74.6, 86.15, 132.9, 140.1, 142.11, 150.16, 158.1, 160.9, 28, 174.12, 184.7, 12, 188.23, 194.22, 206.21, 214.21, 226.26, 230.14, 246.10, 12, 252.5); see also note 24.10.). With proper names οὗτος is used both complementarily (122.6) and contemptuously (74.24).

2.13 ἐπὶ τῆς Πρώτης Ἱστορίας: Sallust's work *Historiae*, a history of Rome from 78–67 B.C., intended as a continuation of L. Cornelius Sisenna's work, has survived only in fragments.

2.14 ὑπόλοιπον: this and many other words are abbreviated by various signs of abbreviations (see *app. crit.* 20.9, 24.10, 26.22, 28.14, 20, 30.4, 6, 40.4, 46.22, 48.1, 5, 19, 56.17, 62.3, 66.27, 70.25, 72.6, 22, 23, 82.23, 84.21, 94.25, 98.17, 150.14, 152.22, 158.2, 182.31, 186.31, 196.4, 206.22, 224.2, 226.18, 236.20, 238.18, 242.6, 246.18, 254.11, 12 (*bis*); see also note 74.8).

2.15 καὶ ὅτι: the ms. reading καὶ ὅτι need not be emended to καθότι because καὶ bears a concessive sense here and elsewhere with adjectives (14.16, 242.3) and participles (102.9, 110.16, 198.11, 206.12, 220.20), while ὅτι here and elsewhere (28.4, 80.17, 192.19) is elliptical for δὴλον ὅτι (see Lampe 977 s.v. ὅτι 2).

2.17–18 ἀπηχὲς λογικῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑφιστάμενος φθόνῳ τὸν ἐπαινον μεταβάλοι: the ms. reading ἀπηχὲς is correct, for it is the neuter of the adjective functioning as an abstract substantive even without the article, and it is object of ὑφιστάμενος; the verb ὑφίστασθαι can be used both transitively (106.24, 30) and intransitively (94.26). It is unnecessary, therefore, to emend ἀπηχὲς to ἀπηχῆς and to take ὑφιστάμενος as intransitive with Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 868).

2.18 Γραχχανός: M. Iunius Congus Gracchanus was a Roman jurist who lived a generation before Cicero (see Wissowa *R.E.* 10 (1), 1031–1033 s.v. *Iunius* 68). Vasis (*E.E.II.* 133) believes that the ms. reading γραχχανός here and γραγγιανός elsewhere (38.21) lead to Γραγγιανός rather than to Γραχχανός. He failed, however, to note that Lydus is merely transliterating *Gracchanus* into Greek, though he (or his scribe) incorrectly inserted an *iota* into the name; see note 74.16.

2.20–21 πάντως δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ χρόνου τεκόντος ἅμα καὶ κρύψαντος: this genitive absolute is being used coordinately with the finite clause which precedes it (see notes 110.13–16, 186.9–10, 228.28–30, 242.14–16).

4.9–10 τὸ Κυρίνον ὄνομα: although Fuss (ed. p. 4, note 6) correctly points out that the name *Quirinus* is meant and not κύριον, his emendation of the ms. reading κύριον to Κυρίνου is less preferable than Κυρίνον; cf. τὸ ῥήγιον ὄνομα (10.32), τὸ γλήβης ὄνομα (52.9–10), τὸ μάγιστρος ὀφφικίων ὄνομα (120.11–12), τὸ σκρινιάριον ὄνομα (182.5–6); κύριον is one of eight instances of a scribal omission of a medial *nu* (see *app. crit.* 20.24, 38.3, 94.16, 116.16, 160.29, 162.7, 170.27); see also note 12.6–7.

4.16. κλίπεα: while the gender of κλίπεα here is clear, its gender elsewhere (20.20, 22.2) is unclear, for Latin uses both *clipeus* and *clipeum*.

6.25 τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν: by πρώτη ‘highest’ is meant: cf. Evagr. *h.e.* 3.42 (PG 86, III, 2693): Μαρίνου τοῦ Σύρου τὴν κορυφαίαν διέποντος τῶν ἀρχῶν ὃν πάλαι ὑπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκάλουν.

8.3 ἐπενόηθησαν: the ms. reading ἐπένθησαν is one of many examples of scribal carelessness of omitting the medial part of a word (see *app. crit.* 18.27, 26.11, 28.26, 30.25, 40.7, 42.5, 48.23, 58.26, 62.2, 64.13, 22.23, 70.8, 15.17, 76.4, 80.6, 86.26, 88.10, 24, 90.9, 92.6, 102.8, 104.20, 122.29, 136.4, 140.4, 150.12, 154.8, 13, 158.2, 6, 10, 166.10, 170.10, 14, 178.16, 180.7, 184.12, 22, 186.21, 188.11, 200.21, 204.3, 208.10, 210.19, 212.22, 214.11, 22, 224.18, 23, 232.1 (*bis*), 234.9, 30, 242.9, 246.11, 248.6, 13, 254.4, 256.5); see also notes 14.21–22 & 30.27.

8.11 τὸ τῶν σκρινιάριων σῶμα: Fuss (*Ep.* 12) points out that σῶμα is equivalent to *corpus* of the Romans, very much used in the time of Lydus for *collegium* in the same sense as σύστημα (cf. 80.5, 204.4).

8.17 παρὰ τὴν παλαιότητα: Fuss (*Ep.* 12) indicates that this bears the same sense as τὸ πάλαι (98.10).

8.17–18 ἐφ’ ἐκάστης: *sc.* ἡμέρας (see Lampe 516 s.v. ἐπί I.B).

8.24–25 περὶ ἀσωτίας: the ms. exhibits eleven more instances of diplography (see *app. crit.* 22.19, 86.21, 96.14, 102.2, 116.11, 152.9, 160.7, 164.4, 12, 236.5, 244.5).

8.26 ὁ λεγόμενος σάνδυξ: the ms. reading λεγόμενοςσάνδυξ is one of five instances in which the scribe carelessly omitted an initial *sigma* (see *app. crit.* 64.13, 154.10, 204.25, 232.29); see also notes 16.24 & 76.3.

8.31–32 περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας: Lydus praises the Empress Theodora for her understanding and sympathy towards those wronged, as well as her readiness to use her influence for redressing wrongs (240.27–242.3).

8.33 περὶ τοῦ ἀπευκταϊοτάτου λοιμοῦ: the Empire was visited in 542 by one of the worst outbreaks of bubonic plague, which is described by Procopius (*Pers.* 2.22, 23).

10.8–12 Ἀνύονται τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῆς Αἰνείου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρόδου ἕως τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι κατὰ Κάτωνα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ Βάρρωνα, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· κατὰ δὲ Αφρικανὸν καὶ Κάστορα <καὶ> τὸν Παμφίλου ἔτη ζ

καὶ ἰ καὶ ὕ: D. Serruys (*Revue de Philologie de la Litterature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 38 (1914), 217) points out that the total of 417 which Lydus states had elapsed from Aeneas' arrival to Rome and the founding of Rome according to Africanus, Castor, and the pupil of Pamphilus (sc. Eusebius) is neither that of Africanus nor that of Castor, whose names Lydus mentions only because he had found them side by side with that of Eusebius in an intermediary source which he does not mention. Serruys also says that Eusebius reckoned 431 years from the capture of Troy to the founding of Rome and places the reign of Aeneas four years after the fall of Troy, namely, 427 years, but Lydus reads 417 years instead of 427 because in reading the number ζα̅ πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις he confused the stroke over *kappa* with καὶ and redoubled the *iota* of the latter.

Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian philosopher, historian, and traveler from Aelia Capitolina, wrote a history of the world in five books, which was a synchronization of sacred and profane history from the creation to A.D. 221 and was the basis of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (see H. Gelzer *Sextus Iulius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1880-98); G. Krüger *Early Christian Literature*, 248-253; Kroll & Sukenberger *R.E.* 10 (1), 116-125 s.v. *Iulius* 47).

Castor of Rhodes, a rhetorician and possibly the son-in-law of the Galatian tetrarch Deiotarus, wrote *Χρονικά*, synchronistic tables of Oriental, Greek, and Roman history, from the Assyrian Belus and Ninus and the Sicyonian Aegialeus to Pompey (61-60 B.C.), a work utilized by Varro, Africanus, and Eusebius (see Kubitschek *R.E.* 10 (2), 2347-2357 s.v. *Kastor von Rhodos* 8; Jacoby *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ii B, 1130; BD, 814).

Eusebius (ca. A.D. 260-340), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, was an ecclesiastical historian and chronographer, who, because he was the pupil of Pamphilus, was called simply ὁ Παμφίλου (see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 423-424; Schwartz *R.E.* 6 (1), 1370-1439 s.v. *Eusebios* 4).

On Marcus Porcius Cato 'Censorinus' see *The Oxford Dictionary*, 214-215 s.v. *Cato* 1; Gelzer & Miltner *R.E.* 22 (1), 108-165 s.v. *Porcius* 9; H. Peter *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 56, note.

10.12-13 μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν ῥηγῶν: tradition records the following six kings after Romulus: Numa Pompilius (715-673 B.C.), Tullus Hostilius (673-642), Ancus Marcius (642-617), Tarquinius Priscus (616-579), Servius Tullius (578-535), and Tarquinius Superbus (534-510).

10.16-17 ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄχρι τῆς Αναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτῆς ἔτη σῶδ: on the inaccuracy regarding the number of years that elapsed from Constantine I to Anastasius I see *Introduction* xxxiii-xxxiv.

10.26 ὥς εἴρηται: *supra* <1>.

10.28-29 Ῥωμύλος τοῖνυν ὁκτῶ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγονῶς σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ῥέμῳ τὴν μητέρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥώμην ἔδειματο: Romulus and Remus founded a city of their own on the site of Rome, beginning with a settlement on the Palatine. Romulus walled it and either he or his lieutenant Celer killed Remus for leaping over the walls (cf. Liv. 1.3.10 sqq.; D. H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.76.1 sqq.; Plut. *Rom.* 3 sqq.; Carter Roscher *Lexicon*, IV, 174.14 sqq.).

The meaning of βασιλεία both in this passage and elsewhere (84.18, 202.11, 216.23, 218.13, 242.3, 248.8) is "empire," though Vasis (*E.E.II.* 110) prefers "imperial city." The force of σὺν here is καὶ (cf. 126.18).

12.4–6 ὁ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηκόων πρῶτος ψήφω ἐπιελεγμένους ἐπὶ βάθραν τινὰ ὥσπερ καὶ κρηπίδα, τύχης κρείττονος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους λαχών: the sense of ἐπὶ here is causal (cf. LXX 2 Ki. 23.1). Bekker accepts the reading ἐπιβάθραν and makes it the object of λαχών, placing a comma after ἐπιελεγμένους without altering Fuss's Latin translation to reflect this difference. The ὥσπερ here as elsewhere (26.19, 92.19, 94.25, 132.9, 214.4, 222.2) follows the word or phrase to which it belongs, and the force of καὶ here as elsewhere (18.6,11, 36.14, 80.5, 100.13, 190.2, 196.14, 220.26) is epexegetical.

12.6–7 ὡς Σοφοκλῆς περὶ Αἴαντος εἶπεν ἔχειν αὐτὸν βάθραν τῆς ἀγχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος: cf. Soph. *Ajax* 135: Τελαμῶνι παῖ, τῆς ἀμφιρύτου Σαλαμῖνος ἔχων βάθρον ἀγχιάλου. The ms. reading σαλάμινος is one of many examples of the scribal misplacement of accent (see *app. crit.* 4.15,16,20, 12.7 (*bis*), 14.26, 18.12 (*bis*),14,17,22, 20.9, 22.10, 24.8,25, 28.23, 30.17, 34.13, 40.20, 46.13, 50.21, 56.8, 58.29, 74.6,24, 76.19, 78.16, 86.23, 92.19, 96.28, 98.23, 100.7 102.24, 110.4, 112.17, 114.5,10, 120.11, 122.7, 126.17, 128.23, 132.12, 140.23, 142.12, 148.21, 152.20, 154.8 (*bis*), 156.1, 160.21, 174.22, 184.3, 186.10,23 206.28, 208.7, 220.10, 232.18,26, 234.7,18, 236.22, 242.3, 246.6, 250.7, 254.15, 265.13); see also note 38.21–22) The ms. reading βάθρα exhibits the careless omission of a final *nu* (see *app. crit.* 26.15, 28.5, 80.1, 112.20, 132.21, 150.8, 168.28, 196.2, 206.21, 210.4, 220.6, 228.5, 238.16, 246.3, 254.13); see also note 4.9–10.

12.11–12 ψήφοις οἰκείαις the ms. reading οἰκίους is better emended to οἰκείαις, though οἰκείος can be used also as feminine (cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 634); see note 210.21–22.

12.27 τὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἡγεμονῶν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπωνυμίας λαβεῖν: Wünsch in his edition conjectured the loss of ὄνομα after ἡγεμονῶν, but Vasis (*E.E.II.* 110) correctly rejected it as needless; Wünsch later (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 572) agreed with Vasis.

12.28–14.2 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισήμοις τυραννικοῖς φαίνεται χρησαμένη ἡ τῶν Καيسάρων ἀρχή, ἀλουργίδι δὲ μόνῃ, τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν ἀναβαίνουσα: both ἐπισήμοις and ἀλουργίδι are governed by χρησαμένη. The ms. reading ἀναβαίνουσιν is one of many instances of the careless addition of *nu* at the end of a word ending in a vowel or diphthong (see *app. crit.* 22.15, 34.21, 36.31,32 62.5, 82.12, 90.8,28, 98.14, 142.19, 166.1, 172.15,26, 188.19, 202.4, 204.8, 218.9, 234.25, 236.1, 256.9); see also note 62.3; ἀναβαίνουσα is transitive, while ἀναβάς (82.27) is intransitive.

14.6 Φλαυίων: the ms. reading need not be emended to Φλαβίων.

14.8–9 καὶ Πτολεμαίους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου: the καὶ here answers the preceding μέν (14.7); there are eleven more such instances (30.12,16, 58.30–60.1, 108.11,12, 146.25,26, 164.15,16, 176.21,24, 178.28–180.4, 222.22,23, 222.24, 222.25,26, 232.7).

14.11 συγχείμενον: the ms. reading συνκείμενον is one of nine examples of the non-assimilation of *nu* before *beta*, *kappa*, *gamma*, *lambda*, or *mu* (see *app. crit.* 74.17, 110.6, 138.20, 148.23, 152.16, 166.6, 218.9, 234.24).

14.13 φόροις: the ms. reading here is one of five examples of the scribal eradication of an incorrectly written letter or letters (see *app. crit.* 120.18, 136.22, 212.24, 214.15).

14.15–16 πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνελών καὶ τὸν μείζονα: not realizing that καὶ has a concessive sense here (see note 2.15), Vasis (*E.E.II.* 111) thinks that it has no meaning here and therefore καίτοι should be read. He also says that Lydus calls Romus

μείζονα because either Lydus or his source often found Romus mentioned before Romulus and so he took Romulus as a diminutive that therefore younger. Regarding the Remus legend see Th. Mommsen *Historische Schriften*, Erster Band (Gesammelte Schriften, Vierter Band, Berlin, 1906), 3,4,9 (note).

14.17–18 Διογενιανῶ τῷ λεξογράφῳ: there is no reason to emend the ms. reading λεξογράφῳ to λεξικογράφῳ, for the former occurs in sch. Hes. *Op.* 633.40. (T. Gaisford *Poetae Minores Graeci*, II (Leipzig, 1823), 362). Diogenian flourished during the reign of Hadrian and compiled in five books an alphabetically arranged epitome of the lexicon of Pamphilus of Alexandria and other similar works as abridged by Vestinus (see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 349; Cohen *R.E.* 5 (1), 778–783 s.v. *Diogenianus* 4).

14.20–21 Κάτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς Αρχαιότητος: Cato *Orig.* 1 I fr. 19 (ed. H. Peter *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 57).

14.21–22 Βάρρων τε ὁ πολυμαθέστατος ἐν Προομίοις τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων: this is Varro's work Εἰσαγωγικὸς *ad Pompeium*. L. H. Krahner (*Commentationis de M. Terenti Varronis antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum libris XLI specimen* (Ph.D. diss., Halis, 1834), 20) conjectures Πομπώνιον; cf. Fr. Ritschl *Opuscula Philologica*, 3 (Leipzig, 1877), 376 & 470. The ms. reading ἄρρων is one of many instances in which the initial part of a word was carelessly omitted (see *app. crit.* 24.12,15, 28.26, 42.7, 60.27, 80.23, 86.8, 92.19, 94.7, 104.17, 114.8, 138.18, 142.6, 146.5, 152.4, 164.16, 166.7, 172.20,24, 178.29, 198.16, 202.8, 206.17, 232.14, 252.23); see also notes 8.3 & 30.27.

14.23 Ἀρκάδων: the ms. reading αλκαδων was corrected by the scribe to αρκαδων; thirty-nine more such scribal corrections are noted (see *app. crit.* 36.17, 38.17, 44.11, 46.21, 50.11, 52.17,19,25, 54.8, 58.23, 78.19, 120.18, 126.4, 152.3, 172.27, 178.1, 180.14, 192.28,29, 194.12, 196.20,27,30, 202.16, 206.9, 208.19, 210.15, 212.14,23,24,27, 214.3,15,17, 236.21, 240.3,4,22, 246.17).

14.24 γραμματικοῖς: sc. “grammarians” (see note 178.1–2).

14.26 Κύρεως: this is one of many examples of the use of the genitive without a preposition to express source (see notes 34.30, 48.23, 104.21–22, 178.9–10, 204.10–11, 212.2, 252.17) or separation (see notes 96.13–14, 238.17–19).

16.8–9 ὡς καταρρίπτουσι τὴν βασιλέων μεγαλειότητα οἱ πονηροὶ κόλακες: Vasis (*E.E.II* 111) would read ὥστε instead of the ms. reading ὡς, but Wunsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 572) maintains that one can support that if one comprehends it as ‘thus.’ A clause, however, of actual result can be expressed by ὡς with the indicative (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 730, Soph. *Tr.* 590, Hdt. 2.135, 3.130, Thuc. 7.34, Pl. *Men.* 71A, Eur. *Cyr.* 647, Xen. *Cyr.* 5.4,11,81, *HG* 4.1.33).

16.9–10 ἐξ ἀμαθείας δούλων αὐτοῦς πρωτεύειν εἰσάγοντες: the scribe, misled by κόλακες, carelessly wrote αὐτοῖ instead of αὐτούς, which is needed as subject of εἰσάγοντες.

16.11 Αὐγουστός ποτε, ἡ τάχα Τιβέριος: Augustus abhorred the use of the title *dominus* for himself and disliked its use even by his sons and grandsons either in jest or in earnest (Suet. *Aug.* 53). Tiberius shrank from this title (Suet. *Tib.* 27). The title *dominus* was first adopted by Caligula and Domitian.

16.12–13 ἀφῆκε τὸν σύλλογον: Lydus (*De Mens.* 4.112) says that this incident occurred in the senate.

16.13–14 ἀλλ' ἤδη πρότερον ὥσπερ ἐν τιμῇ τῆς ὕβρεως εἰσαχθεῖσης: a participle, particularly in a genitive absolute, is often accompanied by ἤδη (see 82.18–19, 108.6–8, 114.27–28, 136.5–6, 138.30, 190.13–14, 198.24–25, 254.4–5, 256.11).

16.14–15 ἡ τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἐπιείκεια: *sc.* Justinian.

16.16–17 δεσπότης, οἷον πατήρ ἀγαθός: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 111) thinks that, since δεσπότης cannot be explained as πατήρ ἀγαθός in accordance with what Lydus has just said, οἷον is incorrect and must be emended to ὁ ὢν, the meaning being, “he who is really a good father endures nevertheless to be called that which he is not, namely, master.” Vasis’ reasoning, however, is unconvincing, for the *ms.* reading is correct. For the application of δεσπότης to the emperor see R. Guillard *Revue des Études Byzantines* 17 (1959), 52–89.

16.17 οὐχ ὅτι χαίρει ἀλλ' ἐρυθριᾷ μᾶλλον: the meaning of οὐχ ὅτι and οὐχ ὅπως or μὴ ὅτι and μὴ ὅπως is shown from the context to be ‘not only not (so far from)’; see also 190.22–24.

16.21 δρύφακτος: this is the verbal adjective of δρυφάσσω; see note 186.26.

16.21 τραβέα: the *ms.* reading τραβαβαία is one of ten examples of dittography (see *app. crit.* 24.14, 38.13, 66.14, 74.9, 114.17, 138.20, 180.26, 208.3, 232.17).

16.22–23 ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητῆς ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐβδόμῳ τῆς Αἰνιῆδος: Verg. *Aen.* 7.169, 188.

16.23–24 τὴν Λατίνου διαγράφων βασιλείαν: though βασιλεία here means “regal residence,” in two other instances (96.7,13) it means “imperial residence”; see also note 10.28–29.

16.24 τραβέας: the *ms.* reading τραβεα is one of twelve instances of the careless omission of a final *sigma* (see *app. crit.* 30.17, 32.9, 44.10, 78.4, 80.6, 112.18, 118.10, 132.25, 164.7, 172.14, 230.11); see also notes 8.26 & 76.3.

16.27 ῥεραβδωμένος: the *manus recentior*, not Boissonade (*Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, III (Paris, 1831), 133, note 4), was the first to correct the *ms.* reading.

18.3 κατὰ τὸν Κοκκήιον: cf. U. P. Boissevain *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, I (Berlin, 1895), 10, *fr.* 6, 1a. The *ms.* κοκκην (*sc.* Κοκκή(ι)ον) is one of twenty instances of the scribe’s careless omission of a medial *iota* (see *app. crit.* 18.12, 106.29, 116.23, 124.10, 142.25, 166.20, 176.24, 178.14, 200.13,21, 208.7, 214.11, 218.5,14,19, 220.25, 222.3, 228.7, 240.16); see also notes 80.11–16 & 152.4.

18.4 τόγας: the genitive can be also τόγης (36.16).

18.9 ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Ἀσπρος: Aemilius Asper, a Latin grammarian (ii A.D.), wrote commentaries (now lost) on Terence, Sallust, and Vergil (see Goetz *R.E.* 1 (1), 547 s.v. *Aemilius* 29).

18.12 ἀπετέλουν βῆμά τι βασιλεία: while the *ms.* reading βῆματι must be emended to βῆμά τι because it is needed as object of the verb, τῇ may not have dropped out of the text.

18.14 προσθέτου: the *manus recentior* at first corrected the accent of the ms. reading προσθετοῦ to πρόσθετου, then, having noticed his misplaced accent, recorrected it to προσθέτου.

18.23 τούφας: cf. *Cosm. Ind. top.* 11 (*PG* 88, 444A).

18.27 ἀνενήνεκται: the ms. reading ἀνήνεκται is the result of scribal carelessness (see note 8.3); cf. ἀνενήνεκται (112.19).

20.1–2 τῆς ἐν ὅπλοις στρατείας: the ms. reading στρατειας (*sc.* στρατείας) need not be emended to στρατιᾶς, for the latter would not have required ἐν ὅπλοις, but the latter would be needed to distinguish the two meanings of στρατεία as “military service” and “civil service.”

20.2 Πάτερνος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος: Tarruntenus Paternus lived during the reigns of M. Aurelius and Commodus and wrote a work on martial law (*De Re Militari*) in four books (see Berger *R.E.* 4 A 2 (1960), 2405–2407 s.v. *Tarruntenus Paternus*).

20.3 καθ’ ἐρμηνείαν: the ms. reading κατερμηνείαν is one of nine instances in which the scribe carelessly rendered an aspirate as a smooth (see *app. crit.* 60.11, 80.11, 122.29, 150.22, 162.13, 172.15, 228.1,3); see also note 58.8–9.

20.9 μανίπλους: Wünsch in his text accents this word μανίπλους but in his *Index Glossarum* 176 as μανιπλός; *Soph. Lex.* 732 accents it μανίπλοι.

20.15 κελήριοι τότε προσηγορεύθησαν: cf. *Paul. Fest.* 55M: *celeris antiqui dixerunt quos nunc equites dicimus a Celere, interfectore Remi*.

20.19 τεθεῖσιν: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 19 (1899), No. 20 (May 20), 613) unnecessarily conjectures συντεθεῖσιν because τεθεῖσιν can mean “put down in writing” (cf. *Pl. Lg.* 793B).

20.20 κλιπέου: the ms. reading κλειπόου is one of twelve instances exhibiting the scribal error of misreading a cursive *epsilon* as *omikron* (see *app. crit.* 46.10 48.17, 62.24, 78.5, 80.14, 100.10, 116.20, 132.29, 150.11, 176.11, 232.23); see also note 24.10.

20.22–23 ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀχαρνεύσι: cf. *Ar. Arch.* 180–181: σιτιποὶ γέροντες πρίνινοι ἀτέρμονες Μαραθωνομάχοι σφενδάμνινοι.

22.1–2 ἀβαρῆς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἰσχνή, καρτερωτάτη δὲ καὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐνδιδοῦσα: this sentence is one of several instances whereby a participle is being used coordinately with a preceding finite verb; the other instances are: ὀνομάζοντες (24.10), καμπτόμενος . . . προβλέπων . . . παραχωρῶν . . . διασυρίζων . . . εἰλούμενος (122.16–22), ἐπικουφίσας (130.5), ἐπιδιδούς (156.4), παιδευθέντες (156.14), ἐκβάς (174.6), ἐπισηκρητεύων . . . βοηθῶν (176.3,4), ἀγρυπνῶν (202.18), ἀποπέμπων (206.16), εἰπών (210.9), ἐπιστάμενος (212.1), ἀνάγων (232.8), εὐρίσκων (242.5); see also note 28.25–30.4.

22.2 κλίπεον: the ms. reading καὶ πέον reflects the scribal misreading of Λ as Α in majuscules; see also note 58.7.

22.4 ἀσπίσι τροχωτάταις: Fuss (*Ep.* 15) believes that βραχυτάταις should be the reading, which Bekker, too, suggests, while L. Dindorf (*Steph. Byz. Thes. Ling. Gr.*, VII, 2530) says that τροχωταῖς would be more suitable.

22.12 ἀγκίλλας τὰς δορικτῆτους γυναῖκας: cf. Paul. *Fest.* 19: *ancillae dictae ab Anco Martio rege quod in bello magnum feminarum numerum cepit.*

22.18 φάμης ὁ λιμὸς προσαγορεύεται: the ms. reading φάμεις exhibits the scribal misreading of H as EI in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 52.27, 70.20, 80.18, 110.16, 174.20, 190.12, 198.25, 206.5, 216.22); see also note 44.1–3. The ms. reading προβατορεύεται resulted from the scribal misreading of □ as B and of Γ as T in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 138.21).

22.19 ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς, Αἰολικῆς ⟨λέγω⟩, σημασίας εἴρηται: cf. τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, τὴν Αἰολίδα λέγω (14.19–20).

22.23 αἰωρημένον: in the perfect tenses the augmentation of the diphthong is not absolutely necessary; cf. ἐξοιδημένος (222.26), εὐρημένοι (234.1), οἰμῶζε (248.17).

22.24 γλωχῖνας: the ms. reading γλοχιναι resulted from the scribal misreading of □ as I in a majuscule ms. (see *app. crit.* 24.2, 34.30, 52.13, 248.14; see also note 26.6).

24.2–3 ὡς Ἑρέννιος φησιν: Herennius Philo of Byblos (A.D. 64–114), who alleges to have translated into Greek the writings of the ancient Phoenician sage Sanchuniathon, which cover the period from the creation to the twelfth century B.C., wrote a dictionary of synonyms, which was used extensively by Hesychius of Miletus (see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 823, s.v. *Philon* 5; Gudeman *R.E.* 8 (1), 650–661 s.v. *Herennius* 2).

24.6 ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Αἰνιῆδος: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.312: *ipse uno graditus comitatus Achate. Achates was Aeneas' trusty squire (Aen. 1.174).*

24.10 ποδεῶνας: the ms. reading πεδεῶνας is one of eleven instances in which is observed the scribal error of misreading *omikron* and rendering it as a cursive *epsilon* (see *app. crit.* 140.19, 158.5, 178.4, 188.2, 198.4,6, 220.30, 238.30, 254.17,26); see also note 20.20.

24.10 γλοῦβας: the ms. reading γλόβας should be emended to γλοῦβας to reflect the Latin *glūba*.

24.10 δοράς: the ms. reading δορράς is one of many examples which exhibit the scribal error of rendering a single consonant as a doubled consonant (see *app. crit.* 8.25, 26.12, 42.7, 48.23, 70.1,20, 72.1, 94.7, 100.4, 104.15, 116.16, 168.15, 176.23, 196.3, 200.17, 218.21, 250.20, 256.1); see also note 2.13.

24.11 γλουβᾶρε: the ms. reading γλοβᾶρε should be emended to γλουβᾶρε to reflect the Latin *glūbāre*.

24.12 ἐστάλθαι: the ms. reading στάλθαι, as well as κχωρηκει (80.23) and παρασκευασμενω (250.21), shows the omission of the syllabic or vowel augment of the perfect and pluperfect.

24.11–12 τοῖς στρατιώταις. . ὀπλοφοροῦσι: the use of ὀπλοφοροῦσι with στρατιώταις is to indicate “military soldiers” since στρατιώτης is used to indicate also a member of the civil administration under the praetorian prefecture (cf. 178.25), reflecting the latter’s original military character; see note 20.1–2.

24.15 ἐκσκούβιτωρες: the Greek equivalent of *excubitor* is ἀγρυπνητής (cf. *Gloss.*).

24.16 Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ: the order is either *Tiberius Caesar* (Paterculus 2.104.3) or *Caesar Tiberius* (Phaedrus 2.5.7).

24.19 Τράγκυλλος ἐν τοῖς Περί Αὐγούστου: Suetonius (*Aug.* 40.5) says that Augustus was speaking *pro contione* when this incident occurred.

24.27 νοκτούρνου: the ms. reading νουκτούρνου resulted from the scribal error of incorrectly writing a vowel or diphthong by influence from the vowel or diphthong in the syllable which follows (see *app. crit.* 54.17, 56.20, 64.4, 88.15, 110.9, 200.23, 210.14, 226.20, 254.16); see also note 60.5–6.

24.28–26.1 Κατὰ Βέρρου: cf. Cic. in *Verr.* act. sec. I 71, II 69,74, III 154,157 (*accensus*) II 139 (*accensio*).

26.2 ὠνόμαζον: this, the ms. reading, need not be emended to ὀνομάζων, Wünsch's emendation, following Preger (*apud* Wünsch).

26.6 Κελερίω: Lydus's autograph certainly had ΚΕΛΕΡΙΩΙ, which subsequently was corrupted to κελεριως and then to κελέριος. There are four more instances of the scribal misreading of I as □ in a majuscule ms. (see *app. crit.* 96.5, 140.11, 170.18, 174.11); see also note 22.24.

26.9–10 τὸν στέφανον τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τῶν ἱπάρχων κατασχεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἀδέσποτον ἑαυτῇ: whereas Vasis (*E. E. II.* 111) wishes to take βασιλείαν as an adjective modifying ἐξουσίαν, it is preferable to take τὴν βασιλείαν as a noun and to understand ἐξουσίαν in apposition to στέφανον with ἀδέσποτον, which Vasis unnecessarily prefers to emend to ἀδιάσπαστον, modifying it and governing ἑαυτῇ as a dative of agency referring to τὴν βασιλείαν.

26.12 Αὐρήλιος ὁ νομικός: cf. *Dig.* I tit. XI. Aurelius, a Roman jurist and *magister libellorum* under Constantine I, was the author of *De Muneribus civilibus*, *De Testibus*, and *De Officio Praefecti Praetorio* (see Jörs *R.E.* 3 (2), 2146–2147 s.v. *Aurelius Arcadius Charisius* 7).

26.15 ἦν: the ms. reading ἡ reflects the scribal error of omitting a final *nu* (see note 12.6–7).

26.16–18 〈παραδέδοται ἐπεὶ τοῖς δικτάτωρσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις〉 ἐστὶν οἷς ἡ πᾶσα πρὸς καιρὸν ἐξουσία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστεύετο: Wünsch supplies the conjectured words from the *Dig.*: a quibusdam traditum est. nam cum apud veteres dictatoribus ad tempus summa potestas crederetur, etc.

26.18–20 ἐπελέγοντο γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἱππέων ἕκαστος κοινωνὸν ὥσπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ διοικήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων: the scribe, misled by the accusatives which precede and follow, carelessly wrote ἕκαστον; ἕκαστος can be used with a verb in the plural.

26.23 τῆς τε διοικήσεως: the ms. reading δε is a scribal error for τε (see *app. crit.* 204.23); see also note 28.4.

28.3 ἔφειν: the ms. reading ἄφειν reflects the scribal error of carelessly writing *alpha* instead of *epsilon* (see *app. crit.* 72.13, 98.14, 122.11, 202.5, 226.20, 250.21, 254.12,16); see also note 48.7.

28.3 ἐγκαλεῖσθαι: the ms. reading ἐκκαλεῖσθαι reflects the scribal error of carelessly writings κκ instead of γκ (see *app. crit.* 122.19, 128.5, 142.3, 162.9).

28.4 τότε: the ms. reading τότε reflects the scribal carelessness of writing τε instead of δε (see *app. crit.* 158.12, 194.26, 226.10); see also note 26.23.

28.4 ὅτι δέ: see note 2.15.

28.16 οὐκ ἀκοῇ: the ms. reading οὐ κακὸν resulted from the scribal misreading of *eta* as *nu* in the majuscule reading ΟΥΚΑΚΟΗ.

28.16 αὐτοῖς ἔργοις: the absence of the article with the intensive occurs also in other instances (see 26.13, 38.21–22, 42.12–13, 80.11, 96.27, 112.16, 150.7, 228.11).

28.17 τοῖς ἐφόροις τῆς ἀρχῆς: the various praetorian prefects under whom Lydus served are meant.

28.18 μετὰ θεόν: this expression, which occurs again later (246.21), means that God is first to be credited above anyone else; it is not, as Wünsch thinks (ed. *Praef.* XXX), an instance of the use of the accusative as equivalent to the genitive.

28.25–30.4 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν Σαβίνων conscriptos αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσας. . . καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ. . . συνηρίδμησε: this is an instance of a preceding participle passing over into a finite verb construction coordinately joined usually by δέ (62.20–22, 78.20–21, 100.21–23, 214.9–12) but sometimes by καὶ. . . καὶ (144.5–8) or τε (174.15–17); see also note 22.1–2. This construction is found also in classical authors (*cf.* Antiphon 1.12, Thuc. 4.100, Dem. 57.11, Xen. *An.* 6.6.16).

30.13 ξηραμπέλιντοι: Juvenal (*Sat.* 6.519) uses this adjective, and the scholiast describes this color as *inter coccinum et muricem medius*, namely, the color of vine leaves in autumn.

30.15 ἀτραβαττικάς: see the *Suda* s.v. ἀτραβατικός.

30.16 παραγῶδαι: this spelling occurs in two more places (88.16, 104.5), while παραγᾶδαι is found thrice (4.25, 30.18, 19); see J. B. Hofmann-A. Walde *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, 250; Ernout-Meillet *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Latine*, II, 481.

30.25 ψαλίδωμα: the ms. reading ψαμα (*sc.* ψάμα) is accepted by Soph. *Lex.* 1178 for this passage, whereas L–S 2017 cites no instance of it nor Wünsch’s convincing conjecture.

30.25–26 ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος ἀνθυπαντῶντων ἀλλήλοις: the meaning of στήθος here seems to be not “ball of the foot” (*cf.* L–S 1643 s.v. στήθος III.2) but “metatarsal”; the force of ἀντί in ἀνθυπαντῶντων, as also in ἀντιπαραγίνομένων (190.3), is “in crisscross pattern,” and Fuss (*Ep.* 18), realizing this, translates it *sibi invicem* occurrentibus.

30.27 ἔμπροσθεν: the ms. reading ἐμπρός is one of fourteen examples in which the scribe carelessly omitted the final part of a word (see *app. crit.* 84.17, 94.24, 98.30, 112.14, 164.10, 15, 190.11, 194.30, 204.12, 208.8, 216.5, 250.21, 252.1); see also notes 8.3 & 14.21–22.

32.3–4 ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου γινόμενοι τὰς προαγωγὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπετέλουν: the use of ἐπὶ with the genitive to denote goal of motion (*constructio praegnans*) is found frequently (see 36.17, 178.28–29, 188.7, 226.2,9, 254.9); the ms. reading γινόμενοι need not be emended to γενόμενοι, for the present participle can occur when the principal verb is in the imperfect (see 50.5, 148.25–150.1 160.18–19).

32.6 ὁ Λέπιδος ἐν τῷ Περί Ἱερῶν: this Lepidus is probably Caesar's *magister equitum* (see 60.17, 84.30, 86.14, 90.18), who, since he was a *pontifex maximus* (180 B.C.), could well have written a work titled *De Sacerdotibus*.

32.7 πρόοδος: this is the Greek equivalent to the Latin *processus*, which was the ceremonious appearance of the consul on assuming office (cf. *Dig.* 24.1.41); it can also mean the public appearance of the emperor (cf. Treballius Pollio 17.3); see Lampe 1160 s.v. πρόοδος I.A.2).

32.8–9 ὀχήμασι δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἐφ' ὕψηλοῦ τῆς καθέδρας ἀναστρωννυμένοις: it is clear that the ms. reading ἀναστρωννυμενοι must be emended to ἀναστρωννυμένοις (see note 16.24) because it refers to ὀχήμασι and is not to be made to agree with τῆς καθέδρας as a genitive absolute since τῆς καθέδρας is a genitive of content; cf. ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου (Hdt. 2.138), πεδῖον νεκρῶν κατεστρώθη (D.S. 14.114).

32.10 εἰς πληθος: this phrase occurs in three more places (144.13, 184.16, 190.13); cf. τριήρεις ἐς πληθος ἐγένοντο (Thuc. 1.14).

32.21 ὅτι δὲ Τίτος Τάτιος τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν: the name Τίτος Τάτιος is an independent nominative, which is used in citing the names of persons and things; cf. προσεῖληφε τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν κοινὴν ἐπωνυμίαν 'συκοφάντης' (Aes. 2.99).

32.23–24 ὥς φησι Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος: *Pers. Sat.* 1.20.

32.28–29 παρὰ τοὺς ἐλάττονας (ἐχοντας): Vasis (*E.E.II.* 113), since he takes τοὺς ἐλάττονας to mean "men of meaner sort," states that Fuss and Wunsch miscorrected the text by adding ἐχοντας. However, Wunsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 573) correctly points out that ἐχοντας could easily have been carelessly omitted because of the likeness of termination of both words.

32.29 μάρτυς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Ἰουβενάλιος: *Juv. Sat.* 5.110–111: namque et titulis et fascibus olim maior habebatur donandi gloria.

34.7 ἔχρησεν: this, the ms. reading, need not be emended to ἐχρηζεν.

34.14 τοὺς ἀναγομένους ξένους: the ms. reading ἀναγομένους is correct, for it is referring to those foreigners who were being brought up to Rome upon their arrival from a sea voyage.

34.30 χρήματα συλλέγειν αὐτῶν: it is unnecessary to conjecture that ἀπ' dropped out of the text because αὐτῶν alone can express source (see note 14.26).

34.30 πεκουνίας: the ms. reading πεκουνιαι is a scribal error for πεκουνίας and not πεκουνίαν (see note 22.24).

36.2 ἡ παλαιότης οἶδεν: *Verg. Aen.* 8.462.

36.8 εὔροι <ἄν> τις: the loss of ἄν from the text through scribal carelessness is observed in three other instances (92.21, 138.8, 148.10), for the potential optative requires it (see 10.18.21, 12.23, 34.25, 38.15, 54.26, 64.25, 82.28, 90.4, 92.10.16–17, 138.3, 150.22, 170.18, 180.19, 190.2, 202.3, 234.13); see also notes 90.16, 108.3, 128.14, 132.6, 146.1, 180.27, 206.27–28, 230.2–3.

36.9–10 παρὰ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ κυρίαν προσηγορίαν κτησάμενον: the conjecture of ἐτέραν after προσηγορίαν is unnecessary.

36.14–15 καὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν Κέθηγον ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν γηγενῶν ἔλκειν τὸ γένος ἀξιούντα: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus was descended from a Roman patrician family of the Cornelian gens; he was *pontifex maximus* and curule aedile in 213 B.C., *praetor* in 211, *ensor* in 209, *consul* in 204, and *proconsul* in Upper Italy in 203. Cethegus was reputed as an orator (cf. Hor. *Ars. Poet.* 50, *Ep.* 2.2.117) and died in 196 B.C. (cf. Liv. 25.2.41, 27.11, 30.18).

36.17 ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς γινόμενον: the present participle here represents an imperfect and need not be emended to γινόμενον (see note 32.3–4).

36.23 ἀπραγῆσαι: the verb is ἀπραγέω and not, as L–S 229 says, ἀπρακτέω.

36.30–31 τὸν ἀλφῶδη: the meaning here is “having birth marks” and not “leprous” (cf. L–S 74, Soph. *Lex.* 12).

36.31 πρῶτον <τόν>: the loss of τόν was due to haplography, of which thirteen more instances are observed (see *app. crit.* 102.23, 124.9, 136.9, 148.3.11, 158.3, 162.10, 164.10, 174.7, 190.9, 206.23, 232.6, 256.5).

38.3 Στάτις: though the ms. reading στάτης many be an instance of etacism for στάτις (sc. Στάτιος), the Oscan form *Staatii*s may have been in Lydus' mind; cf. Hofmann-Walde *Lat. Etym. Wört.* II, 598, Ernout-Meillet *Dict. Etym. de la langue Latine* II, 652.

38.4 Φαῦστος καὶ Φάβιος ὁ εὖνους: H. van Herwerden (*Mnemosyne* N.S. 34 (1906), 330) correctly takes the ms. reading φλάβιος as a scribal error for φάβιος, for the explanation of the name as ὁ εὖνους clearly shows that it is being derived from *favere*. Wünsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 573) rightly accepts van Herwerden's correction. Wünsch's conjecture ὁ εὐδαίμων after Φαῦστος may not be necessary, for ὁ εὖνους can apply both to *Faustus* ('favorable') and to *Favius* ('favoring').

38.11 Σερρανὸς ὁ γεωργικός: Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was called *Serranus* because the ambassadors from the senate found him sowing when they brought him notice that he was made *dictator*; cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 18.3: *serentem invenerunt dati honores Serranum unde ei et cognomen*.

38.14 Βάρρων: the ms. reading βόρρων reflects the scribal error of writing *omikron* instead of *alpha* (see *app. crit.* 12.12, 42.23, 54.11, 70.18, 72.7, 136.14, 210.22, 216.27); see also note 78.12.

38.16–18 ἀφρόντιδα συμβαίνει διαβιοῦν καὶ τοιοῦτοις ὁποῖους ἐγὼ καίπερ μυρίαίς συμπεπλεγμένους φροντίσιν ἐναγρυπνῶ μωραίνοντα ἀθύρμασιν: the ms. reading μωραίων, which is due to the scribal carelessness in making it agree with the subject of ἐναγρυπνῶ which immediately precedes it, must be emended either to μωραίνοντα, so as to be parallel to οὐκ ἔχοντα ὁ τι πράττοι, or to μωραίνειν, Skutsch's emendation (*apud* Wünsch), so as to be parallel to καταβιοῦν. Either would make sense.

38.21–22 Ἰούνιος τοίνυν Γραχχανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐξουσιῶν αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι περὶ τοῦ καλουμένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κυαίστωρος: cf. *Dig.* I 13. The words, however, are not those of Gracchanus but of Ulpian who is citing Gracchanus. The ms. reading γραχχανὸς exhibits a correction of the incorrectly placed accent, not only in this word but also in other words (see *app. crit.* 100.29, 106.24, 108.26, 172.5, 202.25, 206.13,15, 234.25, 236.2, 240.20); see also note 12.6–7.

38.22–23 προεχωρήσαντο ψήφῳ τοῦ δήμου: the ms. reading προεχωρήσαντω need not be emended to προεχειρίζοντο or to προεχώρησαν τῇ or to προεχειρίσαντο (Vasis *E. E. II.* 113–114) but to προεχωρήσαντο; cf. προχωρήσασθαι (184.18–19).

40.7 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς βουλῆς: Vasis (*E. E. II.* 114) says that perhaps this should be emended to read ἀπ' ἐκείνου (sc. τοῦ βασιλέως) τῇ βουλῇ because the *quaestores candidati* used to read to the senate on the part of the emperor the names which he recommended in order that they might be appointed to a magistracy by the vote of the senate. Vasis' emendation, however, not only would involve too great a change in the ms. reading but would also unnecessarily alter the meaning being expressed by the phrase.

40.8 προαγομένων: the ms. reading προσαγομένων is one of numerous instances in which a *sigma* was carelessly inserted in the middle of a word (see *app. crit.* 44.1, 50.6, 60.21, 68.1, 80.22, 98.25, 100.4, 102.11, 116.23, 132.18,27, 178.27, 194.15, 212.20, 214.13, 224.8, 242.20, 244.23, 248.13); see also notes 2.3–4 & 72.10,11.

40.9 ὁ νομικὸς δὲ Οὐλπιανός: Domitius Ulpianus was a Roman jurist whose activity lay between A.D. 211–222 (see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1103 s.v. *Ulpianus* 1; Jörs, *R.E.* 5 (1), 1435–1509 s.v. *Domitius* 88).

40.14 τί δὲ ψιλῆς: there is no need to assume that perhaps διὰ dropped out of the text because, since it occurs in the immediately preceding phrase, it can easily be understood also here.

40.18–19 κατὰ τὸ μυθικόν: cf. κατὰ τὸν μῦθον (126.17), κατὰ τὸν μυθικόν (236.26).

40.20 ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητῆς ἐν ἔκτῳ τῆς Αἰνιίδος: Verg. 6.432–433.

42.10–13 Γάιος τοίνυν ὁ νομικὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ *Ad Legem XII Tabularum*, οἷον Εἰς τὸν Νόμον τοῦ Διοκαίδεκαδέλτου, αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ταῦτά φησιν: cf. *Dig.* I tit. II 22,23. The words are those not of Gaius but of Pomponius:

Deinde cum aerarium populi auctius esse coepisset, ut essent qui illi praessent, constituti sunt quaestores, qui pecuniae praessent, dicti ab eo quod inquirendae et conservandae pecuniae causa creati sunt. Et quia, ut diximus, de capite civis Romani iniussu populi non erat lege permissum consulibus ius dicere, propterea quaestores constituebantur a populo, qui capitalibus rebus praessent; hi appellabantur quaestores parricidii, quorum etiam meminit lex duodecim tabularum.

42.18 κυαίστωρες παρρικιδίου: the ms. reading παρακιδιοις must be emended to παρρικιδίου rather than to παρρικίδιοι since an adjectival form *parricidius* is not attested.

42.21 παρέντης: the ms. reading παρεντες is obviously a scribal error for παρέντης; it is one of many Latin nouns whose termination has in it a long e; cf. αἰδης (52.27), ἀρκύτης (70.20), γλήβης (52.9), κησουάλης (128.24), κλιέντης (34.3), κολιέντης (34.3), κοόρτης

(70.1), κουστώδης (72.6), πάτρης (4.23), πέρ ση (96.23), ῥῆς (164.7), φακίης (48.20), φάμης (22.18).

42.23 ποιούντες: the ms. reading ποροούντες, as well as ρονεῖσι, sc. Ἰωνῖσι (126.18), and ἀρτίας, sc. αἰτίας (244.8), exhibits the misreading of I as P in a majuscule ms.

42.25–26 Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ καὶ <τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ> διακοσιοστῷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτῷ, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Πηγουλου καὶ Ἰουλίου: the conjectured addition, as well as the correction of the ms. reading ἰουνίου to Ἰουλίου, are owed to Th. Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig, 1887), 570–571, note 5). The scribe may well have misread Λ as Ν in majuscules (see also note 70.5). The year being referred to is certainly 267 B.C.

44.1–3 προεβλήθησαν οἱ καλούμενοι κλαστικοί, οἷον εἰ ναύαρχαι, τῷ ἀριθμῷ δυοκαίδεκα κυαίστωρες, οἷον ταμίαι καὶ συναγωγεῖς χρημάτων: it is generally agreed that the appointment of twelve *quaestores classici* in 267 B.C. is an excessively large and unlikely number and that perhaps in all likelihood two were appointed (see W. V. Harris “The Development of the Quaestorship, 267–81 B.C.,” *The Classical Quarterly*, N.S. 26 (1976), 92–106). On behalf of the number two, M. Smith “Lydus, De Magistratibus 1.27 and the Quaestors of 267 B.C.,” *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978), 125–126) convincingly proposes a palaeographically sound argument that the reading δυοκαίδεκα in the Lydus text could simply have been the result of a scribal error of transcription stemming from a misreading and misunderstanding of what was originally ΤΩΙΑ-ΠΙΘΜΩΙΒ (cf. W. V. Harris “Lydus, De Magistratibus 1.27: A Reply,” *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16 (1979), 199–200). The ms. reading συναγωγῆς resulted from the scribal misreading of ΕΙ as Η in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 6.11, 42.23 108.30, 112.21, 178.28, 186.18, 196.3, 198.21, 204.18, 230.9, 242.15, 256.13, 16); see also note 22.18.

44.4–5 ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια καὶ συναγωγή τῶν πόρων: an instance of hendiadys.

44.7–8 χαλεπὸν οὐδέν: the neuter οὐδέν here and elsewhere (56.17, 172.9–10, 208.1) functions adverbially.

44.9–10 οἱ κυαίστωρες οἱ κανδιδάτοι: cf. *Dig. I tit. XIII*. It was Augustus who instituted a new kind of *quaestores*, called *quaestores candidati* or *principis* (*Caesaris*) whose duty it was to convey imperial messages to the senate (cf. *Plin. Ep.* 7.16.2) and to read his speeches and rescripts (cf. *Sid. Ep.* 2.80, *Tac. Ann.* 16.27, *Suet. Aug.* 65, *Tit.* 6). Constantine appointed *quaestores palatii* as chancellors (cf. *Cod. Th.* 1.8, 6.9, 7.62, *Cass. Var.* 6.5).

44.14 ἐκ προσώπου βασιλέων: the phrase ἐκ προσώπου means “in the person of” (see *Lampe* 424 s.v. ἐκ C.2) and not “in the presence of.”

44.17 ὡς ἀρχοντιῶσιν: the meaning here is “wish to be a magistrate,” but L–S 253 s.v. ἀρχοντιῶω cites only the meaning “wish to be a ruler.”

44.21 τοῦτο κρατῆσαν: the wearing of the toga is meant.

44.21–22 ἕως ἂν τὰ βουλευτήρια διώκουν τὰς πόλεις: this is the only instance of the use of ἂν with the imperfect.

46.5 κώνσουλ: Vasis (*Ε.Ε.Π.* 114) would correctly emend the ms. reading from *omikron* to *omega* not only for κώνσουλ but also for Κόνσος (46.6), κονσίλια (46.9), and Κονσου-άλια (46.12).

46.22 τὸν Ταρκύνιον: Tarquinius Superbus (534-510 B.C.) was the last king of Rome (*cf.* Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.5, 5.29).

46.26-48.2 ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον <ὅτι>. . . περιέσται τοῦ σκοποῦ, the conjecture that ὅτι dropped out of the text is probably correct, though its omission is also possible (see Soph. *Lex.* 822 s.v. ὅτι 6). Vasis (*E. E. II.* 114) thinks that it is preferable merely to emend περιέσται to περιέσεσθαι.

48.1 πρὸ πάσης τάξεως: the verbal noun τάξις functions here as a substitution for a clause reflecting the meaning of the verb from which the noun is derived; other such examples are τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φορᾶς (56.12), κατὰ στέρησιν (64.11), μέχρι λόγων (108.8), πρὸ τῆς Μαρίου τῶν λεγομένων λεγιῶνων διατάξεως (186.2-3), τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν (200.6), ναύαγιον (200.24), μέχρι μνήμης (202.28), περὶ τὴν ἄνοδον, μάλλον δὲ ἀνακομιδὴν (232.19-20), τὴν ἐστίαν (234.20), οἰμωγαί τε καὶ δάκρυα (236.10-11), περιόδῳ τοῦ σκέμματος (250.19), βιβλίων προαγωγαί (256.15).

48.2-3 ἐπανελθὼν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ: a verb of motion with ἐν (see 152.22, 186.14, 200.12) implies "motion to" and subsequent "position in" a place (*constructio praegnans*).

48.5 παρ' Ἑβραίοις Δανιήλ: LXX *Dan.* 3.2.

48.7 ἀπέθετο: the ms. reading ἐπέθετο reflects the scribal error of writing *epsilon* instead of *alpha* (see *app. crit.* 56.20, 68.7, 94.18, 100.10, 106.7, 118.17, 214.13, 230.12, 238.9, 254.17); see also note 28.3.

48.8 οἱ ἑρμηνεύσαντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ λόγια ποτε: the Greek translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament at Alexandria at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (288-247 B.C.) is being referred to (*cf.* Lyd. *de Mens.* 4.47).

48.9-11 μῆπω τότε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνισχούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ καινῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς θαυμαζομένης: though both Fuss and Bekker believe that the second τῆς ἀρχῆς is a careless scribal repetition, Bekker placing it within square brackets, yet it would not be so if the first is taken to mean specifically "the (consular) magistracy" and the second simply "the office."

48.14 πορφύρα διάσημος: the scribe, misinterpreting πορφύρα as a neuter plural, wrote διασημα.

48.18-20 ἐκμαγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἀπὸ λίνου λευκὸν τὰ ἐπίσημα τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν (μάππαν καὶ φακίολην ἐπιχωρίως ὠνόμασαν, ὅτι φακίης κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὄψις λέγεται): the ms. reading ἦν can be interpreted in one of two ways: (1) as a scribal error for ἦν, whose subject is τὰ ἐπίσημα, in which case the clause beginning with μάππαν and ending with λέγεται is a parenthetical explanation of ἐκμαγεῖον, displaced though this clause is because of scribal carelessness, with an implied αὐτό as object of ὠνόμασαν; or (2) as a scribal error for ἦν, in which case the relative takes its gender not from its antecedent ἐκμαγεῖον but from the predicate noun μάππαν (*cf.* note 224.23-24), leaving ἦν to be implied. Now, while Wünsch accepted ἦν, he followed Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) in conjecturing the loss of ἦν after ἦν by haplography, but later (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 571) opted for simply ἦν without ἦν before it. The first interpretation seems the more plausible, though the second also would make sense.

48.21 πληθος ἀνδρῶν: the scribe, after writing πληθος, adds *upsilon* over *omikron*, being misled by the genitive which follows; the syntax of the sentence, however, requires a nominative; see also notes 162.20 & 228.21-22.

48.23 μὴ Σερρανοῦ: the ms. reading μησεραννου (*sc.* μὴ Σερρανοῦ) expresses a cautious assertion with an implied ἤ (*cf.* *Il.* 14.376, *Eur. Hipp.* 659, *Antiphon* 5.32) and with Σερρανοῦ as a genitive of source (see note 14.26).

50.2 ὡς Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος σατυρικὸς ἔφη: *Pers. Sat.* 1.73.

50.3 σέλλαν: the meaning of this word for this passage is incorrectly given by L-S 1590 as “saddle,” but *Soph. Lex.* 983 correctly renders it “chair.”

50.5 ὑποβάλλοντες ἔφερον: the present of the ms. reading ὑποβαλλοντες (*sc.* ὑποβάλλοντες) does not necessarily have to be emended to ὑποβαλόντες (see note 32.3–4).

50.14–15 βρούτας τὰς σφῶν γυναῖκας ὠνόμασαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην: on the appellative *brutae* see G. Gundermann “Das Deutsche Wort Braut bei Römern und Griechen,” *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung* 1 (1901), 240–246; Wölfflin *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik* 12 (1902), 411; *Lyd. De Mens.* 4.29.

50.19–20 ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῇ Οἱ ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ὙΠΑΡΧΟΣ: because of scribal error the text here has ΠΕΜΠΤΗ, whereas it should be ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ to accord with the table of contents at the beginning of the work.

50.21 Γάιος ὁ νομογράφος: Pomponius, not Gaius, in *Dig.* I tit. II 24.

50.27 ἡ ἱστορία φησὶν: *cf.* *Liv.* 3.31; Heffter *Rhein. Mus. für Jurisprudenz* 2 (1828), 122.

52.9–10 γλήβης. . γλήβαν: the *epsilon* of the ms. reading in the stem of both words must be emended to *eta* (see note 42.21).

52.13 ὡς ὁ Τράγκυλλος εἶπε φιλολόγως: regarding the ms. reading φιλολόγῳ see note 22.24; on the fragments of Suetonius see A. Reifferscheid *C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1860); C. L. Roth *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1907).

52.17–18 ὡς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ποιητὴς παραδεδωκεν: *Verg. Aen.* 7.657.

52.19–20 ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Βεργινίου χάριν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἑναγχοῦς βιασθέντων: Verginius' daughter Verginia is mentioned by Juvenal (*Sat.* 10.294) as an example of a beautiful woman (*cf.* *Liv.* 3.44 sqq.).

54.1 πεντήκοντα: this is one of two examples where the ms. reading exhibits the *alpha* written over the *tau* (see *app. crit.* 200.16).

54.6 ΠΕΜΠΤΗ ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓῇ Ἡ ΔΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΨΡΑ: the text here has ΕΚΤΗ (see note 50.19–20); regarding the formation of the dictatorship see D.H. 5.70.1.

54.8–9 ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη’: *Il.* 2.204; see 94.7.

54.12 διασπαθιζόμενοι: the ms. reading διασπαθιζομενῶς (*cf.* note 2.3–4) is a scribal error due to influence from the immediately preceding ἄρχουσι and must be emended to διασπαθιζόμενοι as the supplementary participle governed by λάθοιεν (54.10).

54.17–18 τὸν μὴ νόμον γραφαῖς τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων διατιθέντα προϊστάμενα: the ms. reading διατεθέντα must be emended only to διατιθέντα, for the scribe has occasionally

carelessly misread I as E in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 70.4,6,8, 78.21, 98.25, 110.9, 112.6,11, 140.21, 164.1, 168.14, 178.17, 210.7,14); see also note 56.14. The ms. reading *προϊσταμένα* (sc. *προϊστάμενα*) is correct (see Lampe 1150 s.v. *προϊστημι* B.5).

54.18–19 *δικτατοῦραν γὰρ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν*: the ms. reading *δίκαιον* must be a scribal corruption of *δικτατοῦραν*, for the office of *dictator* is being defined; the scribe, misled by *ἐξουσίαν*, carelessly wrote *αὐτὴν* instead of *αὐτοῖ* (sc. *Ῥωμαῖοι*).

54.20 *ἐπὶ χρόνου βραχύν*: the ms. reading *χρόνου* is correct because a quantitative adjective, such as *βραχύν*, takes a genitive of the whole dependent upon it and gets its gender from that noun (see note 2.7–8).

54.25–26 *ὃς ἅμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπελάβετο <ἅμα> δύο ὑπάτους προεστήσατο*: it is clear that the second *ἅμα* was carelessly omitted; a doubled *ἅμα* can join two independent clauses (54.22–23, 94.27–29), an independent clause with a participle (130.3–6), two participles (206.2–3), and two nouns (102.8–9, 198.10–11).

56.1 *προϊέναι*: this is one of many instances of intransitive verbs having a passive sense: cf. *ἀναβαίνειν* (110.26), *ἀναστάς* (188.15), *ἀνελθών* (220.19–20), *ἀνήλθεν* (248.8), *ἐπανήλθεν* (192.6), *ἐπιστάς* (90.12, 214.23), *κατέστη* (188.23), *κατιοῦσιν* (86.9), *ἐφοίτησεν* (108.8–9), *φοιτώσας* (166.16–17), *παρελθόντων* (168.4), *παρελθουσῶν* (132.4), *παρίασιν* (134.15), *παριέναι* (188.27), *παριοῦσι* (134.5), *προελθοῦσι* (194.15), *προελθούσης* (178.27), *προελθουσῶν* (90.11), *προῆλθεν* (220.18), *ῥκει* (80.15).

56.4 *πορφύρα*: purple robes often formed part of the insignia of kings, magistrates, and commanders in the field. Magistrates at Rome, senators, and knights wore garments with a purple border.

56.14 *ἐφετόν*: the ms. reading *ἐφιτόν* here and in its other occurrence (76.7), as well as in other instances (see *app. crit.* 58.29, 106.10, 126.2, 152.7, 182.27), exhibits the scribal misreading of E as I in majuscules (see also note 54.17–18).

56.19–20 *τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ ὑπάτους*: the ms. reading *πρωτους* is the result of the scribal corruption of *πρὸ τοῦ*.

58.7 *Αὔλος*: the ms. reading *λύλος* reflects the scribal misreading of A as Λ in a majuscule ms.; see also note 22.2.

58.8–9 *Κόϊντον Φάβιον*: in *Φάβιον* *beta* represents b, but in *Φάβιος* (38.4), v, whereas in *Βιβιανοῦ* (208.4) both v and b. The ms. reading *κοῖνθον* is one of eleven instances in which the scribe carelessly rendered a smooth as an aspirate (see *app. crit.* 58.20, 68.12,17, 120.5, 126.14, 148.16, 166.1, 174.15, 226.5, 250.9); see also note 20.3.

58.11 *τοῦ δὲ δήμου παλινστατοῦντος*: the ms. reading *πάλιν στατουντος* is best rendered *παλινστατοῦντος*, which L–S 1292 s.v. *παλινστατέω* accepts but incorrectly gives its meaning as “return from secession, of the Roman plebs,” stating that it is a false reading for *πάλιν ἀστατοῦντος*.

58.16 *διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου*: the ms. reading *του μεγεθους* is due to scribal confusion of cases.

58.17 *μεθ’ ὃν Πούπλιος*: sc. *ἀνηγορεύθη δικτάτωρ* (see also 58.21–22). The verb of the relative clause can be omitted when it belongs also to the main clause (64.8–9, 84.28–29, 86.22, 98.1–2, 160.5–8).

58.22 ἐπί: the ms. reading *επει* (*sc. ἐπί*) need not be emended to ἀπό.

60.2 προσδοκία ἤττης: the ms. reading ἤττας is one of two examples of the scribal misreading of H as A in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 142.22); see also note 198.20–21.

60.2–3 τοῖς ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου πρὸς λιτὰς καταφεύγουσιν: *cf.* Sall. *Cat.* 52: non votis neque suppliciiis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur.

60.4–5 πραιτώρ. οὐρβανός: *cf.* Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.21: εἶτα προεστήσατο τὸν τῆς πόλεως φύλακα, ὑπαρχον δὲ αὐτὸν νῦν προσαγορεύομεν ἢ ὡς τινες πολίαρχον ἢ ἀστυδίκην, ὃν πάλα πραιτώρα οὐρβανὸν ἔλεγον, ὃς καὶ πρωτεύειν τῆς Ῥωμαίων γερουσίας φαίνεται.

60.5–6 περεγρίνος, οἶον ξενοδίκης: L. Dindorf (*Steph. Byz. Thes. Ling Gr.*, VI, 1650) correctly emends the ms. reading ξενοδοκῆς to ξενοδίκης. The scribe occasionally has carelessly written an incorrect vowel by influence from a preceding vowel or diphthong (see notes 66.15, 150.5, 198.20–21, 254.8–12); see also note 24.27.

60.8–11 τῷ δὲ ἐνενηκοστῷ <καὶ διακοσιοστῷ> τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτῷ, Ἀννίβου ἐνσκήψαντος τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ πολέμου οὐ μόνον δικτάτωρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιδικτάτωρ, ἱππάρχης τε καὶ ἀνθυππάρχης προεχειρίσθησαν: C. J. C. Reuvens (*Collectanea Litteraria, sive Conjecturae in Attium, Diomedem, Lucilium, Lydum, Nonium, Ovidium, Plautum, schol. Aristoph., Varronem, et alios* (Leiden, 1815), 25–26) believes that the text, as it is, is not true, for, if the *consules* had been created a.u.c. 245 and the *prodicator* a.u.c. 337, the calculation should be ninety-two and so διακοσιοστῷ, which occurs several lines above (60.3–4), namely, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ ἐξηκοστοῦ καὶ διακοσιοστοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ πραιτώρ ἕτερος προεχειρίσθη, should be joined to ἐνενηκοστῷ. But rather than assuming with Fuss (ed. 68, note 1) that something had fallen out of the text, Reuvens would say that τῶν ὑπάτων either had been rashly inserted, for it seems to have arisen from a gloss, or had been removed from its proper place, for it ought better to have been added to ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ ἐξηκοστοῦ καὶ διακοσιοστοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνιαυτοῦ πραιτώρ ἕτερος προεχειρίσθη and thus τῷ δὲ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ. . ἱππάρχης τε καὶ ἀνθυππάρχης προεχειρίσθησαν would follow correctly. Fuss later (*Ep.* 21) added καὶ διακοσιοστῷ.

60.17 Λεπίδω ἱππάρχει χρησάμενος: Lepidus (see 32.6, 84.30, 86.14, 90.18) was Caesar's *magister equitum* (46–44 B.C.).

60.23–24 διὰ τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ οὐπω γάρ, ὥς νῦν, τὸ δημόσιον ἐχορήγει δαπάνας τοῖς στρατιώταις: there is no compelling need to transpose δαπάνας where it is in the ms. and place it after πολέμῳ, for χρεῖας can easily be implied as the noun which goes with τὰς.

60.24–25 οἶα οὐκ ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶς ὑποτελῶν: the ms. reading οντος instead of ὄντων is one of three instances of scribal carelessness in which there is a lack of agreement between participle and noun; *cf.* ἀνακαλοῦντων (64.18), τελούντων (190.28).

60.27–28 Τότε Τιτίνιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος κωμικὸς μῦθον ἐπεδείξατο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ: Fuss and Fr. Marx (*Index Lectionum* in *Academia Rostochiensis*, 1888–89, 13) read Τότε Τιτίνιος, while Reuvens (*op. cit.* 27–29) and Fr. Osannus (*Analecta Critica poesis Romanorum scaenicae reliquias illustrantia* (Berlin, 1816), 44) believe that not the name Τιτίνιος but Αἰβίος should be read. See also N.–S. Tanaşoca “J. Lydos et la fabula latine,” *Revue des Études sud-est-européennes* 7 (1969), 231–237.

60.28–62.2 ὁ δὲ μῦθος τέμνεται εἰς δύο, <εἰς τραγωδίαν καὶ κωμωδίαν> ὧν ἡ τραγωδία καὶ αὐτὴ τέμνεται εἰς δύο, εἰς κρηπιδᾶταν καὶ πραιτεζῆταν. ὧν ἡ μὲν κρηπιδᾶτα Ἑλληνι-

κὰς ἔχει ὑποθέσεις, ἡ δὲ πραιτεζτάτα Ῥωμαϊκάς: Wünsch's expansion is adapted from Reuvs (op. cit. 35). The latter is convinced that the textual corruption is to be supplied from Donatus thus: 'Ο δὲ μῦθος τέμνεται εἰς δύο· εἰς Τραγωδίαν καὶ Κωμωδίαν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Τραγωδία εἰς Κρηπιδάταν καὶ Πραιτεζτάταν' etc. Osannus (op. cit. 68), however, would read πραιτέζταν for the ms. reading πρετεζαντα.

62.3 Ἀτελλάνην: the ms. reading αντελάνη is one of four instances of the scribe's careless addition of a medial *nu* (see *app. crit.* 78.16, 110.19, 194.14); see also note 12.28–14.2.

62.6–7 ταβερναρία δὲ ἡ σκηνωτή ἡ θεατρικὴ κωμωδία: Reuvs (op. cit. 50–51) believes that a gloss has been mixed into the words of Lydus in this passage, for he regards θεατρικὴ as an interpretation not of σκηνωτή, but the word σκηνική should have been written, as it were, which refers not to *taberna* but to *scena*. Osannus (op. cit. 69), however, would read οὐ θεατρικῇ.

62.7–8 Ῥινθωνικὴ ἡ ἐξωτικὴ: Osannus (op. cit. 75) would conjecture ἐξαμετρικὴ from τὸν Ῥινθωνα ὃς ἐξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρῶτος κωμωδίαν (62.14–15).

62.9–10 τεχνικὸν μὲν ἔχουσα οὐδὲν, ἀλόγῳ μόνον τὸ πλήθος ἐπάγουσα γέλῳ: Osannus (op. cit. 78) would prefer to read this thus: τεχνικὸν μὲν ἔχουσα οὐδὲν λόγῳ, μόνον <δὲ> τὸ πλήθος ἐπάγουσα γέλῳ.

62.12 Σκίραν: as regards the ms. reading ασκηραν, Osannus (op. cit. 74) says that Lydus wrote perhaps Ἀρήσαν, but Reuvs (op. cit. 77) and G. Kaibel (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I i, 190) correctly read Σκίραν from Athenaeus (9.402B).

62.12 Βλαῖσον: Reuvs and Osannus correct the ms. reading βλεσον to Βλαῖσον.

62.12–13 τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Πυθαγόρων: the ms. reading πυθαγόρων does not have to be emended to Πυθαγορείων, φλυαγογράφων (Reuvs, op. cit. 71; cf. P. Schuster *Rhein. Mus. für Philologie* N.F. 29 (1874), 610), or μυθηγόρων, for, as Ταρκεντίος (54.10), so Πυθαγόρων, too, indicates those who have the likeness of the person being referred to. Even the accentuation of the ms. reading can be retained because the accent of the genitive plural in nouns of the first declension sometimes is found on the penult both in Classical Greek (cf. ἀφύων, ἐτησίων, χρήστων) and in Byzantine Greek (cf. *Soph. Lex. Intr.* 35).

62.13 οὐ μικρῶν: Reuvs (op. cit. 72) conjectures οὐ μακρῶν, while A. G. Lange (*Vermischte Schriften und Reden* (Leipzig, 1832), 99, note 85) prefers κωμικῶν.

64.1 μετὰ τὸν δυοδεκάδελτον: cf. εἰς τὸν Νόμον τοῦ Δυοκαιδεκαδέλτου (42.12).

64.1 νόμον: the ms. reading μόνον is one of six instances of the scribal carelessness of the transposition of consonants (see *app. crit.* 76.23, 78.1, 102.12, 180.4, 198.14); see also note 86.14.

64.7–8 καὶ καλῶς ὁ Φιλόξενος εἶπεν: the ms. reading καί, since it makes sense, does not need to be emended to ὥς; for the fragments of Philoxenus see G. Funaioli *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* I (Leipzig, 1907), 443–446.

64.8–9 ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ τροπικῶς: the verb of this relative clause (*sc. λέγεται*) is easily supplied from the preceding sentence (see note 58.17).

64.16–17 πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐδώδιμον γῆν ἑαυτῷ δαπανήσῃ: agency is being expressed by ἑαυτῷ because of the passive connotation of ἐδώδιμον.

64.21 στεγανοῦται, καθάπερ ὄφρις τῇ μαράθῳ: cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 7.17.

64.22–24 ταύτη σκορπιστὰς νέπωτας ἀποκαλοῦσιν αὐτοί, οἷα τῶν ιδίων μελῶν διαφθορεῖς: see J. L. Heller “Nepos ‘σκορπιστής’ and Philoxenus,” *Trans. and Proc. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 93 (1962), 61–89. The neuter οἷα occurs with nouns, adjectives, and participles (see *Index Verborum Graecorum* s.v. οἷα).

66.10 Οὕτως: to indicate the beginning of a new chapter, the ms. has here an oversized initial letter, as it does also in the words Εἶτα (66.24), Τῶν (148.9), Εἰ (182.4), Οὕτως (196.12), Τοσαῦτα (200.4), and Ἐγὼ (208.16).

66.14 ἀγοράν: the ms. reading ἄν after ἀγοράν is due to dittography; see note 16.21.

66.15 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ δῆμαρχοι μαχαίρας διεζώννυντο: the intensive αὐτοὶ adds force and definiteness to the reflexive idea expressed by the middle voice. The ms. reading μαχαίραις is due to the scribe’s carelessness of repeating the diphthong of the preceding syllable (see note 60.5–6); the accusative is required; cf. ξίφος δὲ διεζώννυντο (96.26).

70.5 ἔλαι: Vasis (*Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos*, 39) believes that the reading of the *Codex Atheniensis* ἔλαι is that of the autograph and that that of the *Codex Casanovianus* εἶναι originated from ΕΙΛΑΙ. Fuss (*Ep.* 21) had conjectured ἔλαι, and Wünsch, too, though he had conjectured and read ἔλαι in his edition, later (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 37 (1911), 571) accepted ἔλαι as a good reading and preferable to his own. However, the fact that, in the list of the military terms which follow, all are without exception Latin terms tends to support the emendation ἔλαι (Lat. *alae*).

The *Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana*, ff 163^v–165^r (Plut. 57.42), X cent. (?), presents a list of very many of the Latin loanwords (both military and juridical) that are found in this work of Lydus. The compiler of these words obviously took most of them from Lydus.

70.7 τοῦρμαι ἀπὸ φ τοξοτῶν ἱππέων: cf. ἱπποτοξότας (Agathias *Hist.* B.9.5, ed. Keydell).

70.11 σιγνιφέραι: Soph. *Lex.* 987 considers the ms. reading σιγνιφέραι to be an incorrect spelling for σιγνιφέροι.

70.12 ὀπτιῶνες: Paul. *Fest.* 207: in re militari *optio* appellatur is quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum privatarum ministrum, quo facilius obeat publica officia; see Soph. *Lex.* 814 s.v. ὀπτιῶν.

70.14 μῆνσωρες: cf. Amm. 19.11.8, Cass. *Var.* 3.52.

70.19 μητάτωρες: cf. Jos. *B.J.* 5.2.1: μετρηταὶ στρατοπέδων (Lat. *metatores castrorum*).

72.20 ἀρκύτης: Paul. *Fest.* 20: *arquites* arcu proeliantes, qui nunc dicuntur sagittarii.

72.8 ἱμαγινιφέραι: Soph. *Lex.* 597 considers the ms. reading ἱμαγινιφερής to be an incorrect spelling for ἱμαγινίφerei (leg. -φέροι).

72.10,11 ἄρματοῦρα πρῖμα, ἄρματοῦρα σημισσάλλια: the exact meaning of these two terms remains in doubt. Mommsen (*Hermes* 24 (1889), 223, note 6) points out that the

σχολή τῶν σιμισαλίων is undoubtedly identical with Lydus' ἀρματοῦρα σιμισσάλια. The term *semissalia*, derived from *semis* (a gold coin worth one half of a *solidus*), may refer to the amount of pay received; cf. *centenarius*, *ducenarius*, and *armaturae duplares quae binas consequuntur annonas, simplares quae singulas* (Vegetius 2.7). The term *armatura*, however, has the sense of a select soldier of the legion who had been trained in the special exercises called *armatura* or *ars armatura* (Mommmsen *Bonner Jahr.* 68 (1880), 54).

The ms. reading σιμισσάλια is on of five instances in which two accents are observed (see *app. crit.* 88.27, 100.4, 108.16, 238.12); see also notes 12.6–7 & 38.21–22. It is also one of three instances in which the scribe carelessly added an initial *sigma* (see *app. crit.* 98.26, 214.22); see also notes 2.3–4 & 40.8.

72.19 ἀρκουάριοι: cf. Tarruntenus Paternus *Dig.* 50.6.7(6).

74.1–2 πρωτήκτωρες: the ms. reading προτιχοκτορες exhibits the scribal carelessness of inserting a superfluous syllable; there are ten more such instances (see *app. crit.* 102.10 124.20, 132.19, 134.25, 174.22, 182.19, 194.15, 196.12, 220.19, 234.13).

74.8 πρὸς μάχην: the ms. reading μα (*sc.* μάχην) is one of three instances of an abbreviation by suspension (see *app. crit.* 164.13, 180.24); see also note 2.14.

74.15 ἄδωρέα: Paul. *Fest.* 3: *adoriam* laudem sive gloriam dicebant, quia gloriosum eum putabant esse, qui farris copia abundaret; cf. Pl. *Am.* 193, Hor. *Carm.* 4.41, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 18.14, Fronto *Aur.* 2, p. 20 (217N), Apul. *Apol.* 17, *Met.* 3.19.

74.16 τῶν ποτε τιμηθέντων αὐτοῖς: Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) conjectures αὐτῇ in place of αὐτοῖς.

74.16 βετερανούς: the ms. reading βετεριανούς is one of three instances of the scribe's careless addition of a medial *iota* (see *app. crit.* 38.13, 196.24); see also note 196.27.

74.19 Πενᾶτος: P. Fl. Vegetius Renatus was the author of *Epitome de re militari*, a work of iv A.D. dedicated to an emperor.

74.22–25 ὧν ὁ Φροντίος ἐν τῷ De Officio Militari, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Στρατηγίας, μνήμην ποιεῖται, καὶ Κλαυδιανὸς οὗτος, ὁ Παφλαγών, ὁ ποιητής, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Στυλικῶνος Ἐγκωμίων: Th. Birt. (*Claudii Claudiani Carmina* (Berlin, 1892), iii) offers, not without merit, three cogent reasons for transposing this entire relative clause and placing it immediately after καλοῦσιν (74.14): (1) the words ὧν Φροντίος. . . μνήμην ποιεῖται offend because the mentioning of the name Julianus (74.22) is impossible; (2) Claudianus cannot be placed among the Greek authors because his Ἐγκώμιον Στυλικῶνος is in Latin; and (3) this poem of Claudianus incorrectly is offered there where the point deals with *veterani* because no mention of the latter is discerned there. For these reasons Birt concludes that a scribal error is responsible for placing these words in the wrong place. H. Köchly-W. Ruestow (*Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller*, II, pt. 1, 82, note 193), however, would place καὶ before ὧν.

De Officio Militari would be both a more plausible conjecture for the scribe's corruption of the Latin words than *De Officio Legati* and a better Latin reading for its translation as Περὶ Στρατηγίας.

The demonstrative οὗτος here expresses contempt (see note 2.13), and the designation ὁ Παφλαγών, *sc.* "the Paphlagonian," does not indicate Claudian's place of origin, which was probably Alexandria, but is being used here as an epithet of derogation, *sc.* "the blusterer" (Ar. *V.* 43, Proc. *Anecd.* 16.7, *Anth. Pal.* 11.340, Eustath. *Ad Iliadem*, 360).

Some, however, such as F. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus. für Philologie*, N.F. ser. 3, 39 (1884), 282–283) and J. Turcevič (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 34 (1934), 1–9) argue that Claudian was actually a Paphlagonian.

76.2 Τριβαλλούς: these were a people on the borders of Thrace (see Hdt. 4.49, Plin. 3.26.29 § 149, 4.1.1 § 3, 4.10.17 § 33).

76.2 Βέσσους: see Veget. 2.11, 4.24, Cic. *in pis.* 34.84, Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.4.6, Liv. 39.53.12, Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.5, 4.1.67, Suet. *Aug.* 3, Plin. 4.11.18 § 40, Luc. 5.441.

76.3 προσηγόρευσεν: the ms. reading προηγόρευσεν is one of eight instances in which the scribe carelessly omitted a medial *sigma* (see *app. crit.* 76.23, 80.5, 92.18, 122.17, 148.21, 196.7, 230.3); see also notes 8.26 & 16.24.

76.6 διὰ δὴ τὸ πτωχόν: the ms. reading δε resulted from a scribal misreading of H as E in majuscules (see *app. crit.* 42.21, 52.9, 10, 122.30, 162.16, 168.17); see also note 110.5.

76.7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐφετὸν ἦν: the ms. reading ἐφίτὸν must be emended to ἐφετὸν (see note 56.14), though Vasis (*Ε.Ε.Π.* 115) believes that neither ἐφετὸν nor ἐφικτόν fits and so prefers εὐθετον.

76.8–9 Διδώρος γ' οὖν ἐν δευτέρῳ Βιβλιοθηκῶν: Diod. Sic. I.28,98.

76.10 ὥστε: here, as elsewhere (168.23), ὥστε expresses the content of νόμος (see Soph. *Lex.* 1188 s.v. ὥστε 3); see also notes 170.6 & 228.5.

76.14–15 ἐν τοῖς γεωργικοῖς ἅμα καὶ μαχίμοις προσήδρευον: Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) would delete ἐν.

76.15–16 τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ γεωργεῖν διδασκόμενοι: the enarthrous infinitive functions as a substantive; here, as elsewhere (90.15, 170.16), it is object of the verb, but in some instances it is the object of a preposition (76.17, 146.16, 232.10, 236.17), while in others as a dative of respect (118.17, 18) or as a dative of means (230.21).

76.16–17 τείρωνας ἐκάλουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείρεσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐν τῷ δουλεῦειν: the origin of the Latin word *tiro* is really unknown (Ernout-Meillet *Dict. Etym. de la langue latine*, II, 692).

76.21 οὗτοι: the *tirones* are meant, as Fuss (*Ep.* 23) points out.

76.22 ὑπὸ Μαρίου τοῦ ὑστερον τυραννήσαντος: cf. Plut. *Mar.* 9.1.

76.23 προμῶται: *promota* and not *promotus* is intended both here and elsewhere (132.24, 29).

76.25 κεντουρίωνας: this is the last word on f 52^v; thereafter two folia are lost, in which the *praetores* were discussed.

76.25 <κεντηναρίους>: supplied from III.7 (140.18); cf. 132.26.

76.26–78.1 <ἐκ τούτων> μὲν πάντων δέκα μὲν δήμαρχοι, δύο δὲ ὑπατοὶ καὶ <δέκα καὶ> ὀκτὼ πραιτωρεὶς καὶ ἕξ ἀγορανόμοι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως <δικαῖα> ἀπένειμαν καὶ μόνοι: A. W. Heffter (*Rhein. Mus. für Jurisprudenz* 2 (1828), 120) rightly adds ἐκ τούτων and

correctly emends the ms. reading ἀπεμειναν to ἀπένειμαν (see note 64.1). However, δέκα καί and δίκαια must also be conjectured as lost and read if the citation is to conform to Pomponius' words (*Dig.* I tit. II 34):

ergo *ex his omnibus decem tribuni plebis, consules duo, decem et octo praetores, sex aediles in civitate jura reddebant.*

78.3 Οὐλιανὸς ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις Προτρίβουναλίοις: cf. Ulpiani *de fideicommissis libros sex et librum de officio praetoris tutelar singulari* (Lenel Palingen. *Iur. Civ.* II, 903,962).

78.10 δυοκαίδεκα πολιάρχων: the accentuation of the ms. reading πολιαρχῶν should be emended to πολιάρχων since in all other instances of this word only the form πολιάρχος and not πολιάρχης is used (52.5,7, 92.4, 128.2); see also note 112.17.

78.12 γενόμενα: the ms. reading γεναμενα reflects the scribal error of writing *alpha* instead of *omikron* (see *app. crit.* 102.21, 126.7, 142.16, 150.5, 152.16, 186.10,31); see also note 38.14.

78.14 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ὙΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤῶΝ ΝΥΚΤῶΝ: this magistrate is also called νυκτέπαρχος or in Latin *praefectus vigilum* (*Just. Nov.* 13.1 *Intr.*).

78.15 Τρίβυρες: the form Τρίβεροι is also found (*cf.* Zos. 3.7.2). The *Treveri* or *Treviri*, from whom the city of Trier derived its name, were the most powerful of the Belgic tribes.

78.16 Τρίβυρις ἡ πόλις: the form Τρίβερις also occurs; cf. Socr. *h.e.* 1.35 (*PG* 67, 172A), Soz. *h.e.* 2.28 (*PG* 67, 1017A).

78.17 οἱ δέ: the ms. reading οἶον (*sc.* οἶον), since it would make no sense here, must be viewed as a scribal error for οἱ.

78.17–18 ἐπὶ Βρέννου: a Gallic invasion of Italy occurred in 390 B.C. under the then leader of the Gauls Brennus (see R. M. Ogilvie *A Commentary on Livy Books 1–5* (Oxford, 1965), 717 sqq.); see also note 252.2–4.

78.20 ὥς φησιν Ουεργίλιος: Verg. *Aen.* 8.657: Galli per dumos aderant.

78.20–21 εἶτα καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκράτησαν: the participle ἐπελθόντες, which here governs τὴν Ῥώμην as an accusative of place without a preposition (*cf.* Eur. *H.F.* 593 *codd.*), is being used coordinately with ἐκράτησαν (see note 28.25–30.4).

78.21–80.1 ὅτε, τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χηνῶν ταραχθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκράτῳ νυκτὶ φανέντων, διεγερθεὶς Μάλλιος ὁ στρατηγὸς (γεῖτων δὲ ἦν) τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξώθησεν, τοῖς δὲ χησὶν εὐρτην καὶ ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγειν Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ κυσὶν ὀλεθρον κατὰ τὸν ἐν λέοντι ἥλιον διώρισεν: Fr. Osannus (*Allgemeine Schulzeitung*, 1829, Abth. II, Nr. 43 (April 12), 359, *Philologische Analekten* 22) points out that Lydus here furnishes us with the information that this yearly feast in honor of the Capitoline geese was celebrated in Rome when the sun was in the constellation of *Leo*, and according to his *De Ostentis* (ed. Hase 230) *Leo* first appears with the sun on July 24. Osannus also adds that, had the second half of Ovid's *Fasti* survived, we would have been better informed about this feast. Regarding Marcus Manlius see Liv. 6.14–20, Plut. *Cam.* 36, Cic. *de Domo* 38, App. I 40, the *Suda* s.v. Μάρκιος Μάλλιος, and Ogilvie *op. cit.* 694, 734 sqq.

80.11–16 τὸ τριανδρικὸν σύστημα παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς διὰ τοὺς ἐμπρησμοὺς προεβάλλοντο, οἱ καὶ νυκτερινοὶ ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐλέγοντο. συνῆσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι καὶ δῆμαρχοι: ὑπουργεῖ κολλήγιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ σύστημα, ὃ περὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὦκει καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, ὥστε, τῆς χρείας καλοῦσης, εὐχερῶς εὕρισκομένους συντρέχειν': Paulus' words (*Dig. I tit. XV*), however, are as follows:

Apud vetustiores incendiis arcendis triumviri praeerant,
qui ab eo quod excubias agebant nocturni dicti sunt.
Interveniebant nonnunquam et aediles et tribuni plebis;
erat autem familia publica circa portam et muros disposita,
unde, si opus esset, evocabatur.

It is interesting to note that Lydus, while purporting to be giving a verbatim translation in Greek, does present some slight deviations from the Latin text. He renders *triumviri* by τὸ τριανδρικὸν σύστημα, and, though it is subject of an intransitive verb (*praeerant*), he makes it object of a middle voice verb (προεβάλλοντο), whose subject is an implied *they* (*sc.* the Romans); the relative οἱ agrees with the gender implied in its antecedent τὸ τριανδρικὸν σύστημα. Instead of using νυκτοῦρνοι (*cf.* 24.27), he utilizes νυκτερινοί. He renders *interveniebant* by ὑπουργεῖ; the *ms.* reading ὑπουργοί must be viewed as a scribal error for ὑπουργεῖ with an implied αὐτοῖς, either because the scribe was misled by the termination of δῆμαρχοι, or because he misread a cursive *epsilon* as *omikron*. Heffter (*Rhein. Mus. für Jurisprudenz* 2 (1828), 119) would add ἦν δὲ before κολλήγιον to reflect *erat autem*. Lydus renders *familia publica* by κολλήγιον, but his use of ὦκει, which here has a passive connotation (see L–S 1203 s.v. οἰκέω II.1 & 2), renders well *disposita*. The *ms.* reading ὅπερ (*sc.* ὃ περὶ) is one of two instances of the scribal omission of a final *iota* (see *app. crit.* 116.19); see also notes 18.3 & 152.4.

80.17–21 ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν. τοιοῦτου τινὸς (ἀπείη!) συμβαίνοντος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τυχὸν ἐπικαίρως ἐξ αὐτῶν εὕρισκόμενοι βοῶντες τῇ πατρίῳ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ 'omnes collegiati <concurrite>', οἷον εἰπεῖν, 'πάντες ἐταῖροι συνδράμετε': there is no need to conjecture any loss in the text with the exception of *concurrite*. The ὅτι is to be taken as an ellipsis for δηλον ὅτι (see note 2.15). The *manus recentior* correctly emended the *ms.* reading ἀπείη to ἀπείη (see Lampe 179 s.v. ἄπειμι (-εῖναι) 2); ἀπείη resulted from the scribal misreading of EIH as IEI in majuscules. An implied εἰσι is to be understood with βοῶντες, which thus constitutes a periphrasis representing a finite verb; *cf.* καταβάπτοντες (234.2), and ἐπιδοῦς (252.10). The conjecture *concurrite* is closer in meaning to its Greek rendering συνδράμετε than is *adeste*; *cf.* Plut. *Cam.* 27: *concurrite* Romani.

80.26 Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου: Augustus (G. Octavius) was born September 23, 63 B.C. and was brought up by his mother Atia, who was Julius Caesar's niece, Augustus' father G. Octavius having died in 58 B.C. Lydus incorrectly calls Augustus Caesar's nephew (*cf.* 84.22–23). When Caesar died in 44 B.C., Augustus was only nineteen years old.

82.4–5 τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις πρὸς βλάβης: this phrase is a frequently occurring construction, one which consists of a verbal noun accompanied by a preposition and governing a dative, which most often precedes the preposition and the verbal noun (86.7–8, 100.18, 120.26–27, 152.15–16, 168.7, 196.18–19, 200.16–17, 252.10–12) but occasionally follows them (158.13, 234.18, 250.3, 21).

82.6–7 Μαρίου τοῖνυν τυραννήσαντος καὶ ὑπουργήσαντος, Σύλλας ἀναστὰς ἀντετυράννησεν: the object of ὑπουργήσαντος is an implied αὐτῷ (*sc.* Σύλλῃ).

82.8–9 ἡ Ῥωμαίων μεταίχμιον οὖσα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐσπαδίζετο πολιτεία: *cf.* Sall. *B.J.* 41.5: ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt, *res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata*.

82.13–15 Σύλλας δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην σκώληκας ἀναβλύσας καὶ ἕτερον οὐδὲν παρὰ τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς προσηγορίαν ἐκ τῆς νίκης λαβὼν ἀπεφθάρη: Sulla resigned his dictatorship in 79 B.C. and retired to Puteoli, where he died in 78 B.C., probably from the bursting of a blood vessel in a fit of passion.

82.16 ἐξήλου τε αὐτόν: the ms. reading τὰ ἐαυτῶν makes no sense here, whereas the conjecture τε αὐτόν fits the context well.

82.20 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἡσπάσατο: *sc.* μερίδα.

82.21 τοῖς αὐτοῦ τρόποις ἀπήγετο: this imperfect may be either passive (“was carried away”) or even a causative middle (“let himself be carried away”). Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 869) says: Sollte hier etwas von den Trophäen des Marius gestanden haben? Oder ist das auch für Lydos unsinnige (er hat eben Marius’ Tod erzählt) τρόποις richtig, und muss es heissen ἐπήγετο?

82.24–25 ἅμα τῷ στρατιωτικῷ: though Fuss (*Ep.* 24) remarks that it is uncertain whether this refers only to Caesar or also to Pompey, it probably refers to Caesar’s soldiery because it follows τῷ Καίσαρι. Here ἅμα, as σὺν and μετὰ occasionally, has a force of καί.

82.27–29 οὐ βασιλέως (τί δ’ ἂν εἴη μεῖζον;) ἢ γ’ οὖν μονάρχου τινὸς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπελθεῖν προσηγορίαν: Vasis (*Βυζαντίς* 7 (1909), 31) correctly points out that “Lydos is not giving another or different word for βασιλέως but is offering an alternative. Therefore, ἡγοῦν, which is frequently utilized in glosses to define a word more accurately, is incorrect in this particular passage but rather ἡ γοῦν should be read; *cf.* γοῦν (80.6).”

84.9–10 τριουμφάλια: see W. Ehlers *R.E.* 73, 504 sqq.

84.11–12 ἐξῶθεν δὲ χρυσὸς ὅλος: the ms. reading ἄνωθεν is a scribal error for ἐξῶθεν, the scribe’s eye having been led astray because it occurs in the line below. Although χρυσὸς means “gold” as a metal, it can also express a thing made of gold (see L–S 2011 s.v. χρυσός 2).

84.14 ἐξ ἐκείνου: the meaning of this phrase (*cf.* 240.12) is “from that time” (see Lampe 424 s.v. ἐκ B.2).

84.17 Γελίμερα τῶν Βανδιλίων καὶ Λιβύης βασιλέα: the ms. reading τῶν does not necessarily have to be emended to τόν (see notes 126.2–6, 220.11–12).

84.21 ἡ φύσις ἐπεισεν ἀνθρώπον εἶναι: the honors conferred upon Caesar were designed to elevate him above the rest of humanity.

84.22–23 ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐξ Ἀτίας τοῦνομα τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ θετὸς υἱός: Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and of Julia, Caesar’s sister; she was the wife of C. Octavius and mother of C. Octavius (the future Augustus) and Octavia after her husband’s death in 58 B.C. She married C. Marcus Philippus and died in 43 B.C.

84.29 οἷς Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας: *sc.* ἐχρήσατο (see note 58.17).

84.31 τὴν λεγομένην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις βοῦλλαν, οἷον εἰ ψήφον, <φορῶν>: *cf.* Plut. L30C (*Rom.* 20.3): φορεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τὴν καλουμένην βοῦλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὅμοιον πομφόλυγι, περιδέρραιόν τι καὶ περιτόρυπον. G. Becker (*Rhein. Mus. für*

Philologie N.F. 29 (1874), 499) says that, since the word ψῆφος in Lydus does not give the meaning of the word βουῖλλα, he conjectures ψόφον, which renders the etymology of the word, though not the fitting meaning for this passage; cf. Isidorus *Or.* 19.31.11: et *bullae*, quod similes sint rotunditate *bullis*, quae in aqua vento inflantur.

86.1–4 ὁθεν ἐτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς εἰς βασιλείαν προαγομένοις οὐ πρότερον τὰ ταύτης ἐπιτίθεται σύμβολα πρὶν στρεπτόν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιθέντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τέλει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφῆνωσιν: the abstract βασιλείαν here, as elsewhere (88.25, 96.4, 120.23, 158.23, 196.23), means “imperial office”; cf. Socrates *h.e.* 3.1 (*PG* 67, 373C): ὥς δὲ στέφανος βασιλικὸς οὐ παρῆν, εἰς τῶν δορυφόρων ὃν εἶχε περιτραχήλιον ἑαυτοῦ στρεπτόν λαβῶν περιτέθεικε.

86.7 τὸν ἐκ βασιλέως τεχνθέντα: Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) would add μόνον before τόν.

86.8 Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς τὸ πάλαι: the ms. reading οἷς probably should be emended to τοῖς with an implied οὔσι and not to ἦν since the latter can easily be implied from τὸ πάλαι, though it may be a case of dittography.

86.9 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος σειρᾶς κατιοῦσιν: the present intransitive participle κατιοῦσιν has the meaning of καταγομένοις (see Lampe 728 s.v. *κάτειμι* (*ibo*) 2); see note 56.1.

86.11 διὰ τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς: sc. Antony and Lepidus.

86.12 παρ’ ἐκείνους: this, the ms. reading, need not be emended to παρ’ ἐκείνους; cf. Zos. 2.48.5, 3.31.1 and K. Jaakkola *De praepositionibus Zosimi Quaestiones* (Ph.D. Diss. Arctopoli, 1903), 21.

86.14 ψηφισάμενος: the ms. reading ψηφισάμενος is one of ten instances of transposition of vowels and diphthongs (see *app. crit.* 88.8, 98.22, 138.17, 154.13, 170.11, 12, 186.12, 204.18, 232.20); see also note 64.1.

86.15–16 Φουλβίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος: Lydus mistakenly makes Fulvia the sister of Augustus.

86.19–20 ναοὺς ὡσιωμένους πρὸς τιμῆς αὐτῷ ἀπεδέξατο: the personal noun αὐτῷ functions for ἑαυτῷ.

86.26 τάξιν πολιτικὴν ἀπονείμας αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν: because αὐτῷ serves both ἀπονείμας and πειθαρχεῖν, it is placed between both.

86.26–27 Αὐγουσταλίους ἐξ αὐτοῦ καλέσας αὐτούς: whereas αὐτοῦ functions as ἑαυτοῦ, αὐτούς is plural because of the plurality implied by τάξιν (see note 80.11–16).

86.27–28 περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ὑπάρχων μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν: *infra* III.9.

88.5 ἀρχιερεὺς γεφυραῖος: cf. Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.102, Plut. *Nu.* 9.

88.7–8 τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἔσκαπε δι’ ἧς ἐν τῇ γραφείῳ μοι Περὶ Μηνῶν πραγματεία ἀποδédωκα αἰτίας: cf. Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.20, Suet. *Aug.* 82.

88.9 αἱ δὲ εἰσι δίπλακες ἀπὸ κόκκου: the αἱ here functions as a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the predicate noun and not with the antecedent; see also note 224.23–24.

88.12 κορνουκόπιον: the *omikron* after *nu* in the ms. reading κορνοκόπιον is an error for *omikron upsilon* (see note 156.11). Fuss (*Ep.* 24) suspects that the emperor's *fibula* was called thus because of its shape.

88.14 Μαιανδρίους γραμμαῖς: the ms. reading μαιανδριοῖς (*sc.* Μαιανδρίους) need not necessarily be emended to Μαιανδρίαῖς, for the masculine termination can be used to modify a feminine noun; cf. Lyd. *De Ost.* 21: κατὰ τὴν θερινὸν (*sc.* θερινήν). . ὥραν. The same holds true for βραττεολάτοις καὶ γεμμάτοις καὶ λαγκιολάτοις (88.24) and λογχωτοῖς (88.25).

88.14–16 ἐπὶ <δὲ> τῶν ὥμων χρυσοῖς τουβουλαμέντοις, οἷον εἰ σωληνωτοῖς, ὑφάσματα διαλάμποντες: the connective δὲ is needed to join γραμμαῖς and ὑφάσματα. Skutsch (*apud* Wünsch) correctly proposes the emendation of the ms. reading from τουβαλαμεντοις to τουβουλαμέντοις to conform to the spelling of the Latin word *tubulamenta*. The verbal adjective σωληνωτοῖς is derived from σωληνοῦν; cf. τῷ σωληνωθέντι ἱματίῳ (Paul. Aeg. 6.106).

88.22 αὐτάς: the ms. reading αυταρ is due to the scribal misreading of \sqsubset as P.

90.16 ὧν ἂν θέλωσιν: the ms. reading θελουσιν is the scribe's and not the autograph's reading; the indicative with ἂν is later colloquial usage (cf. *Ev. Marc.* 6.56); this is one of six instances of the use of ἂν with the subjunctive (see 146.1, 166.2, 200.23, 238.7, <250.22>); see also notes 36.8, 108.3, 128.14, 132.6, 146.1, 180.27, 206.27–28, 230.2–3.

90.19 καταλείπων: the ms. reading καταλεπτον is a scribal misreading of ΠΙ as ΠΤ in majuscules; therefore, καταλείπων and not καταλιπών was the autograph's reading.

90.20–22 δν. . ἀναδείξας: by *anacoluthon* this relative clause has a participle in place of a finite verb (cf. *Ev. Marc.* 12.5); the meaning of ἀναδείξας is “having reconstructed” (see note 184.15–17).

90.22–23 ὡς βραχὺ παρατραπίσης τῆς λέξεως: the ms. reading ὡς (*sc.* ὡς) need not be emended to ὅς since ὡς is to be taken with the genitive absolute and bears the sense ‘as if’; cf. ὡπερ ἐλασθέντος τοῦ χρυσοῦ (84.12), ὡς μηδενὸς ἄρτι πραχθέντος (218.23).

90.25–26 ὑπαρχος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐνόμιζεν: it may be unnecessary to conjecture the loss of καλεῖσθαι before ἐνόμιζεν or to read ὠνομάζετο, as Vasis (*E. E. II.* 115) wishes, since καλεῖσθαι can easily be implied from the immediately preceding relative clause.

90.28 πραιφεκτος πραιτωρίῳ: the ms. reading πραιτοριων is a scribal error for πραιτωρίῳ (see note 12.28–14.2); the Latin *praefectus praetorio* is intended, whose Greek explanation immediately follows.

90.29 ἐπὶ ξένης: *sc.* χώρας; cf. *Plond* 2.144.14 (i A.D.): μὴ ἀφεῖναι με ἐπὶ ξένης ἀδιαφορηθῆναι.

92.1–2 ἡῦρον δὲ καὶ στερεὰν αἰτίαν: the verb ἡῦρον is not introducing merely a direct object but an indirect statement with αἰτίαν as subject of an implied οὖσαν, for the participle is often omitted with this verb (cf. *Soph. Ph.* 452, *Thuc.* 5.26). Since στερεὰν makes sense, it should be retained, though Vasis (*Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos*, 39) believes

that, since the reason for the addition of τῶν πραιτωρίων has already been mentioned, στερεὰν αἰτίαν is meaningless here, for the reason which is about to be given is “another” reason, and so ἐτέραν, the reading of the *Codex Atheniensis*, is to be preferred to στερεὰν. Wünsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 571) accepts ἐτέραν as a good reading.

92.3–4 ὥς εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν πρὸς τι καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀσήμαντον ἔχειν τὴν ἐξοχήν: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 115) believes that τὴν ἐξοχήν is meaningless here and prefers to read τὴν ἐξουσίαν, and so he interprets this infinitive clause thus: ὥστε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναφέρεσθαι πρὸς τι (sc. *praetorium*) καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀόριστον ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Wünsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 573), however, correctly rejected Vasis’ reasoning.

92.5 προδεδήλωται: this refers to the material on praetors that was contained in two lost folia (*supra* I.48).

92.6–7 Τράγκυλλος τοῖνυν τοὺς τῶν Καيسάρων Βίους ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποτείνων Σεπτικίῳ: Fuss correctly emends the ms. reading αποτινων (sc. ἀποτινῶν) to ἀποτείνων, which Vasis (*E.E.II.* 115), too, supports, since the latter reading and not the former renders the sense required here. Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) conjectures προτείνων. The meaning of ἐν γράμμασιν is “in writing” (cf. 110.25) rather than “in his writings.” C. L. Roth (*C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia* 286) corrects the ms. reading σεπτιμῶ to Σεπτικίῳ (cf. *Vit. Hadr.* 11.3).

92.12 ἐδηλώσαμεν: Fuss transposed this verb before κατὰ.

92.17 ἥτις: the indefinite relative refers to a definite object, namely, τῆς ἀρχῆς, but implies a general notion (cf. Hdt. 3.120, Soph. *O.T.* 1184).

92.18–19 ἔξ ἧσπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα: *Il.* 21.196.

92.19–21 σπινθήρες γὰρ τινες ὥσπερ ἀφθάρτου πυρὸς αἱ λοιπαὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχαὶ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀληθῶς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἀρχῶν δείκνυνται οὕσαι: the ms. reading αετοῦ is patently corrupt; Wünsch in his *app. crit.* lists as conjectures Αἰτναίου (Bekker), ὄχετοῖ (Kroll), ἀεναοῦ (Preger), ἀτμοῦ (Skutsch), along with that of his own ὑετοῦ and that of Fuss ταυτοῦ. However, since the scribe has often omitted the initial parts of words (see note 14.21–22), and since P could well have been misread as E in majuscules, ἀφθάρτου can be offered as a plausible conjecture, one which fits the context perhaps better.

J. Crook (*Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian* (Cambridge, 1955), 137) interprets this passage as implying that Lydus regards the prefect’s *officium* as one from which all the others sprang. Crook apparently understands ἐκείνης τῆς ἀληθῶς ἀρχῆς as a genitive expressing source governed by οὕσαι, but this genitive could be expressing “dependence upon” (see L–S 488 s.v. εἰμί C.II.d).

92.21–22 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι <ἄν> ἄνευ ἐκείνης δύναιντό ποτε: the loss of ἄν from the text is virtually certain, for the potential optative requires it (see note 36.8).

92.22 καθ’ ὃν δὲ <μηδέ>: the ms. reading καθ’ ὃν δε (sc. καθ’ ὃν δὲ) is correct here because, as Fuss (*Ep.* 24) suggests, τρόπον is implied; obviously μηδέ (cf. 202.28, 224.26) dropped out of the text (see also note 172.25).

92.23 τάξεις τινές: the indefinite here expresses size (see L–S 1796–97 s.v. τις A.II.8).

92.23–25 .μη τὴν δαπάνην αὐταῖς τε καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένοις χορηγοῦσης τῆς ἐπαρχότητος: the ms. reading συν (*sc.* σὺν) does not have either to be deleted or emended to γοῦν, as Fuss (*Ep.* 24) believes, for σὺν occurs in late prose as an adverb; *cf.* εἰ μὴ τὴν Διογένους βακτηρίαν σὺν καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀριθμῶν οὗτος τρίποδα προσηγόρευσε (Ath. 2.49A). The use of μὴ indicates that the genitive absolute is conditional (*cf.* 110.9–10).

94.3–4 πολὺν ἄργυρον ἐξ εὐτελείας ἢ μέγιστον ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἔχειν φαντάζεται: the subject of ἔχειν is μέγιστον καὶ ἀρχαῖον (*sc.* σκεῦος) while πολὺν ἄργυρον is its object; ἢ connects ἐξ ἑνός and ἐξ εὐτελείας, and ἑνός functions as an abstract substantive; the comparative ἢ after the positive adjective πολὺν implies that the latter has a comparative force (*sc.* πλείονα).

94.5 καταλυομένης: the ms. reading καταδυομένης resulted from the scribe's misreading of Λ as Δ in majuscules.

94.7 'οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω': *Il.* 2.204; see 54.8–9.

94.8 στρατηλάται: both στρατηλάτης (100.16, 196.17) and στρατηγός (100.24, 194.15, 196.26 are the Greek rendering of *magister militum*.

94.9–10 δευτεροστρατηλατιανούς: these are officers under the *magistri militum*; *cf.* στρατηλατιανός (L–S Suppl. 136, Lampe 1263).

94.14–15 πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας ἐρῶ: *infra* II.23–25.

94.23 κάκ πλάνης: the ms. reading κάπλανης is a clear indication that the *crasis* of καὶ and ἐκ was intended; other instances of *crasis* are κάκεινας (106.19), προῦθηκεν (20.6–7, 218.2), τάληθές (14.12, 42.9, 116.19, 134.10, 164.3), τᾶλλα (116.23), τάνδρι (46.18), τάνδρος (208.3, 250.23), τοῦμφανές (118.20–21), τοῦνομα (66.17, 84.22, 112.11).

96.3 ὅταν κοσμεῖν τὴν τύχην ἐδελέσῃσι: the use of the future optative with ὅταν occurs in later Greek (*cf.* Lampe 976 s.v. ὅταν 1). Justinian had held the consulship thrice (A.D. 528, 533, 534) while he was emperor.

96.5 κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰρημένον: *supra* II.5 *in*.

96.11 ἀποδέχονται γονυπετεῖς τὴν ἐπαρχότητα: the abstract τὴν ἐπαρχότητα here and elsewhere (168.29, 176.29 178.29) functions metonymically for the concrete τὸν ὑπαρχον.

96.12 προσιόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς θεραπείαν τοῦ στρατοῦ: the ms. reading αὐτοῖς instead of αὐτοῦς is due to the fact that the scribe was misled by προσιόντας which governs the dative.

96.13–14 τῆς βασιλείας ἐκλείπων: the ms. reading τῆς βασιλείας does not need to be emended to τὴν βασιλείαν, for the verb ἐκλείπειν, though most often it governs the accusative, is here being employed intransitively with a genitive of separation (see note 14.26).

96.15 οὗ ἑνδον ἅμα αὐτοῦ γενομένου: the ms. reading αὐτοῦ (*sc.* αὐτοῦ) must not be emended to αὐτῷ because it is the intensive adjective qualifying οὗ, which refers to the praetorian prefect and not the emperor, and is not the personal pronoun governed by ἅμα

(*cf.* 82.24, 146.18), which is here being used as an adverbial adjunct with the participle; *cf.* ἤδη (see note 16.13–14).

96.15–16 μηδεμίαν μετ’ αὐτὸν εἶσω γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν: the abstract τῶν ἀρχῶν stands metonymically for τῶν ἀρχόντων.

96.17 πρὸ αὐτῆς: the ms. reading αὐτῆς (*sc.* αὐτῆς) does not have to be emended to αὐτοῦ because it refers to τὴν ἐπαρχότητα (96.11).

96.22–23 περσίκιον τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ δῆμος καλεῖ: *Soph. Lex.* 886 s.v. σκῆπτρον says, “John Lydus derives it from the Latin *per se* and tells an improbable story in confirmation of his etymology.”

96.25 διὰ τοῦ μείζονος ἄρχοντος: attendant circumstance is expressed here by διὰ.

96.25–26 τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας ἀξιοθεῖς: the ms. reading τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ (*sc.* τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ) must not be emended to τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν because it expresses cause.

96.26 ξίφος δὲ διεζώννυτο ἀνέκαθεν ὁ ὑπαρχος: the sword was worn as a symbol of military command (*cf.* *Stat. Silv.* 5.2.177).

96.28–29 ἐπὶ τὴν Καλκηδόνα: *sc.* Χαλκηδόνα; *cf.* *Lat. Calchedon* (*Sall. Hist.* 4.69.13, *Mela* 1.101, *Luc.* 9.959).

96.29 τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ ὑπάρχου εἰκόνα: Philippus, a native of Arabia, hence called “the Arabian,” succeeded the praetorian prefect Timesitheus (A.D. 241–243) as praetorian prefect and connived at the assassination of Emperor Gordian III (239–244) and became himself emperor (244–249).

98.2–3 σικᾶτα τὴν ἐκ σαρκῶν εἰς λεπτὰ κατακοπεῖσαν ἐδώδην: in the margin of the ms. the scribe wrote σικευτα, which would be the verbal adjective of σικεῦειν, though not attested in the existing lexica.

98.4 ‘ἀρχὴν ὅσα λέλογχεν ἔχει τέλος’: Bekker’s suggested emendation of the ms. reading ὅσω το, ὅσα remedies the dactylic hexameters of the line. Could this poetic statement perhaps be of Lydus’s own composition (*cf.* 224.24–25, 240.21–22)?

98.5 Κωνσταντίνου γὰρ μετὰ τῆς Τύχης: the *Fortuna* of the emperor is meant by τῆς Τύχης (*cf.* *D.C.* 44.6.50, 57.8, *Jos. A.J.* 16.344).

98.8 Μοσίαν: *sc.* Μοισίαν.

98.13–14 κατασταθεῖσι: the almost identical passage has προελθοῦσι (194.15).

98.14 ἐκτεθεισῶν: the ms. reading εκταθεισῶν is a scribal error for ἐκτεθεισῶν (see note 28.3), which the almost identical passage has (194.16).

98.15 ὅσα ταύτης: *sc.* ὄντα.

98.16–17 <ἤττον θανατῶσα καθ’ ἐκάστην ἥ>: these words were carelessly omitted from the text; they exist in the parallel passage (194.17); θανατῶσα functions intransitively (*cf.* *LXX Nu.* 21.6, *Eccl.* 10.1; *Philo* 2.247).

98.17 Ἀρκαδίου: Arcadius, the elder son of Theodosius I, created Augustus in A.D. 383, succeeded his father upon his death in 395. The Empire was divided between Arcadius and his brother Honorius.

98.18 Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Νέου: Theodosius II (401–450), proclaimed Augustus in 402, succeeded his father Arcadius in 408. During his minority the Empire was ably ruled by the praetorian prefect of the East Anthemius (405–414), the master of the offices Helio (414–427), and his elder sister Pulcheria, who was made regent in 414 with the title of Augusta.

98.18–19 Πουφῖνον τὸν ἐπὶ κλην ἀκόρεστον, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος: Theodosius I, upon his death in A.D. 395, left Flavius Rufinus as the chief adviser of his son Arcadius. Rufinus incurred the enmity of Stilicho, a general of Arcadius' brother Honorius. Stilicho sent troops to Constantinople, and they murdered Rufinus in November 395. The poet Claudius Claudianus wrote an invective against Rufinus in 396.

98.24–25 τὸ λεγόμενον συνέστη μαγιστέριον: *sc.* the office of *magister officiorum* (120.29, 194.26).

98.29–30 τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι τῶν φρουμενταρίων: the *ms.* reading μέντοι both here and in the almost identical passage (194.30) must be emended to μέντοι, which has the force of δέ and is needed to balance ἀντέχεσθαι μέν in the preceding clause (98.28–29). Lydus (*De Mens.* 1.30) discusses the *frumentarii* and the *curiosi* thus: ἐπειθετο δὲ αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ μαγίστρῳ) τάξις τις πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ φρουμεντάριοι καὶ κουριώσοι προσηγορεύοντο, οἷον σιτῶναι καὶ περιέργοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν σιτῶναι τῆς εὐθηνίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἀντείχοντο, οἱ δὲ περιέργοι ἡγοῦντο τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου.

100.3–4 τὰ λεγόμενα συνδήματα: *sc.* postal warrants, called in Latin *evectiones* (see Lampe 1331 s.v. σύνδημα 4).

100.4 κέχρηται: the perfect functions as a present (see L–S 2001 s.v. χράω (B) C.I.3); *cf.* ἀδικουμένου (256.6).

100.4 κουριώσος: *sc.* official informer to the emperor (see Soph. *Lex.* 683, Lampe 773).

100.7–8 προσυπογράφοντος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν δρόμων συνδήμασι καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου μαγίστρου: if the *ms.* reading προσεπίγραφοντος is emended to προὔπογράφοντος, the *ms.* reading of the parallel passage (196.7), it would mean that the *magister officiorum* would be the first to sign the postal warrants for the use of the *cursus publicus*. But, since the reason for the signature of the *magister officiorum* was to check and approve the postal warrants issued by the praetorian prefect, who retained the right to issue such warrants and to administer the *cursus publicus*, he merely countersigned them. If this is so, the *ms.* reading should be προσυπογράφοντος and not προὔπογράφοντος. On the state transport system see “postal service” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 869.

100.8 ὅτι δὲ οὕτως: *sc.* ἔχει.

100.9 τῷ πάλαι Θεοδοσιανῷ: see notes 170.1, 196.10.

100.15 πρὸς τέλος, ὡς ὑπεσχόμην, ἐρῶ: *infra* II.23–25.

100.22–23 τῆς τῶν οἰκειῶν παίδων ῥαστώνης προνοούμενος, νόμῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρίαν ἐχαλίνωσεν: Vasis (*‘E. E. II.* 116) believes that δέ here is entirely superfluous, disturbing the

syntax, and that perhaps there was here originally νόμῳ δὴ τινι, because, he says, the expression δὴ τινι or δὴ τινα often and in many places was corrupted by the scribes, of which a most glaring example is Thuc. 1.24.2: κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατακληθεῖς instead of κατὰ δὴ τινα etc. Vasis' reasoning, however, is unconvincing, for we observe not only examples in which a finite verb construction passes over into a participial construction (see note 22.1–2) but also examples in which a participial construction passes over into a finite verb construction (see note 28.25–30.4). Wünsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 573–574), therefore, correctly rejected Vasis' opinion.

100.28 ὥς ἔφην: *supra* II.7.

100.31 οὓς τινες καλοῦσι χρησμούς: the ms. reading οὓς does not have to be emended to ἄς because it refers to προρρήσεων, for a relative pronoun can agree in gender and number with a predicate noun instead of its antecedent, especially with verbs of naming and calling (see note 224.23–24).

100.31 ἐν ἀριθμῷ λόγων: cf. οὐδ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἤκει λόγων (Eur. *El.* 1054), οὐκ ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ, λόγων (Soph. *O.C.* 382).

102.5–6 τὸν μὲν λεγόμενον χρησμὸν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν γραφεῖσιν ἐντεθεῖκαμεν: cf. *Lyd. De Mens. fr. inc.* 7 (ed. Wünsch).

102.7 Κύρου γάρ τινος Αἰγυπτίου: Cyrus of Panopolis in Egypt was praetorian prefect of the East from December 6, 439, to August 18, 441 (Grumel *La Chronologie* 368). Ioannes Malalas (14.361) also states that Cyrus held both the office of praetorian prefect and that of prefect of the city. Cyrus had a close friendship with Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II.

102.9 μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπισταμένου: the ms. reading μηδενα is best emended to μηδέν, as it is in the parallel passage (198.11); see also note 126.8.

102.15 Ὡς οὖν ἔφην: *supra* II.6.

102.17 εἰκός: sc. ἦν.

102.20–21 μανδύην μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἑπαρχος περιεβάλλετο Κῶν: the ms. reading κῶαν (sc. Κῶαν) is probably a scribal error for Κῶν, though μανδύην could be feminine (cf. Poll. 7.60, D.C. 57.13.5, 67.8.3, 78.3.3).

102.27 μαντίον: cf. *Gloss.* s.v. μαντίον (*paludamentum*), Lampe 827 s.v. μαντίον, L-S Suppl. 96 s.v. μαντίος.

104.1–2 σηγμέντων οὐκ ἐπιβαλλομένων τῷ μανδύϊ, τῶν <δ'> ἐν ἡμῖν λεγομένων ταβλίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ πτυχίου: the loss of δ' is certain, for it is needed to express that, whereas *segmenta* are placed on the mantle of the emperor, *tablia* are placed on that of the praetorian prefect.

104.4–5 ὥς προέφαμεν: *supra* II.4.

104.5–7 παραγώδης δέ, χιτῶν καταπόρφυρος, καὶ ζωστήρ ἐκ φοινικοῦ δέρματος, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀνακεκολλημένος: implied with παραγώδης is αὐτῷ ἦν; the meaning of καταπόρφυρος is “deep-purple” and not “all-purple” (cf. L-S 907), nor is it equivalent to ὅλο-

πόρφυρος (*cf.* Soph. *Lex.* 643); the direct reflexive αὐτόν is one of three instances in which the direct reflexive is being used as an indirect reflexive and here refers back to χιτών (see notes 120.5–6 & 178.9–10); the meaning of ἀνακεκολλημένος is “fastened on” (*cf.* Lampe 765 s.v. κολλάω 1) and not “glued on” (*cf.* L–S 108 s.v. ἀνακολλάω).

104.9–10 γλωσσίδα τινὰ ἢ γ’οὖν διάβλημα, χρυσοτελὲς καὶ αὐτό: the meaning of διάβλημα is incorrectly given by L–S 390 as “strap passing through a shoe-buckle,” for a belt being discussed here; χρυσοτελής (“made of gold”) is cited only in Soph. *Lex.* 1174.

104.11 δι’ ἣν ἐν τῇ Περὶ Μηνῶν συγγραφῇ ἀποδεδώκαμεν αἰτίαν: *cf.* Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.39.

104.19–20 ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων ἐν βιβλίῳ πέμπτῳ Περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς Διαλέκτου: Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 5.116) does not mention the words *cartamera* and *cartalamum* but does speak of *balteum*.

104.21–22 ἐτέρα μὲν ἢ Θούσκων, ἄλλη δὲ Ἑτρούσκων: both genitives express source (see note 14.26).

104.26 καλαμάριον: *sc.* “pen-case” (L–S 865, Lampe 699).

106.2 καλλίκλιον: Vasis (*Ἑ.Ἑ.Π.* 116) would write καλλίκλιον (*cf.* Lat. *caliculus*).

106.4 ἐπὶ τρίποδος ἀργυραίου: the ms. reading ἀργυρέου should be emended to ἀργυραίου; see note 158.10.

106.7 ἐκεῖνο προλέγων: the demonstrative looks to the clause which follows.

106.9 βάρκας: *cf.* *C.I.L.* 2.13.

106.10–11 κέλωκας: the ms. reading κιλοκας shows two scribal errors, that of *iota* instead of *epsilon* (see note 56.14) and *omikron* instead of *omega*.

106.15 Νόμος ἦν: *cf.* *Cod. Theod.* XI tit. XXX.

106.18 τὰς δέ: the ms. reading τὰς δέ need not be emended to τοὺς δέ so as to be parallel to the preceding τοὺς μὲν (106.15), for sometimes μὲν and δέ refer to the entire clauses or the predicate and not to the words that immediately precede them – an arrangement which is sometimes adopted to preserve the symmetry of the juxtaposed clauses (*cf.* 114.10–12).

106.18–19 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτικῶν δικαστηρίων: the meaning of ἀρχαιοτικῶν (ἀρχαιο-τικῶν?) is unclear. To assume that ἀρχαιοτικὰ δικαστήρια is a scribal error for ἀρχαιωτικὰ δικαστήρια, namely, “courts of record” (L–S 251 s.v. ἀρχιῳτής) may not be necessary, for ἀρχαιοτικός could be derived from ἀρχαῖον, namely, “board of magistrates” (*cf.* Porphyrius *Vita Pythagorae* 36, cited by Soph. *Lex.* 256) and so could be “magisterial.” These courts may have been those before which magistrates were tried for malfeasance in office since magistrates would hardly have been tried in the regular courts of justice but in special courts consisting of their peers.

106.24–25 κρίνειν πράγματα, ἴσως καὶ σφόδρα γλίσχρης ὑποθέσεως ἀνεχόμενος: the meaning of πράγματα here, as well as elsewhere (200.3), is “lawsuits”; ἀνεχόμενος governs ὑποθέσεως.

106.30 ἥς ἔνεκα: the ms. reading ἥς, *sc.* αἰτίας, is defensible, thus referring to the entire preceding clause; its emendation to ὧν makes διχονίαις the antecedent.

108.3 πῶς ἂν ἡρέμησεν οὗτος: this is one of two instances (see also 240.26) of the use of ἂν with the aorist indicative to express a past contrary to the fact question (see also note 36.8); οὗτος (see also 192.25) means “the present day” and refers to Justinian.

108.3–5 ὑπνω μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως χαλῶμενος, τροφῆς δὲ χάριν μηδὲ ἄρτου ξηροῦ πρὸς κόρον ἀπτόμενος: Procopius (*Anecd.* 12.27), too, says of Justinian ὃς γε ποτοῦ ἢ σιτίων ἢ ὑπνου εἰς κόρον οὐδέποτε ἥλθεν.

108.8–9 νόμος ἐφοίτησεν: *cf.* *Cod. Just.* VII tit. LXII 32. A passive sense is implied in ἐφοίτησεν (see note 56.1); *cf.* φοιτώσας ψήφους (166.16–17).

108.9 τὸν ὑπαρχον ἀκροάσασθαι τῶν σακρῶν διατυπῶν: the ms. reading διατυπῶν agreeing with νόμος makes good sense; τῶν σακρῶν agrees with an implied δικῶν (*cf.* 106.21).

108.13 οἱ τῶν δικῶν κύριοι: *cf.* Lat. *dominus litis* (Call. *Dig.* 27.1.17.6, Ulp. *Dig.* 12.3.7, Macer *Dig.* 49.1.4.5).

108.20–21 ὁ λόγος τοῖς λέγουσιν ὅλως πρὸς θεῖον δικαστὴν ἀνυψούμενος: the ms. reading ὅλος is a scribal error for ὅλως, which is required to modify the participle.

108.27 πραττούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς: the participle is being used absolutely (see also 114.8, <21>, 146.8, 150.4, 154.7, 25, 230.21, 240.1).

108.31 θρόον: the Attic contraction θροῦν might have been expected.

110.3–4 περὶ οὗ ὕστερον ἐρῶ: *infra* III.57.

110.4 ἀξιόλογος: the accentuation of the ms. reading ἀξιολόγος is misplaced (see note 12.6–7).

110.5 ἀπερριμμένην: the ms. reading απηρριμμένην resulted from a scribal misreading of E as H in a majuscule ms. (see *app. crit.* 114.23, 148.20, 164.10, 170.11, 20, 208.17, 244.21); see also note 76.6.

110.7 παρὰ πᾶσαν: *sc.* ἀρχήν. Bekker’s reading πᾶσιν is probably a typographical error, as is also his reading Ὀνόσανδρος (74.21).

110.9 μή τί γε: the ms. reading μητε γε exhibits in μητε the scribal carelessness of writing *epsilon* instead of *iota* (see note 54.17–18); the indefinite τι merely heightens the negative μή.

110.10 ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις σιλεντίοις: *cf.* Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.30: Ἐδόκει μὲν μηκέτι ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ τὴν βουλὴν συνάγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην σύνοδον κομβέντον ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ συνέλευσιν. σιγῆς δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς βουλευομένοις δεῖ· ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν σιγὴν σπουδῆς (σιλέντιον δ’ αὐτὴν πατριῶς καλοῦσιν) σιλεντιαρίους ἔκριναν ὀνομάζειν αὐτούς.

110.11 κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰρημένον: *supra* II.9.

110.12–13 τῆς βασιλέως εἰκόνας ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ παραπεμπούσης αὐτήν: that the imperial pictures or statues represented the emperor and received reverence is mentioned also by Severianus Gabalensis in *crucem* (ed. H. Savile 5, 898.42): καὶ γὰρ, βασιλέως ἀπόντος, εἰκὼν βασιλέως πληροῖ χώραν βασιλέως. . καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄρχοντες. . καὶ δῆμοι προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐ τὴν σανίδα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ βασιλέως (Lampe 410 s.v. εἰκὼν I.B.2).

110.13–16 ἐνθεν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν λεγομένων σιλεντιαρίων (ἀμισσιωνάλιος καλεῖται) ἐξ ἐωδινοῦ πρὸς τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς αὐτὴν στελλομένου καὶ γονυπετῶς προτρέποντος ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν παρελθεῖν: this genitive absolute is being used coordinately with the finite clause which follows (see note 2.20–21). The *silentiarii* were privy-councillors (*cf. Cod. Just.* 3.28.30, 15.62.25); the function of the *admissionalis* (*cf. Const. Porph. Cer.* 1.87–89) was to introduce persons to the consistory.

110.18–20 Ὑπόλοιπον περὶ τῆς τάξεως κατὰ λεπτὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι, πόσοις τε καὶ ποίοις συμπληροῦται καταλόγοις, ἔδη τε καὶ νόμους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι: it need not be necessary to conjecture the loss of τῶν before τῆς τάξεως, for the ms. reading συμπληροῦνται could be a scribal error for συμπληροῦται, whose subject is an implied τάξις; see note 62.3.

110.22 ἐπεμβαινόντων: *sc.* “entering upon” (see Lampe 513–14 s.v. ἐπεμβαίνω 3).

110.24–26 νόμος γὰρ ἦν, οὐ ψιλὸς ἀλλ’ ἐν γράμμασιν, μηδενὶ παντελῶς ἐπιτρέπων ἐπὶ τοῦ βοηθοῦ ἀναβαίνειν φρόντισμα: it cannot be perceived in the ms. whether the scribe wrote ψιλός, which seems more likely to be the correct reading, or ψιλῶς; if the former, it modifies νόμος, but, if the latter, it modifies ἐπιτρέπων.

112.5 φήσοντες: this is the only place in the ms. where the colon is used to introduce a direct quotation.

112.7 κλημάτων: *sc.* the vine-switches carried by the Roman centurions; *cf. Plut. Galb.* 26, *Eus. h.e.* 7.15.2 (*PG* 20, 676C).

112.12 τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας μνήμην: the ms. reading γῆν (*sc.* τήν) is the result of the scribal misreading of T as Γ in majuscules.

112.16 παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὅπλων στρατεύμασιν: it is not necessary to emend the ms. reading αὐτοῖς τοῖς or to conjecture τοῖς after αὐτοῖς, which Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 19 (1899), 613) proposes, for the intensive is found without the article (see note 28.16); στρατεύμασιν is qualified by τῶν ὅπλων because στρατεύματα (*cf.* 136.23) can refer also to the civil services (see note 20.1–2).

112.17 βιάρχων: the ms. accentuation βιαρχῶν should be emended to βιάρχων because only the form βιάρχος and not βιάρχης occurs in all the other instances (76.24, 132.26, 140.17); see also note 78.10.

112.18 πρὸς τιμῆς: the ms. reading προ is the result of the careless omission of a final *sigma* (see note 16.24); both πρὸς τιμῆς (86.19, 206.7) and πρὸς τιμὴν (244.24) are found.

112.19 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν: *cf. Lyd. De Mens.* 1.40.

112.24–26 κενόδοξος γὰρ ὧν ὁ Δομντιανὸς τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς ἔχαιρεν· ἴδιον δὲ τυράννων ἀνατρέπειν τὰ πάλαι καθεστηκότα: cf. Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.20: τὸν Δομετιανὸν δεσπότην ἐκάλουν, ἀλλ’ οὐ βασιλέα, διὰ τὸ τυραννικὸν αὐτοῦ.

114.2–3 διεσπαθίσεν: the ms. reading διεσπαθῆσεν is a scribal error for διεσπάθισεν, for very often *eta* is incorrectly written instead of *iota*.

114.8 ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπων: the conjecture ἐφέπων is unlikely since only the verb διέπειν is used in connection with managing the prefecture (cf. 102.9, 158.25, 198.11, 210.13).

114.9 Κωνσταντῖνος: Constantine was praetorian prefect thrice: ca. 447, March 25, 456–March 3, 459, and August 7, 471 (Grumel *La Chronologie* 368), thus having served under Emperors Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo I.

114.16–17 καὶ Ῥούφῳ τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς πάππος γενόμενος: the nominative participle here and elsewhere (126.29–128.1, 202.16) functions as a parenthetical clause.

116.1 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ: *infra* III.57.

116.4 κατακοιταζόμενος: the verb of this participle is not cited in the existing lexica.

116.4–5 οὔρου καὶ ἀφόδου περισκοποῦντος τὸν κοιτῶνα: the ms. reading περισκοποῦντος (sc. περισκοποῦντος) is correct, for οὔρου and ἀφόδου are personifications expressing biting irony; since there was so much urine and excrement in his bedroom, they took on human proportions. Therefore, Preger’s conjecture περισκέποντος (*apud* Wunsch) is unnecessary.

116.11–12 ταῖς ἀγέλαις τῶν ἵππων εἰς μέρος βραχὺ παρεχώρησεν: whereas ταῖς ἀγέλαις is the indirect object of παρεχώρησεν; the expression εἰς μέρος βραχὺ is equivalent in meaning to ἐν μέρει βραχεῖ (cf. L–S 1104 s.v. μέρος II.2).

116.12 ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κρεμάσας βαλανεῖον: this refers to a bath on the roof, which the Byzantines often built.

116.18–19 ὡς Πομπηίου παράσιτος κατὰ τὸν Πλούταρχον: cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 40.

116.19–20 ὡς οἱ τῆς σκηνῆς ἄρχοντες: the ms. reading ὁ is a scribal error for οἱ, for *iota* has frequently been carelessly omitted (see notes 18.3, 80.11–16, & 152.4); while the ms. reading ἄρχοντος is an instance in which a cursive *epsilon* was misread as *omikron* (see note 20.20).

116.22 διεξιέναι: this is one of five instances in which the scribe carelessly omitted the left-hand stroke of the *nu*, the resultant letter thereby appearing as *upsilon*; cf. οἰσθευαί (182.28), δικτυδίου (190.7), αντιγραφεῖν (198.14), and δολοῦ (248.16).

116.22–23 Σεσώστριος ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀμάσιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαινώλειά τε καὶ πυραμίδας καὶ τᾶλλα: the ms. reading σεσώστριν, ἄσματος, and τοῖς ἄλλοις must be emended to genitives as required by the syntax; the scribe, having written ἄσματος, which he considered a dative and so wrote the following word also in the dative. Vasis (*Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos* 41) prefers the emendation of τοῖς ἄλλοις to τοὺς ἄλλους.

116.27 κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπηγγελλόμενον: *supra* II.18.

118.5-6 <οὖν> τοῖς ἔχνεσι τῆς ἀρχαιότητος: the conjecture of οὖν seems necessary.

118.6-7 μὴ γ' οὖν γράμμασιν ἀναφερομένη: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 869) says that he does not understand the use of μὴ γοῦν and so would read ἡ γοῦν.

118.7-8 τέως δὲ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῶν: *sc.* δεῖ εἰπεῖν.

118.17-18 τῷ εἶναι μὲν ἀθάνατα, τῷ δὲ μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀλλοιότερα: the ms. reading τὸ . . . τὸ must be emended to τῷ . . . τῷ because the enarthrous infinitives are datives of respect (see note 76.15-16).

118.19 τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ ἐστίν, τῇ δὲ φθορᾷ γίνεται: the datives express means.

118.22 διὰ τὴν ἀρχέτυπον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείας ὄψιν: the meaning of διὰ here is "with reference to" (see Lampe 344 s.v. διὰ II.4).

118.23-24 ὡς εἴρηται: *supra* I.14.

118.26 αὐθις ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπάρχου περιέστη χρεῖαν: the ms. reading ὑπαρχου (*sc.* ὑπάρχου) may well be correct; its emendation to ἱπάρχου is unnecessary, for Lydus is saying that the office of cavalry commander, when it had been abolished, was reborn as praetorian prefect, and, when the praetorian prefect had subsequently lost his military character and became the head of the civil government, there still was need for an office such as that of praetorian prefect and so the office of *magister officiorum* was produced. The term ὑπαρχος can refer either to the cavalry commander (56.6) or to the praetorian prefect (*passim*).

120.5-6 οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφωνοῦσαν πρὸς ἐαυτὴν εὐρήσει: the direct reflexive ἐαυτὴν is being used as an indirect (see note 104.5-7) and refers to the office of cavalry commander, previously mentioned, and not to the office *magister officiorum*.

120.13 ὡς προέφαμεν: *supra* II.23 *in*.

120.15-16 ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος τὸ πλεόν: *sc.* ἔχει.

120.21-22 ἡ ἱστορία παραδίδωσιν: *cf.* Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* XLI.

120.22 αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ Λικινίῳ: there is no need to conjecture that μαγιστρεῦοντος dropped out of the text because τούτου can mean τοιοῦτου and ὄντος can easily be implied.

120.23-24 Παλλάδιον μάγιστρον τῆς αὐλῆς ἐχειροτόνησεν: Lydus probably consulted the work of Petrus Patricius for a listing of the *magistri officiorum* (see Jones-Martindale-Morris *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, 658 s.v. *Palladius* 2; A. E. R. Boak *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (New York, 1924).

122.4 τῶν πάλαι μὲν φρουμενταρίων, νῦν δὲ μαγιστριανῶν: the *magistriani* (6.27, 140.1, 152.9, 170.4) were members of the staff of the *magister officiorum* (118.11-13); see also note 98.29-30.

122.6 διαφερόντως Πέτρος οὗτος, ὁ πολὺς: the meaning of οὗτος here is τοιοῦτος (*cf.* 160.19) and ἐστίν is implied. The *Suda* s.v. Πέτρος (a) says concerning Petrus Patricius: Πέτρος ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ καὶ μάγιστρος, ἱστορικός, πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Χοσρόην σταλεῖς, μάλα ἐμβριθὴς τε καὶ ἀνάλωτος ἐν τῷ ῥητορεύειν τῷ καταμαλᾶσαι φρονήματα βαρβαρικὰ σκληρὰ τε καὶ ὀγκώδη. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίας, καὶ περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως.

122.6–7 ὁ μηδενὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κατὰ μηδὲν δεύτερος: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 113 note) believes that Lydus is here using a Latinism; *cf.* Verg. *Aen.* 11.441: *haut illi veterum virtute secundus*.

122.9 οἷα σοφός: *sc.* ὦν.

122.11 οἷς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἐνετράφη: *cf.* Hor. *C.* 3.6.24: *incestos amores de tenero meditatur ungui*; Cic. *Fam.* 1.6.2: *a teneris unguiculis*; *cf.* *Anth. Pal.* 5.129.2. The ms. reading ἀνετράφη is a scribal error for ἐνετράφη (see note 28.3).

112.19 ἡμέραν: this is the only place in the ms. where a hyphen is used at the end of the line to indicate that the remainder of the word continues on to the next line.

122.19–20 μηδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν μέχρι τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας: *sc.* ὁδόν.

122.20–22 ζητήμασι δὲ λογικοῖς καὶ ἀφηγήσεσι πραγμάτων ἀρχαιοτέρων μετὰ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σχολαζόντων εἰλούμενος: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 869) prefers to read ἐνειλούμενος.

122.29–30 ἀλλ' ἐφίησί μοι, ὡς εἴρηται δῆ: the ms. reading ἐπιση is obviously corrupt, but, since the scribe has made the error of rendering an aspirate by a smooth (see note 20.3), ἐφίησι suggests itself as more suitable to the context than either ἐπεισι or ἐπισείει. The ms. reading δε instead of δῆ resulted from the scribal misreading of H as E (see note 76.6); δῆ here has a temporal force (*cf.* Soph. *O.T.* 967).

124.9–10 κόμιτα γὰρ λαργιτιῶνων, <ὄν> Ἰταλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ προεστῶτα τῶν τῆς βασιλείας θησαυρῶν: either ὡς or ὄν (antecedent to κόμιτα) dropped out of the text; schol. ad. Io. Mal. *Chron.* 16 (*PG* 97, 589A) says of the *largitiones*: λαργιτίωνες, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅπου αἱ δημόσiai εἰσοδοὶ εἰς δημοσίας ἀναλίσκονται χρεῖας (*cf.* Lampe 793 s.v. λαργιτιῶν).

124.10–11 κόμιτα πριουάτων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ἰδίᾳ πως τοῖς βασιλεῦσι προσηκόντων: *cf.* Theodoretus Cyr. *h.e.* 3.12.2: τῶν ἰδίων τοῦ βασιλέως χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πεπιστευμένοι: κόμιτα δὲ πριβάτων τὸν τοιοῦτον Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύειν εἰώθα-σιν; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.12.

124.13 <οὐ μὲν γάρ>: Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) conjectures οἱ μηδέ.

124.15–17 ὁ λεγόμενος πατριμῶνιος, ἀντὶ τοῦ φύλαξ τῆς ἰδίᾳ πως ἀνηκούσης τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τυχόν ἐκ προγόνων περιουσίας: *cf.* Proc. *Goth.* 5.4.1: τὴν βασιλείου οἰκίαν αὐτὴν, ἣν δὴ πατριμῶνιον Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν νενομίκασι.

126.2–6 <ῆν> πρῶτος ἐλὼν σὺν Δεκεβάλλῳ τῶν Γετῶν ἡγησαμένῳ Τραϊανὸς ὁ πολὺς πεντακοσίας μυριάδας χρυσοῦ λίτρων, διπλασίας δὲ ἀργύρου, . . . ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτᾶτων

ὕπερ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις Ῥωμαίοις εἰσήγαγεν: Fuss in his edition added ἦν but later (*Ep.* 28) said that αὐτήν could be implied in place of conjecturing the loss of ἦν. The ms. reading τῶν does not need to be emended to τῷ (see note 84.17), whereas the ms. reading διπλασίου is due to the scribal error of making this adjective agree with the noun which follows it instead of πεντακοσίας μυριάδας required by the syntax.

J. Carcopino (*Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1926, 155–157) points out that Lydus's amounts are absurdly large both as regards the amount of lbs. of gold (5,000,000) and the number of prisoners (500,000), and the enormity of these figures may be the result of utilizing multiples of ten thousands, a Byzantine practice, than multiples of thousands, a classical practice, which Crito would have used, and thus the figure 5,000,000 would be reduced to 500,000 and the figure 500,000 to 50,000.

126.7 ὥς ὁ Κρίτων παρὼν τῷ πολέμῳ διῆσχυρίσατο: the ms. reading ἀκρίτον is clearly a scribal error for ὁ Κρίτων (see note 78.12). Crito, Trajan's physician, had accompanied him in the Dacian wars and composed a treatise titled Γετικά (*cf.* K. Müller *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV, 373–374).

126.8 κατὰ μηδὲν Τραϊανῶ παραχωρῶν: Fuss (*Ep.* 28) thinks that the ms. reading μηδενά (*sc.* μηδένᾱ) here and in one other instance (170.5) should perhaps be retained as an ellipsis with some noun implied or as a plural. However, μηδενά is better viewed as a scribal error for μηδέν; *cf.* κατὰ μηδέν (120.2, 122.7, 14) and κατ' οὐδέν (166.1); the scribe has incorrectly appended an *alpha* to the neuter μηδέν (102.9). The ms. reading τραϊανοῦ must be emended to Τραϊανῶ because it is governed not by μηδέν but by παραχωρῶν (see Lampe 1029 s.v. παραχωρέω 6).

126.9 τὴν βορείαν: *sc.* χώραν.

126.16–18 Κερασίδα. . . Καρίαν τε ὅλην σὺν ταῖς Ἰωνίσι νήσοις: the force of σὺν here is just about equivalent to καὶ (*cf.* 10.28).

126.22 ἐν Λιπάρῃ: the forms Λιπάρα and Λιπάραι also occur (Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.115).

126.23 καθ' ὁμαλοῦ: Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) unnecessarily conjectures καθόλου.

126.24–25 τὴν τε γὰρ μεγίστην καὶ δευτέραν ἐξουσίαν: it is unnecessary to assume that τὴν before δευτέραν dropped out of the text (*cf.* 128.18–19), for it is easily understood that τὴν μεγίστην refers to the praetorian prefecture and δευτέραν to the magistracy of the *magister officiorum*.

126.26–27 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς εὐχειρίστους κατέστησε τὰς ἀρχάς: the verbal adjective εὐχειρίστους, which is not recorded in L–S, Soph. *Lex.*, or Lampe, is construed with αὐτοῖς, the dative of agency.

126.27–28 τοῖς φιλοπράγμοσι τὴν λύσαν ἐμέτρησεν: the dative is one of reference; *cf.* τοῖς φιλοδίκοις (132.18–19).

126.28–29 γλίσχρον δὲ νομίσας <εἰ> μὴ καὶ τὴν πολιαρχίαν ἀπαλλάξῃ μοχθημάτων οὐ μικρῶν: though εἰ probably dropped out of the text (*cf.* 228.2–3), it may not be absolutely necessary, for μὴ can be used for εἰ μὴ (see Lampe 867 s.v. μή, *Ev. Matt.* 19.9).

128.1–2 τὸν οὐρβανὸν πραιτῶρα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρεισήγαγεν: the first prefect of the city in Constantinople was installed December 11, A.D. 359 and its administration was modelled on that of Rome with a *praefectus annonae*, *praefectus vigilum*, and *magister census*. In 535 Justinian replaced the *praefectus vigilum* with the *praetor plebis* (πραιτῶρ τοῦ δήμου or τῶν δήμων) with enhanced salary and rank.

128.2–3 ἀρκεῖν οἰόμενος τῷ πολιάρχῳ τὴν πάντα σοβοῦσαν τῷ δήμῳ διχόνοιαν: While Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) is correct in saying that τῷ δήμῳ is a *dativus ethicus*, his suggestion that perhaps τὰν should be read is unnecessary.

128.3–4 μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὡς προέφαμεν: *supra* I.25.

128.4–5 τὸν λεγόμενον κυαιοσίτῳρα, ἀντὶ <τοῦ> τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐρευνάδα σεμνότατον: Justinian created in 539 by *Nov.* 13.1 the office of *quaesitor*, a new police officer whose function was to control temporary visitors to Constantinople, seeing to it that they returned home after completing their business, and to provide work for the able-bodied unemployed (if they were immigrants to be deported to their own provinces and if slaves to be returned to their masters), and to give begging licences to resident and immigrant aged and the infirmed (Jones *The Later Roman Empire* 284–602, I, 280, 692). Procopius (*Anecd.* 20.9) assigns to this office the province of punishing those who were habitually practicing sodomy and those who had intercourse with women such as were prohibited by law and anyone who did not worship the Deity in the orthodox way.

128.9–10 οὕτως ἐν προοιμίῳς ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐδαίμων πόλις τῆς τότε πᾶσαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐκβεβηκυῖας Ῥώμης ἐνομήσθη: the genitive Ῥώμης can be viewed either as a genitive of connection (*cf.* Pl. *R.* 459B, Soph. *El.* 317) or as a genitive governed by οὕτως (*cf.* Aesch. *Ag.* 950, Arist. *Pol.* 1253B27).

128.14 καὶ τοῦτων ἂν τις ἐπιστήσεται τοῖς ἐλέγχοις: the future indicative with ἂν, which is rare in Attic prose but does occur in later prose (see L–S 96 s.v. ἂν A.I.2a & b, Soph. *Lex.* 132 s.v. ἂν 1), is found in one other instance (200.6); see also note 36.8. While Vasis (*Ε.Ε.Π.* 116) would emend τοῖς ἐλέγχοις to τοὺς ἐλέγχους because he takes ἐπιστήσεται as the future of ἐπίστασθαι, the dative is correct because ἐπιστήσεται is the future of ἐπίστασθαι.

128.14–16 εἰ ταῖς Διαλέξεσι Κωνσταντίνου, ὅς αὐτὸς οἰκεῖα φωνῇ γράψας ἀπολέλοιπεν, ἐντεύξεται: *cf.* H. Peter *Hist. Rom. Fragm.* 364. The aorist subjunctive ἐντεύξεται is formed from the future stem.

128.21–22 τὸν δὲ μάγιστρον τοῦ κήνσου ἐπιφημίσας, οἷον εἰ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων συμβολαίων: this is the definition of the *praetor fideicommissarius*, who is *magister census*, namely, magistrate of the original contracts. He was in charge of the property and tax obligations of the citizens and the original copies of these contracts.

128.22–24 ὅτι κήνσον μὲν τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων, ῥέγεστα δὲ <τῶν πραττομένων> λέγουσιν: the meaning of τῶν ἀρχαίων as “capital” is attested in classical writers (*cf.* Ar. *Nu.* 1156, Dem. 1.15, 34.26); *cf.* ἀρχαιοφύλακας (128.25), ἀρχαίους (see note 188.11). By taking into account Lydus’ definition of ῥέγεστα (164.6–8), Wünsch aptly conjectures τῶν πραττομένων, which is dependent on an implied τὴν, *sc.* ἀπογραφὴν.

128.24 κηνσουάλης: *sc. censuales* (see note 42.21), the corresponding Grecized form being κηνσουαλίους (*cf. Just. Nov. 17.8*).

128.25–130.2 τῆς δὲ ἡμετέρας Ῥώμης καὶ Νεμέσεως ἔξω καὶ τὴν πρώτην τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποκρυπτούσης: the first participle of this genitive absolute is not expressed but is an implied οὔσης; the subject of the second is τῆς δυνάμεως, *sc. "its (or Rome's) power."* Vasis (*E.E.II. 116*), thinking τῆς δυνάμεως to be defective, would read ταῖς δυνάμεσιν.

130.2–3 καὶ τῆς τοῦ οὐρβανοῦ πραίτωρος δεῖσθαι παρόδου: the subject of δεῖσθαι is an implied αὐτὴν (*sc. Ῥώμην*); παρόδου here means "creation" (see Lampe 1041 s.v. πάροδος 7).

130.3–6 προάγει τοῖνυν αὐτὸν τῇ οἰκεῖα σεμνύνων προσηγορίᾳ ἅμα τῶν τοῦ δήμου παραπτωμάτων ἀψόμενον, ἅμα τὴν πολιarchίαν φροντίδων ἀμετρίας ἐπικουφίσας ἐμφρόνως: the ms. reading αψομενον (*sc. ἀψόμενον*) should not be emended to ἀψόμενος in order to agree with the subject of προάγει, for it was the function of the *praetor urbanus*, and not of the emperor, to deal with the crimes of the populace. The first ἅμα (see note 54.25–26) is to be taken with προάγει, certainly not with ἀψόμενον; the second ἅμα, with ἐπικουφίσας, which is coordinate with the preceding finite verb προάγει (see note 22.1–2).

132.6 ἂν τις ἀμυδρῶς ἐσοπτρίσιοιτο: the fut. opt. with ἂν, which is probably always corrupt in Classical writers (*cf. L–S 97 s.v. ἂν A.III.h*), but does occur with some frequency in later Greek (*cf. Soph. Lex. 132–133 s.v. ἂν 3*), is found in one other instance (180.14); see also note 36.8. The verb ἐσοπτρίσιοιτο is cited by L–S 496 s.v. εἰσοπτρίζω; *cf. Lampe 551 s.v. ἐσοπτρίζω*.

132.12 κοινωνεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦ ζεφύρου: the ms. reading αὐτῇ reflects the scribal carelessness of misplaced accent (see note 12.6–7); αὐτῇ (*sc. Εὐρώπῃ*) can be the correct reading, for the verb takes both a gen. and a dat. (*cf. L–S 969 s.v. κοινωνέω I.1*).

132.18–19 τοῖς φιλοδίκαις: the ms. reading φιλοδικαίοις is probably a scribal error, the scribe having been misled because he had just written δίκαιον; *cf. τοῖς φιλοπράγμοις* (126.27).

132.26 <κεντηναρίους>: Wünsch supplies this from III.7 (140.18).

132.27–28 ἀφηγησάμην εἰ μὴ πόρρω τοῦ σκοποῦ παρωδοῦμην: *cf. Sall. Cat. 7: memorare . . . ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.*

132.29 μάτρικες: "registers" (*cf. L–S Suppl. 97; Lampe 834*).

134.7 οἶαν οὖν: Preger (*apud* Wünsch) unnecessarily conjectures οἶα νῦν.

134.11 περιβατωρίας: the ms. reading περιβασωρίας is one of two examples (see *app. crit.* 136.20) of the scribal misreading of T as □ in majuscules.

134.17 ἀδιούτωρες: the ms. reading ἀδιθύτορες resulted from the scribal misreading of O as Θ in majuscules; see also note 214.21–23.

134.18–19 et <coll>ocare eum in legione prima adiutrice nostra: *cf. Cod. Just. XII tit. 53.*

134.23 <ὁ> μόναρχος ἢ γ' οὖν ὁ ὑπαρχος ἢ ὁ Καῖσαρ: the ms. reading μονομάχος is better emended to μόναρχος although Soph. *Lex.* 767 accepts the ms. reading here as meaning "commander-in-chief."

134.24 ὥς ἔφην: *supra* I.4.

136.7-12 τῆς δὲ καλουμένης λεγιῶνος . . . πρῶτος ἐτέτακτο ὁ κορνικουλάριος: the gen. λεγιῶνος is governed by πρῶτος and not by ἐτέτακτο (*cf.* Lys. 14.11, 16.15).

136.9 οὐσῶν δὲ <δέκα> καὶ: there is no need to drop δὲ καὶ and to read in their place δέκα, for only the latter dropped out of the text.

136.12 ὥς ἔφην: although Wunsch thinks that Lydus is referring to *supra* I.46, Lydus may be alluding to what he has just said about the *cornicularius*.

136.13-15 <κἄν εἰ μηκέτι> ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπαρχον ἔδοξεν δι' οὓς εἰρήκαμεν λογισμούς: that something dropped out of the text after τάξεως and before ἐπὶ is evident, but it is perhaps more in accord with Lydus's usage to conjecture κἄν εἰ rather than ἐπεὶ; at any rate μηκέτι must have existed in the text. Although Bekker conjectured the loss of ἐπεὶ μηκέτι and added them in his text, he did not alter Fuss's Latin translation to reflect this addition. Fuss believes that the considerations being referred to by Lydus were in the lost section (*supra* I.48); actually Lydus is referring to what he had said earlier (*supra* II.10 sqq.). The ms. reading οφικνεῖσθαι reflects the scribal carelessness of writing *omikron* instead of *alpha* (see note 38.14).

136.26-27 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνηματογράφων πραττομένων: the ms. reading πραττομένων is correct, for it means "transactions" (*cf.* <128.23>, 142.24, 146.3, 152.12, 18, 154.22, 168.25); see also note 146.4.

138.6 δῆλον ὅτι: the verb ἐστὶ is to be understood with δῆλον.

138.8-9 <ἐν αἷς ἄν> συμβαίη τὰς ἀνανεώσεις γίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων: the particle ἄν certainly was omitted by scribal carelessness (see note 36.8).

138.16-17 ταχυγράφων: *cf.* Agathias *Hist.* IV.1.2 (p. 123 ed. Keydell): παρῆσαν δὲ ἄνδρες γράφειν εἰς τάχος πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα.

138.18 <οἱ>τοι: the ms. reading τη could well have been a scribal error for τοι with the careless omission of a preceding οἱ; the enclitic particle τοι usually stands early in the sentence or clause, sometimes placed between article and substantive or adjective.

138.20-21 τὴν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς πείραν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιδειξάμενοι: the οἱ after συνλεγόμενοι is the result of dittography and must be deleted (see note 16.21).

138.23 οἱ μένοντες: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) would add δὲ between article and participle.

138.25 ὃν τὸ πῶς: the neuter participle ὃν here is an acc. abs., while the neuter article τό is utilized before any word which itself is made the object of thought (see L-S 1195 s.v. ὁ, ἡ, τό B.I.5). This is the only place in the ms. where the comma is used to introduce an articular interrogative adverb.

140.1 ἡ τῶν λεγομένων μαγιστριανῶν κομποφακελορρημοσύνη: the *Augustales*, too, are called λόγων ἐρασταί (146.7). *Soph. Lex.* 678 incorrectly reads κομποκεφαλορρημοσύνη for this passage.

140.3 ἐνὶ βεραίδῳ χρωμένους ἢ γ' οὖν ἐνὶ δῆλον ὅτι παρίππῳ: since the shifting of case with the same verb would have been highly unlikely, the ms. reading ἐνοὶ must be taken as a scribal error for ἐνὶ and παρίππου also must be emended to παρίππῳ. *Veredi* were actually “saddlehorses” and *parhippi* were “packhorses for luggage,” both of which were provided by the express post. Lydus seems to be taking *parhippus* as the Greek rendering for the Latin *veredus*.

140.5–6 μάγκιπες οἱ τοῦ δημῶδους καὶ ἀνδραποδώδους ἄρτου δημιουργοί: cf. Socrates *h.e.* 5.18 (PG 67, 609C–612A): ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχαίου κατὰ τὴν μεγίστην Ῥώμην οἴκοι παμμεγέθεις, ἐν οἷς ὁ τῇ πόλει χορηγούμενος ἄρτος ἐγένετο. οἱ τε προϊστάμενοι τούτων οἱ μάγκιπες τῇ Ῥωμαίων γλώσσει καλοῦνται, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ληστήρια τοὺς οἴκους πεποιήνται.

140.10 καθολικούς: “supervisors of accounts” (L–S 855 s.v. καθολικός II; *Soph. Lex.* 613 s.v. καθολικός 3a; Lampe 691 s.v. καθολικός A.10a). Vasis (*Festschrift für Konstantin S. Kontos* 42) supports without evidence the ms. reading of the Codex Atheniensis καθολικιανούς. Only καθολικός and not καθολικιανός is lexicographically defensible.

140.11 σιτώναι: the ms. reading σιτονας resulted from the misreading of *iota* as *sigma* in a majuscule ms. (see note 26.6).

140.12 Οὐίκτηρ: the ms. reading need not be emended to Βίκτηρ; cf. Οὐάρρων (2.12), Οὐεργίλιος (78.20), Οὐάλεντος (162.4), Οὐίττιγει (218.19). Aurelius Victor was a governor of Pannonia Secunda (A.D. 361) and *praefectus urbi* (389); he probably published in 360 his *De Caesaribus*, an imperial history from Augustus to Constantine.

140.12 ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ τῶν Ἐμφυλίων: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* XXXIX.

140.15–16 τελευταῖοι πάντων: the ms. reading τελευταῖον resulted from the scribal misreading of I as N in a majuscule ms.; see also note 178.4.

140.18–19 ὧν πάντων τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς σημασίας προαποδεδώκαμεν: *ducenarii*, *centenarii*, and *centuriones* most likely were explained in the two folia which were lost after f 52^v (76.25).

142.4 λειτουργιῶν: this and not λειτουργίας must be the correct reading, for it serves as the antecedent of ὧν (142.5).

142.5 λαμβάνουσιν: the conjecture περιέμενον seems unlikely because presents are being used in the passage.

142.6–7 αὐτοὺς ὑπομνηματογράφους ἢ τάξις Ῥωμαίων ὠνόμασεν: the ms. reading τοὺς exhibits the scribal carelessness of omitting the first half of αὐτοὺς (see notes 146.5, 166.6–8, 202.8–9, 252.23), the scribe having often cut off the initial parts of words (see note 14.21–22). The meaning of τάξις both here and elsewhere (180.28, 234.28, 256.11) is not “staff” but “political order” (see L–S 1756 s.v. τάξις II.5).

142.7 ὥς ἔφαμεν: *supra* III.4.

142.8 νωμενκουλάτωρες: cf. in schola *nomenculatorum* (*Cod. Just.* 1.27.1.32). The Greek equivalent of *nomenculator* is ὀνομακλήτωρ (*Luc. Merc. Cond.* 10, *Ath.* 2.47E) and ὀνοματοκλήτωρ (*Gloss*).

142.11–12 ἐν τῷ Ὑπομνήματι τῶν Σαλλουστίου Ἱστοριῶν: cf. B. Maurenbrecher *Sallustii Crispi Historiarum Reliquiae*, I, fr. 48.

142.17–18 πεδανέους, ἀντὶ τοῦ χαμαιδικαστάς: the system of *iudices pedanei* was instituted at Constantinople by Emperor Zeno, but they fell into abeyance under Emperor Anastasius; however, they were revived under Justinian under a different form.

142.20 τουρμαρίους: see *Cod. Theod.* 6.35.3, where *turmarii* are “recruiting officers of cavalry.” L–S and Lampe do not cite this word; *Soph. Lex.* 1086 cites only this passage for this word.

142.22 ταῖς κομπλητίωσι τῶν ἐντυχῶν, οἷον εἰ πληρώσῃσιν: see Jo. Moschus *prat.* 193 (*PG* 87, 3073B), where κομπλατίων means “legal ratification” (*Soph. Lex.* 678; Lampe 767); see also note 60.2.

142.24 διαιτάριοι: “stewards”; cf. *Ulp. Dig.* 33.7.12.42: *topiarii diaetarii aequarii domui tantum deservientes*.

142.25 θηκοφόροι: “case-carriers” (L–S 797; *Soph. Lex.* 582).

142.25 प्राईωνες: “heralds” (L–S 1458, *Soph. Lex.* 914, Lampe 1126).

144.2 Εἴρηται: *supra* III.6.

144.5–8 οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων τάγμα μεθιστάμενοι καὶ θάττον τὴν στρατείαν πληροῦντες παρὰ τοὺς ταχυγράφους καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ κορνικουλαρίου καταντῶσιν ἀξίωμα: the καὶ before εἰς must not be deleted, for it together with the καὶ before θάττον join coordinately the participle πληροῦντες and the finite verb καταντῶσιν – an instance of a participle passing over into a finite verb construction (see note 28.25–30.4).

144.9–10 μάτην ζητοῦσιν: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Wach.* 24 (1904), 870) suggests ἀποροῦσιν and διστάζουσιν as possible alternatives to ζητοῦσιν.

144.11 ὑποδείξω: although the ms. reading ὑποδείξῃ is probably a scribal error for ὑποδείξω, it can be viewed in two ways: the *eta* is either the aor. subj. being used for the fut., or it is a scribal error of misreading EI in majuscules as H, (see note 44.1–3). In either case the subject of the verb would have to be an implied τις, the omission of which does occur with the verb δεικνύναι; cf. οὐ γὰρ οἶδν τε μὴ καλῶς ὑποδεικνύντος καλῶς μιμεῖσθαι, οὐτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐτ’ ἐν ἐπιτροπείᾳ (*Arist. Oec.* 1325A9).

144.20–21 〈εἰ〉 μὴ τοὺς πείρα τε καὶ λόγοις κοσμουμένους: the conjecture of the loss of εἰ before μὴ is probably necessary (see note 126.28–29); cf. εἰ μὴ γε μόνοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν (32.12), εἰ μὴ γε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας (76.7–8).

144.24 ἀβ ἄκτις: the *ab actis* kept judicial records of civil cases in a daybook called *cottidianum* of the prefect’s court’s proceedings and maintained an index of cases under the names of the litigants.

144.25 ὡς προδεδήλωται: Fuss believes that Lydus is referring to those topics which were lost after f 52^v (76.25).

146.1 καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν στοχάσεται: this is one of four instances (166.1–2, 200.23, 250.22) of the use of ἂν with the subjunctive to express potentiality (cf. *Soph. Lex.* 132 s.v. ἂν 2); see also note 36.8.

146.4 πραγμάτων μὲν οὐκ ὄντων: the Codex Atheniensis supplies here what is unreadable in the Codex Caseolinus. Whereas Wünsch supplies μὲν μὴ, Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) would read μηκέτι. The meaning of πράγματα here and elsewhere (154.14, 236.9,21; see also note 136.26–27) is “transactions.”

146.4–5 καλὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν <οὐδέν>, ὡς πάλαι: the ms. reading καλὸν is correct and need not be emended to καλεῖ, for it agrees with <οὐδέν>, which must have dropped out of the text. The Codex Atheniensis supplies ὡς πάλαι, which is unreadable in the Codex Caseolinus and fits the context well. Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) would read καλὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν [ἡκει οὐδὲν ἐκ] τῶν ἀπανταχῇ συρρεόντων, τῶν <δὲ> μαγιστριανῶν etc.

146.5 αὐτῶν ἀπανταχῇ συρρεόντων: the ms. reading τῶν is a scribal error for αὐτῶν (see note 142.6–7), which refers to πραγμάτων.

146.5–6 Αὐγουσταλίων: the Codex Atheniensis again supplies what is unreadable in the Codex Caseolinus and is to be preferred to Wünsch's conjecture μαγιστριανῶν.

146.6–7 καὶ γὰρ λόγων εἰσὶν ἐρασταί: the adverbial καὶ qualifies the unexpressed but easily implied subject of the verb (*sc.* the *Augustales*) as “also” because earlier (*cf.* 140.1) the *magistriani* were called “pomp-bundle-worded.”

146.18–19 τῶν βασιλέων ἅμα τῇ βουλῇ δίκας ἀκρωμένων: this refers apparently to the time of Emperor Arcadius (J. B. Bury *History of the Later Roman Empire I* (London, 1923), 22, note 4).

146.19 τοὺς πάντας ἄριστα ὑπηρετεῖν: the ms. reading ἀρίστους is due to the scribe's carelessness owing to the preceding accusatives.

146.24 ἃ σιγήρητις: “confidential secretaries” (*cf.* *Soph. Lex.* 261, *Lampe* 243, *Proc. Pers.* 2.7.15).

148.2–5 οὐ καινὴν οὐδὲ πρόσφατον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν βασιλέων ὀνομασίαν ἀνακαλεσάμενος, <ὅς>, ὡς πολλάκις ἔφαμεν, πρῶτος τὴν ἐπαρχότητα συστησάμενος τῶν πραιτωρίων: the δὲ joins the adjectives καινὴν and πρόσφατον with ὀνομασίαν and does not join the participle ἀνακαλεσάμενος with the finite verb ἔθετο (*cf.* note 28.25–30.4). Wünsch's conjecture <ὅς> is a good one, its omission having been the result of haplography (see note 36.31), and his deletion of the article before πρῶτος is correct because it is out of place here.

148.10–11 οὐκ ἔξω δακρύων <ἂν> τις διατελὼν ὑπομῖνοι: the restoration of ἂν is necessary with the potential optative (see note 36.8); the form ὑπομῖνοι, which consists of the second aorist stem with the terminations of the present optative, reflects later Greek usage (see *Soph. Lex. Intr.* 38 § 5).

148.16 καὶ ὅποιον οὐκέτι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον: Wünsch's conjecture of ἔστι after οὐκέτι is unnecessary because it can easily be understood, as is also unnecessary Kroll's conjecture (*apud* Wünsch) ὁ πτοεῖν οὐκ ἔστι.

148.19–22 ἀναγινώσκοντας πρῶτον τὰς ψήφους καὶ ὑποτάττοντας τῷ λεγομένῳ σχεδαρίῳ τὸ παρ' Ἰταλοῖς καλούμενον ῥέκησον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντιβολῆν, διδόναι πρὸς ὑπογραφήν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένοις: there are three problems in this passage, one of meaning, one of text, and one of syntax. Though the meanings of σχεδαρίον are given as “sketch” or “rough draft” (L–S 1743), “the first draft” of any kind of writing (Soph. *Lex.* 1062), and “memorandum” or “any short document” (Lampe 1357), here it may simply mean “legal brief.”

The ms. reading ῥέκινον is generally considered corrupt, but, since the Greek explanation of it is given as ἀντιβολή, which is the abstract for the concrete and here means “collated copy,” the original autographic form of the word can be reasonably conjectured. The conjectures περίκλον, first offered by Cramer (*apud* Fuss *Ep.* 32–33; cf. B. Kübler “Periculum, Exemplum” in *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono nel XL anno del suo insegnamento*, 1 (Palermo, 1936), 438–453) and later also by Mommsen (*Römisches Strafrecht* 517, note 2), and ῥεκιτᾶτον, which Wünsch conjectures because of ἀναγινώσκοντας, can be rejected since they do not satisfactorily render the meaning “collated copy.” The conjecture ῥέκησον (*sc.* Lat. *recensum*), which is offered by Vasis (Βυζαντίς 1 (1909), 31–32) and which Wünsch himself, too, later accepted (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 574), does render the requisite meaning.

The question of syntax is raised with reference to what is the direct and what is the indirect object of ὑποτάττοντας. It seems likely that an implied αὐτάς (*sc.* τὰς ψήφους) is its direct object and σχεδαρίῳ is its indirect object, whereas ῥέκησον is to be taken as the direct object of διδόναι. Carney in his translation (p. 71) renders an implied αὐτάς as the direct object of ὑποτάττοντας but accepts Wünsch's conjecture ῥεκιτᾶτον and translates the latter in apposition to σχεδαρίῳ. Reuvers (*Coll. Litt.* 53, note c) reads ῥεκίνῳ in apposition to σχεδαρίῳ and believes that ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ, or something similar, has dropped out of the text before διδόναι. R. D. Scott (*Byzantina* 4 (1972), 443, note 6), while he takes σχεδαρίῳ as the indirect object of ὑποτάττοντας, takes ῥέκησον as its direct object. See also W. Seston & M. Euzennat, “Un dossier de la chancellerie romaine: La Tabula Banasitana. Étude de diplomatique,” *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1971), 487–488.

148.23–24 περὶ ὧν πρὸς πέρας ἐρῶ: *infra* III.36.

148.25 τοῦ λεγομένου καθαροῦ: this seems to mean “the so-called genuine copy,” although it has been variously rendered as “clean sheet” (Carney, *op. cit.* 71) and “fair copy” (Scott, *op. cit.* 444); Soph. *Lex.* 611 explains it as “*purus*, juridically.”

148.26 τῷ λιτιγάτωρι, οἷον εἰ δίκης ἔνεκα παραφυλάττοντι: *litigator*, *sc.* “litigant” (cf. Athan. Schol. *Collectio novellarum constitutionum* 4.15, 5.3 (ed. G. E. Heimbach *Anecdota*, I, Leipzig, 1838, 58–59, 72); the meaning “one who stands by” for παραφυλάττοντι is not recorded in the lexis (cf. L–S 1330, Soph. *Lex.* 853, Lampe 1028).

150.3 λαβῶν: the implied object is αὐτό (*sc.* τὸ καθαρόν).

150.5 τάζοντας: Fuss (*Ep.* 33) correctly emends the ms. reading τάξαντας (see note 78.12).

150.9–10 σεσοβημένως πρὸς τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ πληρωτοῦ προσγράφοντες: the ms. reading σεσωβημενος (*sc.* σεσοβημένος) is best retained as the adv. in the sense

“awesomely” or “impressively” (*cf. Berliner Klassiker Texte* (Weidmann), IV, 10.32, where σεσοβημένως means σοβαρῶς), and not emended to σεσοβημένοις (*sc. γράμμασιν*). Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) prefers the removal of πρὸς before τὴν προσηγορίαν; it need not, however, be removed if it is taken as an adv. (see L-S 1499 s.v. πρὸς D, Lampe 1163 s.v. πρὸς B) with σεσοβημένως; *cf. σύν* (92.24).

150.11 συνιέντι: the ms. reading συνιόντι is due to the scribal error of misreading a cursive *epsilon* as *omikron* (see note 20.20).

150.12 καταξαίνων: Wünsch, following Preger (*apud* Wünsch), reads καταξέων but it is equally possible that the original reading was καταξαίνων.

150.13–14 τῶν ποριζομένων τὰς ψήφους: the article τὴν before τῶν must be deleted because there is no noun with which it should agree.

150.14–15 τὰς καθ’ ὧν προσφέροντο αὐθάδεις ὁμονοίας: the relative ὧν is being used for ὧντινων (see L-S 1260 s.v. ὅς B.IV.6a).

150.21 τοῦτοις γὰρ γράφων: the conj. γὰρ need not be deleted because it has here a confirmatory sense.

150.21 *Facite*: seven lines of Latin text (f 70^v lines 25–31), though originally written by the scribe, were afterwards vigorously eradicated so that the Latin text is now totally unreadable. Wünsch’s readings are repeated in the *app. crit.* of this edition.

152.1 δημοσίοις τελέσμασιν: *cf. τελεσμός* “transaction” (*Gloss.*)

152.4 ἡ ἰδιωτικῆς: the ms. reading ἡδιωτικῆς is the only example of the scribal omission of an initial *iota* (see also notes 18.3 & 80.11–16).

152.10–11 μικρὸν ὕστερον τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἱστορίαν ἐκδήσομαι: *infra* III.23.

152.15–16 δεκάτῳ τόμῳ μόγις ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς σύνοψιν: the dat. τόμῳ is one of agency with the verbal noun σύνοψιν (see note 82.4–5); the ms. reading σύναψιν is an error for σύνοψιν (see note 78.12).

154.1 ἀπέσβη: the ms. reading ἀπεσωβη (*sc. ἀπεσόβει*) would not render an adequate meaning for this passage.

154.10 τοῖς σκύτεσι: the ms. reading κύτεσιν makes no sense here; the scribe carelessly omitted the initial sigma of the word (see note 8.26).

154.12 χόρτον ἀντὶ χάπτου: this pun cannot be represented in English.

154.13 πενίᾳ ὀζουσιν: the dat. expresses cause.

154.16 <κινδυνεύειν>: Wünsch conjectures this from III.15 (156.20).

154.26 τὸν ἐπὶ καμάτῳ: Fuss (*Ep.* 33) thinks that ἄχρι before ἐπὶ should be deleted, changed, or perhaps emended to τῇ ἀρχῇ. Its deletion is necessary because the scribe, having just written ἄχρι in the preceding clause, inadvertently repeated it.

156.1 τοῖς δημοσίοις: Fuss (*Ep.* 33) rightly observes that here and elsewhere (166.16, 198.19, 208.29) “public dues” or “taxes” are being referred to (see L–S 837 s.v. δημόσιος III.2b, Lampe 343 δημόσιος 2b).

156.9–10 συνέχειν: the ms. reading need not be emended to συνεχεῖς since it makes sense as the infinitive “to receive” (see L–S 1714 s.v. συνέχω I.10).

156.11 μουνούμισσα: neither the ms. reading μονόμισσα nor the conjecture by Fuss μανούμισσα can be correct, but, since ο and ου are often written interchangeably, the correct reading μουνούμισσα, derived from two Latin words *munus* “duty” and *missus* “respite from,” is restored.

156.14 σοφοὶ δὲ ἦσαν καὶ παιδευθέντες: the participle in the predicate is correct (see note 22.1–2).

156.14–16 ἠπίσταντο . . . καὶ ἀνόσιον οἰομένων: the ms. reading ἠπίσταντο need not be emended to ἐπισταμένων so as to agree with διοικούντων, which precedes it, and with οἰομένων, which follows it; for the finite form ἠπίσταντο is due to *anacoluthon* by influence from παιδευθέντες, which immediately precedes it.

156.17 μετὰ ἥλιον: Fuss (*Ep.* 33) correctly conjectures the meaning as “after the sun has risen.”

156.20 <δικαστηρίων> κινδύνω: Wunsch conjectures the loss of δικαστηρίων from III.14 (154.15–16), but Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) would conjecture μὲν πιεζόμενοι τῷ μεγίστῳ after κινδύνω. Fuss (ed. 176, note 2) omits κινδύνω from his translation because he considered it corrupt and suspects that κοινῆς should be read in its place.

156.20–21 τῆσδε παραμυθίας: Kroll (*ibid.*) would read τῆς δέ.

156.21 ὡς ἔφην: *supra* III.14 (154.15–16).

158.2 ὡς ἔφθην εἰπόντες: *supra* III.4.

158.10 σιδηραίοις δεσμοῖς: the ms. reading σιδηρέοις should be emended to σιδηραίοις; cf. σιδηράτος (Soph. *Lex.* 987, Lampe 1232); see also note 106.4.

158.13 πρὸς σωφρονισμόν ἀμαρτάνουσιν: the participle here not only is attributive and, not having the article, is indefinite in force, but also is in the dative because it is governed by the verbal noun before it (see note 82.4–5).

158.17–18 <ὁ> παραπορευομένου κομμενταρησίου τυχών: the scribe most probably carelessly omitted the definite article to accompany τυχών, which here is being used as a generic attributive participle; it is, however, unnecessary to assume that πᾶς also dropped out of the text, as Skutsch (*apud* Wunsch) proposes and Wunsch accepts, because the articular attributive participle can express the sense of πᾶς.

158.20–160.1 διαμένημαι, τὴν τοῦ λεγομένου χαρτουλαρίου τηνικαῦτα χάριν πληρῶν τοῖς κομμενταρησίοις, ὡς (Ἀναστασίου . . . κινήθεντος κατὰ Ἀπίωνος . . . ὅτε Κωάδης . . . ἐφλέγμαινεν, Λεοντίου τὴν ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος. . .) ἡ τε βασιλέως ὀργὴ δημεύσεις τε καὶ ἀφορισμοὺς οὐκ ἄλλη τινὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ μόνη τῇ ἐπαρχότητι . . . ἐπίστευεν: this lengthy complex sentence, if misconstrued, can cause one to assume the existence of some historical inaccuracies. To preserve the order of the historical events which are being referred to, one must note the following: (1) πληρῶν should not be taken

as a supplementary participle with διαμέμνηται, as Carney does in his translation (p. 75), but as a circumstantial participle expressing time; and (2) ὡς introduces the factual clause which begins with ἡ τε βασιλεύς ὀργή and ends with ἐπίστευεν and does not introduce the gen. abs. which begins with Αναστασίου and ends with νομικωτάτου, and which is expressing a fact temporally antecedent to διαμέμνηται and ἐπίστευεν. Thus, Lydus is not saying that he was holding the chartulariate when Apion fell into disgrace (510), nor when the Persian king Kavadh was waging war with the Byzantines (502–505) when Leontius was praetorian prefect (502–504), as Carney (*R.E. Suppl.* 12, 1970, 521) believes, but after these events. Therefore, the suggestion of Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 838, note 4) that μαθών, or something similar in meaning, should be inserted between διαμέμνηται and τὴν to obviate the historical inaccuracy is unnecessary.

The word χάρις can just about mean “office” (see Lampe 1517 s.v. χάρις III.A). The emendation of τε to τοῦ, which Fuss (ed. 178, note 3) suggests, is unnecessary, as is also his opinion (*Ep.* 34) that an *anacoluthon* exists if nothing is emended. Regarding Leontius see P. Collinet, “Le carrière de Léontius, Professeur de droit à Beyrouth, préfet du Prétoire d’Orient sous Anastase,” *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Comptes rendus des Séances de l’année 1921, séance du 11 Mars, 77–84.

160.6–8 μεθ’ ἧς καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μακεδονίου τότε τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ἐπισκοποῦντος ἀγανάκτησιν, ὡς λόγος, περὶ νεωτερισμοῦ δογμάτων ἀποκλείοντος: the verb of this relative clause is omitted (see note 58.17), being easily implied from ἐγχειρίσαι (160.8). It is unnecessary to conjecture the loss of τοῦ before τότε (*cf.* 204.13). The ms. reading ὡς λόγος ὡς λόγος is simply a case of diplography (see note 8.24–25). The direct object of ἀποκλείοντος is an implied αὐτόν (*sc.* τὸν βασιλέα). Macedonius II was archbishop of Constantinople 496–511, who, because of his ultra-orthodox sentiments, was removed by Emperor Anastasius, who sympathized with the monophysites. The appointment of Severus, who was a monophysite, as archbishop (512–518), provoked a serious rebellion which nearly resulted in the loss of the emperors for Anastasius (*cf.* 210.29–30).

160.9–11 καίτοι Κέλερος τοῦ πάντων φιλάτου παρόντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν τοῦ λεγομένου μαγίστρου φροντίδα κοσμίως ἀνύοντος: the dat. βασιλεῖ is governed both by φιλάτου and παρόντος. Celer was *magister officiorum* under Anastasius between 504 and 518 (*cf.* A. E. R. Boak *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (1924), 150); *cf.* 214.15–16.

160.13 ‘οὐδ’ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ’ ἐν ἀριθμῷ’: *Anth. Pal.* 14.73.8; R. Hendess *Oracula Graeca quae apud Graecos Romanosque extant* (Halis Saxoni, 1877), 92, no. 178; schol. Theocr. 14.48.

160.15 ἡ τῶν λεγομένων κομμένων ἐξουσία ὑπερφυῆς: the meaning of τὰ κομμένα is “secretariat” (see L–S *Suppl.* 86).

160.19–21 ὁ δὲ λαθὼν τοῦτον τὸν πιστότατον ἅμα καὶ μάλιστα τετιμένον τῶν οἰκείων χαρτουλαρίων παραλαβὼν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ: the aorist participle λαθὼν is being used without an accusative and expresses manner; τοῦτον here has the sense of τοιοῦτον (*cf.* 122.6).

160.21–22 ὑπηγόρευε Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀγκῶν ῥημάτων τὸ σύνθημα: the ms. reading ὀγκῶν most probably should be emended to ὀγκῶν, which would thus have, as does ὑπηγόρευε, σύνθημα as direct object and would be governing the partitive genitive Ῥωμαϊκῶν ῥημάτων. Both Kroll and Preger (*apud* Wünsch), however, conjecture ὀγκῶ, presumably taking Ῥωμαϊκῶν ῥημάτων as a genitive dependent upon it.

160.22–23 κατ’ ὧπα τῶν ἐκ τάξεως πιστικωτάτῳ ἅμα καὶ διαπρέποντι καταπιστεύων ὥσπερ πτηνόν: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) does not know what Fuss’s expan-

sion κατ' ὅπα means and believes that τῶ must be read in place of τῶν (presumably so as to agree with πιστικωτάτῳ). But the phrase τῶν ἐκ τάξεως depends upon κατ' ὅπα and means "members of the staff"; cf. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως (116.5–6), οἱ τῆς τάξεως (154.6–7). The adj. πιστικωτάτῳ reflects the later spelling of πειστικός.

160.27 ὀφειλεῖν: the ms. reading here is unreadable except for a circumflex written in by the *manus recentior*; therefore, some infinitive with a circumflex apparently existed here and thus ὀφειλεῖν (see L–S 1277 s.v. ὀφείλω II) would perhaps be preferable to ὀφείλειν.

160.29 τῶν ἀρχαίων: L. Dindorf (Steph. Byz. *Theas. Ling. Gr.*, I, 2097) would read ἀρχαίων here; cf. Jo. Mal. *chron.* 18 (ed. L. Dindorf, 1831, 449; PG 97, 660C), where τὰ ἀρχαῖα means "archives."

162.3 ἄχρι τῆς καλουμένης Σφενδόνο: the Σφενδών, sc. "Sling," was the far end of the circus, which was named thus apparently from its shape (Soph. *Lex.* 1060, Lampe 1353).

162.20 σεβαστοί: after the scribe had written σεραστοι, which apparently was in the codex from which he was copying, because it seemed to him to make no sense in the present context, he struck out the initial *sigma* so as to read εραστοι. However, since B and P in a majuscule ms. can easily be misread by a scribe, the correct reading is discerned as σεβαστοί. Although Fuss read the latter in his edition, he subsequently (*Ep.* 35) wondered whether perhaps ἐργασται or ἐργάται should be read instead and gives also Cramer's conjecture as ἀριστοι.

162.23 τρακτεῦειν: "investigate" (L–S 1810), "handle, examine" (Soph. *Lex.* 1087), "examine" (Lampe 1398).

164.9–10 συντόμως περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν εὐκολία: the ms. reading συντομῶς (sc. συντόμως) need not be emended to σύντομος so as to agree with εὐκολία, for the adverb qualifies the verbal force of the noun εὐρεσιν.

164.10–11 ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ρεγέστων, τῶν καὶ κοττιδιανῶν: the scribe, after he had reached the end of the line, forgot to finish writing the latter part of ρεγέστων on the next line but continued to write the next word, namely, τῶν. The *manus recentior*, thinking that this τῶν was the latter part of ρεγέστων with misaccentuation, eradicated the circumflex, not realizing that this τῶν is to be taken with κοττιδιανῶν. The use of καὶ before κοττιδιανῶν indicates that κοττιδιανῶν is another name for ρεγέστων (cf. 164.5–6).

164.12 ἰστρομεντάριος: the ms. reading ἰντρομενταριος resulted from the scribal misreading of \sqsubset as E in majuscules.

164.12–14 λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀβ ἄκτις, τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν ὕπατον ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ σημειούμενος πρὸς ταχεῖαν ἀνάμνησιν λόγῳ: the direct object of λαμβάνων is an implied αὐτά (sc. τὰ πεπραγμένα), while τὸν χρόνον and τὸν ὕπατον are direct objects of σημειούμενος, as Fuss (ed. 184.14–15) and Bekker (ed. 214.4–5) indicate by their punctuation and Latin translation. Wünsch, however, by placing a comma after ὕπατον, takes τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν ὕπατον as objects of λαμβάνων. Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870–871) would read thus: ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ σημειούμενος πρὸς ταχεῖαν ἀνάμνησιν, λόγου θάττον ἀπηλλέττετο <τῶν> πόνων. The ms. reading χρόν is an abbreviation by suspension (see note 74.8).

164.16 ἐνεγράφετο: the ms. reading ἐγράφετο reflects the scribal error of omitting the initial part of a word (see note 14.21–22); cf. αἷς ἐνέγραφον (164.7).

164.19-20 ἡ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων περσωναλίων ἀναγραφὴ: the gender of περσωναλίων here, as well as that of περσωναλίου (166.1), is neuter, as is proved by τὸ λεγόμενον περσωνάλιον (174.16). Carney in his translation (pp. 78, 82) incorrectly renders the first two instances of the word as masculine (*sc. personales* and *personalis*) and only the third correctly as neuter (*sc. personalium*).

164.21 περιέφραζεν Ἰταλίδι: Vasis (*Ἐ.Ἐ.Π.* 118) would read παρέφραζεν because of the use of παραφράσεως (164.24), while Cramer (*apud* Fuss *Ep.* 35) conjectures περιέγραψεν; both conjectures, however, are unnecessary. The ms. reading ἰταλίδι (*sc. Ἰταλίδι*) need not be emended to Ἰταλιστί, for φωνῇ is easily understood (*cf.* 250.3).

166.4 Σέργιος τε ὁ πολὺς: Sergius was praetorian prefect from April 1 to December 1, 517, under Emperor Anastasius (Grumel *La Chronologie* 368).

166.4 Πρόκλος ὁ δικαιοτάτος: Procopius (*Pers.* 1.11.11) says of Proclus: ὃς βασιλεῖ τότε παρήδρευε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιστῶρος ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος.

166.4-5 Τριβουνιανός τε ὁ πολυμαθέστατος: Procopius (*Pers.* 1.24.11,16) says of Tribunianus: Τριβουνιανός, Πάμφυλος γένος, βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος· κοιαιστῶρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. . . . Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἐχρήτο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἥσσον.

166.6 γενόμενοι: the aorist participle is used of the deceased; *cf.* ἀδελφιδοῦν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ γενόμενον (174.2-3).

166.6-8 συλλαμβανομένων αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν τότε δικολόγων: the ms. reading τῶν need not be deleted but merely emended to αὐτῶν as the intensive modifying δικολόγων (see note 142.6-7).

166.18 τρακτευταί: "governors of provinces" (*cf.* L-S 1810, Soph. *Lex.* 1087, Lampe 1398); *cf.* τῶν χωρῶν ἐπιστάταις, οὓς καλοῦσι τρακτευτάς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κλιματάρχας (240.3-4).

166.25 τῶν λεγομένων δημοφόρων: the ms. reading of οἱ before τῶν must be due to scribal carelessness.

166.26-27 ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν τάγμασι τῆς τάξεως καταλεγόμενων, λειτουργίαν δὲ πηρούντων: the ms. reading δὲ need not be emended to τε for it is needed to balance μὲν.

168.4 αὖτις: the *cornicularius* has already been mentioned several times (134.21, 136.12, 19.24, 138.22, 144.7, 152.11).

168.13 <γάρ>: this conjecture is necessary because it gives the reason for the preceding statement κὰν εἰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπολέλειπται.

168.16-17 ὅπλων ἡγούμενος: the conjecture of αὐτὸς τῶν before ὅπλων is unnecessary.

168.27-29 'Ρουφῖνος, ἐξ ὅτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω ἦλθεν, τὸν λεγόμενον κόμιτα τῆς ἀνατολῆς μαστίξας ἀπώλεσεν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτόλμησε ζηλῶσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐπαρχότητα: the *Comes Orientis* being referred to is Lucianus who was made such in 393 by Emperor Theodosius I (v.1. Arcadius) upon the recommendation of Rufinus. Lucianus was thoroughly

honest in the execution of his office. However, when he rebuffed an illegal request from the emperor's uncle Eucherius, the latter complained to the emperor, who reprimanded Rufinus. The latter went to Antioch and had Lucianus flogged to death probably in 393 when Rufinus had visited Antioch. Not only Lydus but also Zosimus (5.2.1–4) and the *Suda* (s.v. Λουκιανός C) place the incident in the reign of Emperor Arcadius. See Jones-Martindale-Morris *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I, 516–517.

The office of *Comes Orientis* is described thus by the *Suda*: αὕτη ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐβούλετο τὸν προβεβλημένον αὐτῆς ἐφεστάναι πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τῆς ἐώας ἐπαρχίας ἰδύνουσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐ κατὰ τὸ δέον πραττομένοις ἰδύνειν.

170.1 ἐν τῷ πάλαι Θεοδοσιανῷ Κώδικι: cf. *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.35 (see 100.9, 196.10).

170.5 μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχων: the ms. reading μηδενα is a scribal error for μηδέν, although Fuss (*Ep.* 28) believes that perhaps it should be retained (see note 126.8).

170.6 ὥστε: here, as elsewhere (212.21), ὥστε expresses the content of λόγους (see also note 76.10). This use of ὥστε occurs in classical authors (cf. *Hdt.* 1.82.3).

170.8 μίαν χρυσίου λίτραν: the Byzantine λίτρα of gold was coined into 72 gold coins and each gold coin was equivalent to 12 silver μιλιάρησια.

170.13–14 τῷ κρείττονι: by the comparative here and elsewhere (178.30) the praetorian prefect is meant; cf. τὸ μείζον . . . δικαστήριον (192.6).

170.19 κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύτιδου Πηλέα: *Eur. fr.* 628 (ed. A. Nauck *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², Leipzig, 1889).

170.21 ἐγώ: the ms. reading ἔσω is due to the scribal misreading of Γ as □ in a majuscule ms.

170.25 κομπλευσίμων: “fees from *completiones*.”

170.27 χρυσίνους: Fuss’ emendation (*Ep.* 36) χρυσίνους is most probably the correct reading (cf. 174.9, 188.29, 226.15, 236.24, 250.11), though Preger’s emendation (*apud* Wünsch) χρυσεῖους is also possible (cf. *Soph. Lex.* 1173).

172.2 ἡ ὅπως: the ms. reading ὅπως need not be emended to πῶς, for ἡ is not introducing an alternative to a previous question but another question parallel to the preceding one and supplementing it, and ὅπως is introducing either an indirect question with an implied, “I ask you,” or a direct question according to later Greek usage (see L–S 1244 s.v. ὅπως A.IV).

172.5 οὐδενὸς οὐδενὶ ἐν βαθμῷ στρατευομένου: the object of the part. is an implied αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ δικαστήριῳ).

172.7 ἀντὶ τίνοϋς: in the ms. reading ἀν τις the τις is the scribal error of appending a final *sigma* at the end of words ending in a vowel or diphthong (see note 2.3–4).

172.9 ἐμβάλλοντι: the part. is being used intransitively (see L–S 539 s.v. ἐμβάλλω II.1b).

172.12–13 ἐπὶ τῆς Σεκουνδιανοῦ ὑπατείας: Secundianus (v.1. Secundinus) is attested as *Consul Orientis* for A.D. 511 (Grumel *La Chronologie* 353).

172.13–14 τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Τιμῳλῳ καὶ <ἐν> Λυδία κειμένης: the καὶ need not be replaced by ἐν but should be retained and only the loss of ἐν should be restored.

172.15 μεθ' αὐτῶ: the ms. reading μετ'αὐτῶν has been understood in two ways: (1) as μετ' αὐτῶν, but this is unlikely because αὐτῶν should normally refer to something already mentioned (and there is nothing to which αὐτῶν could refer) and not to anything that follows such as μεμοριαλίου (172.16); and (2) as μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ, which is correct for the sense of the context but is too great of a change in the ms. reading. The correct textual reading is restored if two scribal errors are taken into account: (1) that of rendering an aspirate as a smooth (see note 20.3); and (2) that of appending a *nu* to words ending in a vowel or diphthong (see note 12.28–14.2). Μετά with the dat. is being used as it is in poets and epic (see L-S 1109 s.v. μετά B) and the reflexive pronoun of the third person for the first person (see L-S 466 s.v. ἑαυτοῦ, II; Rom. Mel. 56.ιβ.1, 21.ιβ.2).

172.15–16 ἐπὶ τοὺς μεμοριαλίους τῆς αὐλῆς: the *memoriales* served as clerks or secretaries in the bureau of the *magister memoriae* (see Soph. *Lex.* 743, Lampe 542).

172.18 Ἀγάπιος: Agapius of Athens was a pupil of Proclus and Marinus and delivered lectures on Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy (see Freudenthal *R.E.* 1 (1), 735 s.v. *Agapios* 3).

172.19 Χριστόδωρος ὁ ποιητής: Christodorus, an epic poet from Coptos in Egypt, flourished during the reign of Emperor Anastasius. He wrote an *Isaurian History*, the histories of Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities, as well as a work on the statues at the Zeuxippus of Constantinople (see F. Baumgarten *R.E.* 3 (2), 2450–2452).

172.20 τοῦ μεγάλου Πρόκλου: Proclus, or Proculus (A.D. 410/12–485), a Neoplatonic philosopher born of wealthy parents, had studied under the Peripatetic Olympiodorus at Alexandria and had attended the lectures of Syrianus and Plutarchus, the Neoplatonists, at Athens. He became head of the Academy *circa* 450 and was surnamed “Diadochus.” Being a pagan, he was hated by the Christians. He was the last great systematizer of the Greek philosophical inheritance. His learning was encyclopedic and his scholarly activity was prolific. He wrote his own epitaph (see *Anth. Pal.* 7.451).

172.20–21 <τ>ἐ φησιν: the ms. reading εφησίν is probably an instance of the scribal omission of the beginning of a word (see note 14.21–22).

172.22 ἐπιών: the ms. reading εἰπών makes no sense here; it is a scribe's error of misreading ΠΙ as ΙΠ in a majuscule ms. Skutsch's conjecture (*apud* Wünsch) μαθών would make sense.

172.25 Ζωτικόν: Zoticus is attested as praetorian prefect for A.D. 511–512 (Grumel *La Chronologie* 368; Stein *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 783).

172.25 <οὐ> μετρίως: the conjectured addition of οὐ here is well taken; cf. οὐ μετρίως (194.12). The neg. οὐ (124.13, 230.26), οὐκ (250.22), οὐχ (176.18, 202.26), and οὐπω (200.14) have been carelessly omitted.

174.2–3 Ἀμμιανὸν τὸν ἐπιεικέστατον, ἀδελφιδοῦν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ γενόμενον: Ure (*Justinian and His Age*, 115) translates ἐπιεικέστατον as “most equitable” and adds “equitable” is a well-chosen adjective to dispel any suspicion of family jobbery.” However, it must be noted that ἐπιεικής has more meanings than “equitable” (see L-S 632, Lampe 532); γενό-

μενον, as well as γενόμενοι (166.6), refers to one who is dead at the time of speaking or writing.

174.7 <ὥς> εἰκός: although εἰκός is found alone (144.15, 242.3), ὥς here (cf. 162.10) probably dropped out of the text by haplography (see note 36.31).

174.10–11 ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου ἄβ ἄκτις καλούμενοι: the ms. reading ἀπὸ need not be emended to ὑπὸ because ἀπὸ can be used of the person from whom an act comes, i.e., by whom it is done, this being frequent of the direct agent, particularly in later Greek (see L-S 192 s.v. ἀπό III.4).

174.24 σουγγεσιῶνα, ἀντὶ τοῦ διδασκαλῖαν: the Latin *suggestio* has ὑποβολή as its Greek equivalent, which *Gloss.* defines as ἡ πρὸς ἄρχοντα ἢ βασιλέα γινομένη ἀναφορά, ἥτοι διδασκαλία (L-S 1876 s.v. ὑποβολή I.3; cf. Du Cange *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, VI, 430); διδασκαλία means “elucidation” or “official instruction” (L-S 421 s.v. διδασκαλία I.2 & 3).

174.26–27 πάλαι μὲν ἀντεκλήνωρας, καθ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀντιγραφεῖς: the Lat. *antecessor* means “teacher of law” (Soph. *Lex.* 177 s.v. ἀντεκλήνωρ 1, Lampe 151 s.v. ἀντεκλήνωρ), whereas ἀντιγραφεῖς is used to mean “chief secretary of state” and refers to the *magister scriniorum* (Lampe 152).

176.7 ἡ ἀσκηρῆτις τῆς αὐλῆς: the *a secretis* of the praetorian prefecture are meant.

176.11 μέν: the ms. reading μοι must be emended to μέν so as to balance the δέ.

176.15–16 τὸν βίον τῇ στρατείᾳ παρεχώρησα: the gen. of the ms. reading τῆς στρατειας must be emended to the dat.; the scribe incorrectly took it as a gen. dependent upon τὸν βίον instead of a dat. governed by παρεχώρησα.

176.18 <οὐχ>, ὥς τὸ πρίν: the neg. is needed for the sense of the context (see note 172.25).

176.24–25 τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας αἰσίμως αὐτῷ χειρισθέντα πόλεμον: the war which the Persian king Kavadh I declared in 527 is being referred to. Peace was concluded under Kavadh’s successor and son, Chosroes I, upon condition of paying an annual indemnity. This peace, however, lasted only until 539 when Chosroes again declared war.

176.25 Δάραν τὴν πόλιν: Emperor Anastasius built Dara in 504 as a great fortress city about 12 miles N.W. of the Persian stronghold Nisibis, which had been ceded to the Persians in 363. Dara was provided with grain-magazines, cisterns, and two public baths. The Romans named Dara “Anastasioupolis” (206.25–26). Justinian built a new fortress near Dara. Procopius (*Pers.* 1.10.13, 1.13.15; *Anecd.* 12.9) uses the undeclined form Δάρας.

176.28 ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ: cf. ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ (214.7).

176.29 Πραγματικόν: cf. πραγματικὸς νόμος (198.21), τύπον πραγματικόν (238.3); see L-S 1458 s.v. πραγματικός I.3, Lampe 1126 s.v. πραγματικός 3.

178.1–2 ἐν γραμματικοῖς: the nom. of this dat. is not γραμματικοί (14.24) but γραμματικά (cf. Str. 3.4.3; Epict. 1.12.13, 2.9.10; Plut. 2,75B, 419B).

178.2 ἐν ποιηταῖς: the ms. reading ποιηταις should not be emended to ποιητικοῖς so as to be parallel to γραμματικοῖς.

178.4 ἀποδείξει: this fut. ind., introduced by the final conj. ὅπως (178.3), depends upon the aor. inf. ἐλεῖσθαι (178.5), which is being used for the perfect and therefore is regarded as a primary tense. The ms. reading ἀπεδείξεν exhibits two scribal errors: the misreading of *omikron* and rendering it as a cursive *epsilon* (see note 24.10) and the misreading of I as N (see note 140.15–16).

178.9–10 ἐπιδοῦναι ἑαυτῷ τοῦ δημοσίου τόδε: the ms. reading ἐ before αὐτῷ must not be deleted, for it is part of the reflexive pronoun (*sc.* ἑαυτῷ), a direct reflexive being used for the indirect (see notes 104.5–7 & 120.5–6) and referring to τὸν ἀναβάντα (178.7); τοῦ δημοσίου expresses source (see note 14.26).

178.19 Παρὰ μέντοι τῆς στρατείας βαθμῶν τε καὶ πόρων: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 871) would read παρὰ μέντοι <τῶν> τῆς στρατείας βαθμῶν, etc.

178.23–24 τὸ δὴ πάντων γλυκύτερον: note the use of the comparative for the superlative.

178.25 δικαίοις: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 871) wonders whether [παντοί]οις or something similar was in the ms.

178.25 τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις: “the soldiers” are the members of the civil government (*cf.* 204.5).

178.29 κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σύνηδες: the demonstrative is being used of what is familiar (see L–S 1276 s.v. οὗτος, C.3b).

180.2–3 κατὰ τὸν Σικελιώτην: *cf.* Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* 1.13.3.

180.4 περιβαλὼν: the ms. reading περιλαβὼν probably should be considered a scribal error of transposition of consonants (see note 64.1), though περιλαβὼν can have the same meaning as περιβαλὼν (see L–S 1378 s.v. περιλαμβάνω I.1, Lampe 1067 s.v. περιλαμβάνω 1).

180.14 καίτοι γε τί ἂν τις τούτων ἡγήσοιτο μείζον: the ms. reading ἡγήσοιτο is correct (see note 132.6). However, Vasis (*Ε.Ε.Π.* 118) would read ἡγήσαιτο.

180.24 τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως: the ms. reading μεγα is probably to be viewed as an abbreviation by suspension (see note 74.8), though it may possibly have been intended to go with βασιλέως as one word, *sc.* μεγαβασιλέως; *cf.* μεγαβρεμέτης (Orph. *A.* 749), μεγαδάκτυλος (Orib. *apud* Aët. 11.35).

180.25 ἐκεῖθεν: the adverb is being used of a person (*cf.* Soph. *Tr.* 632, Pl. *R.* 619B, Jul. *Or.* 6.181B).

180.27 ὅπως ἂν: this is the only instance of the use of ἂν with a final conjunction; see also note 36.8.

180.28 τὴν λοιπὴν ἄπασαν τάξιν: the meaning of τάξις here does not mean “staff” but “political order” (see note 142.6–7).

180.33 τοῖς πληροῦσιν: *sc.* τὴν στρατείαν.

182.5–6 τὸ σκρινιάριον ὄνομα: the ms. reading need not be emended to σκρινιάρων (see note 4.9–10).

182.7 παράγωγα: the passive connotation is required by the sense of the passage (see L–S 1307 s.v. παραγωγός I & II).

182.11 ὥς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται: *supra* II.10 (98.5–10).

182.14 δέει: the ms. reading δέσι resulted from the scribal misreading of E as □ in majuscules.

182.19 Ἐκ τῶν Ῥητικῶν ὁρῶν: Raetia was the country of the *Raeti* or Raetians, a mountain people north of the Po between the Danube, the Rhine, and the Lech.

182.20–21 ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν βιβλίῳ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν Γαλλικῆς Ἐφημερίδος: cf. Caes. *De Bello Gallico* 1 *in*.

182.25 μετὰ Ῥοδανόν: Preger (*apud* Wünsch) needlessly conjectures τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ; μετὰ with the acc. here and elsewhere (232.26, 252.9, 256.2) means “including.”

184.2–3 Σιρμίου τῆς πάλαι μὲν Ῥωμαίων εὐδαίμονος πόλεως, νῦν δὲ Γηπαίδων: Sirmium (now Mitrovica in Croatia-Slavonia, Yugoslavia) on the Savus in Pannonia Inferior became an important Roman military base during the first century A.D. (cf. D.C. 55.29). Because of its importance as a road junction in the Danube area, Sirmium was often the residence of emperors and high officials. An imperial arms factory was located there; an imperial mint issued coins; and a fleet station was there. It was sacked by the Huns in A.D. 441 (see *Sirmium* in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 993).

The Gepids, who were a Germanic tribe and one division of the Gothic people (Proc. *Goth.* 5.3.15, 5.11.5, 6.14.25–27, 6.15.37, 7.33.8, 35, 7.34.4–39 *etc.*), got possession of Sirmium (Proc. *Vand.* 3.2.6).

184.4 περὶ δὲ τὴν Θρακίαν: *sc.* χώραν.

184.5–6 Δανούβιος μετακληθεῖς: Wünsch correctly emends the ms. reading μεταβάλλει to μετακληθεῖς because of the following passage (apparently based on Lydus) in *Codex Parisinus Supplementi Graeci* 607A (*Antiquitates Byzantinae et excerpta chronographica et cosmographica*. Xs. Parch. 84 folia), f. 64^v: Οὗτος ὁ Ἰστρος τὴν ἰδίαν προσηγορίαν φυλάσσει ἕως Σιρμίου τῆς πάλαι Ῥωμαίων εὐδαίμονος πόλεως, ἔσχατον δὲ ὑπὸ Γηπαίδων οἰκουμένης. ἀποβάλλει μέντοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, Δανούβιος μετακληθεῖς· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Θράκες ἐκάλεσαν, δι' ὅτι εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ θρασικίαν ὄρη συννεφῆς ὁ ἄηρ ὧν ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀμετρίας αὐτοῖς συνεχοῦς ἐπομβρίας νομίζεται· Δανούβιον δὲ τὸν νεφελοφόρον ἐκείνῳ καλοῦσιν πατρίως. ἐντεῦθεν μεταβέβληκεν ὁ Ἰστρος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὀνομασίαν, Δανούβιος μετακληθεῖς. This codex has been edited by Maximilian Treu *Excerpta anonymi byzantini ex codice Parisino Suppl. Gr.* 607A. IIX Städtisches Gymnasium zu Ohlau 1880. 2. Wissenschaftlicher Teil. 1880. Progr. Nr. 167. Olau (A. Bial).

184.6–7 ἐπὶ <τὰ> πρὸς ἄρκτον ὄρη: the article obviously was carelessly omitted by the scribe (see note 184.5–6).

184.12 Σαμμωνικὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν: this cannot refer to Serenus Sammonicus, a voluminous writer of the time of Septimius Severus who was murdered by order of Caracalla in A.D. 212. However, it is possible, if Σαμμωνικόν (the scribe apparently cutting off part of the name during his transcription) was Lydus's original reading, that his son of identical name was intended who could have lived into the reign of Diocletian; see G. W. Bowersock *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), 107.

184.15 ὥς ἔφην: *supra* III.31.

184.15–17 Συρίαν δὲ ὅλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην (μία δέ ἐστι χώρα καὶ διὰ μόνον ἀριθμὸν εἰς πλῆθος ἀνάγεται) ἐπαρχίας ἀναδείξας: after Emperor Constantine had lost Scythia and Moesia, he compensated for this loss by expanding Syria and Palestine. This expansion is implied in the use of ἀναδείξας, which both here and in another passage (90.22) means “having reconstituted”; if, however, it is taken to mean “having made,” it would be expressing an historical inaccuracy, for Palestine had already in earlier times been made a Roman province. Palestine was still a small province west of the Jordan in the third century A.D., but sometimes in the first half of the fourth century it was so enlarged as to include the southern part of the *Provincia Arabia*, namely, Sinai and the region around Petra. Certainly by the middle of the fourth century this enlarged province was divided into *Palestina I*, the old province west of the Jordan, and *Palestina Salutaris* (Sinai and Petraea). Lydus may well be implying that Constantine initiated this expansion. For an excellent treatment of the area see M. Avi-Yonah *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab Conquests* (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): *A Historical Geography* (Grand Rapids, 1966), particularly chapters VII–X, and P. v. Rohden *R.E.* 2 (1), 359–362 s.v. *Arabia*.

184.18–19 προχωρήσασθαι: the ms. reading προχωρήσασθαι should be emended to προχωρήσασθαι and not to προχειρίσασθαι; *cf.* προχωρήσαντο (38.22–23).

184.19–20 ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει συγγράμμασιν: *cf.* H. Peter *Hist. Rom. Fragm.* 365.

184.22 ἐκατέραν παιδευσιν: *cf.* ἐκατέραν παιδείαν (250.20–21).

184.27–28 μὴ αἰφνιδίως εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν Ῥωμαῖοι γνώφου δίκην ἐνσκήψουσιν: there is no need to assume that εἰ dropped out of the text since μὴ is being used to introduce ἐνσκήψουσιν, which is the future active participle in agreement with Ῥωμαῖοις (184.27), as a substitute for the protasis of a more vivid future conditional.

186.3 διχοτομοῦντες: *cf.* Hdt. 7.39.

186.4 αὐτοί: Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 871) questions the correctness of αὐτοί and suggests that it is a corruption from οὕτω.

186.7 χρόνου δεῖ τοίνυν αὐτοῖς εἰς παρασκευήν: αὐτοῖς serves a twofold purpose: (1) dat. with δεῖ and (2) dat. of reference with the verbal noun παρασκευήν (see note 82.4–5).

186.8–10 ὥστε ἀρμόδιόν φησιν ὁ Κέλσος ἀδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐφόδου λαμβανούσης: the gen. abs. here functions as a clause coordinately with the immediately preceding infinitive clause (see note 2.20–21).

186.13 τὰς γὰρ ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* 13.37.

186.15–16 ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς Περσικὰς πολυπληθείας: neither Fuss's emendation (*Ep.* 37) τῆς Περσικῆς πολυπληθείας nor Wünsch's addition of τὰς before Περσικὰς is necessary.

186.26 τὴν δρυφάκτην λάρνακα: the ms. reading δρυφακτὴν (*sc.* δρυφάκτην) is correct, for it is the verbal adjective of δρυφάσσω, and need not be emended to δρυφακτικὴν; *cf.* ὁρόνος δρύφακτος; see note 16.21.

188.9–10 εἰκόνα οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀργυρήλατον ὄλην ἐπὶ κίονος ἀναστήσαντες: this column of Theodosius, surmounted by his statue, was vowed in 386 but was finished in 393 when the forum was inaugurated.

188.10 τὸ πάλαι καλούμενον Πλακωτόν: "the Plated Square."

188.11 ἀρχαίοις: the ms. reading αρχαις can be emended either to ἀρχαίοις (see Jo. Mal. *Chron.* 18 p. 449 (*PG* 97, 660C) cited by Lampe 232 as meaning "archives") or to ἀρχεῖοις.

188.14 ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἑβδόμῳ: it was called thus because it stood at the "Seventh" milestone from the original center of the city (*Proc. Aed.* 1.4.28, 1.8.15, 1.9.16); see Demangel *L'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945), ch. II: Le Tribunal; Th. K. Makrides *Θρακικά* 12 (1939), 35–80.

188.18 Πολυκάρπου: Polycarpus was praetorian prefect of the East April 1, 498 (*Grumel La Chronologie* 368).

190.3 διαφραγμόν: there is no reason to emend the ms. reading to διάφραγμα because ξυλουργές follows, which agrees with ἔρυμα (190.2); διαφραγμός is not cited in any of the existing lexica.

190.3–4 ἀντιπλαγιαζομένων: the meaning of ἀντί here, as well as in ἀνθυπαντώντων (30.26), is "crisscross."

190.4 ὀξυτελεῖς; this is the ms. reading and is not a *dubia lectio*, as L–S 1236 s.v. ὀξυτελής says.

190.4 κάγκρους: with the exception of the first two letters the remaining letters of the ms. reading are completely unreadable. It is highly doubtful that Fuss was able to read κάσσης. Lydus is obviously citing Sextus Pompeius Festus (ii A.D.), the epitomizer of Valerius Flaccus' work *Libri de significatu verborum*, and there is no reason to assume that Lydus did not write κάγκρους; *cf.* *cancrī* dicebantur ab antiquis, qui nunc per deminutionem *cancelli*; ex quo genere sunt calces, qui per deminutionem appellantur calculi (ed. W. M. Lindsay *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig, 1913), 46).

190.15 δικασπολίαν περικεῖμενοι: the conjecture δικαστηρίοις is less likely to be correct than δικασπολίαν because περικεῖμενοι governs an accusative of the thing.

190.18–19 ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἀδεῶς προσάγοιτο: the opt., though rare after a primary tense, is used when reference to the past as well as to the present is intended; *cf.* Lys. 20.21: οἰχονται ἵνα μὴ δοῖεν δίκην (the purpose was conceived in the past).

190.20–21 τοῦδε τοῦ σχήματος: this refers to the office of *cancellarius* which has just been discussed; the dem. pron. τοῦδε here, just as elsewhere τόδε (28.4), indicates what has just been mentioned.

190.22–24 οὐχ ὅτι . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι: see note 16.17.

190.24–25 τῶν στρατηγικῶν παρωθηθέντων σκρινιαρίων: the attributive adj. is being used for the attributive gen. τῶν στρατηγῶν (sc. *magistrorum militum*).

190.27–28 τοῦ γε μὴν σιτωνικοῦ ἀνέκαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν πολιαρχίαν τελοῦντος: the ms. reading τελοῦντων must be emended to τελοῦντος, for its subject is σιτωνικοῦ (see note 60.24–25). Constantinople received its first *praefectus urbi* December 11, A.D. 359.

192.2 Γαβριήλιος: Leontius Scholasticus wrote a poem for the statue of Gabrielius at Constantinople (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 16.32).

192.6 τὸ μεῖζον . . . δικαστήριον: whereas the praetorian prefecture's court is meant by μεῖζον, the praetorian prefect is meant by τῷ κρείττονι (170.13–14, 178.30).

192.15–16 ὁ μὴ . . . ἀνέστησαν: the verb of the relative clause has the indicative with μὴ when the antecedent of the relative is indefinite.

192.16 μετὰ καλοῦ: only two letters are obliterated by wine after *lambda* and so καλοῦ as an abstract substantive fits the sense of the passage; cf. ἔξω τοῦ καλοῦ (234.5).

192.18 ὁ μὴ μετὰ προσθήκης τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑπολάβοι: the use of μὴ and the optative in the relative clause expresses a generality; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.19: ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείη εἵργεσθαι δεῖ, ὧ παῖ.

192.18–19 ἀλλ' ὅτι: see note 2.15.

192.21 ἵχνος ἀμυδρόν: note that μόνον is easily understood and is thus omitted; cf. Lys. 1.3: μικρὰς ζημίας ἀξίους “deserving [only] a slight penalty.”

192.22–26 τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς . . . συνισταμένης, τῆς δὲ τάξεως . . . εἰ μὴ θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὁ πάντα καλὸς ἐπεκούρει, . . . ὀλισθαίνουσης: the participle ὀλισθαίνουσης is the apodosis of the conditional clause; οὗτος here means “the present day” (see 108.3).

192.32 τοὺς ἀγαθοῦς: according to Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 733, note 6) it is the praise of the praetorian prefect Phocas which is aimed at here.

194.3 οἱ τε ζηλοῦντες: the τε answers the preceding μὲν (194.1); there are two more instances (220.29–222.3, 254.19–21).

194.7 ὥσπερ ἔφην: *supra* II.10, III.31,33.

194.12 δασμῷ: the parallel passage has δασμοῖς (98.10).

194.12 μετρίως: the parallel passage has μετρίοις (98.11).

194.13 βαρηθέντων: the ms. reading need not be emended to βαρυνθέντων because the parallel passage has the latter (98.11).

194.15 προελθούσι: the parallel passage has κατασταθεῖσι (98.13–14).

194.24 <τε>: this is needed, as it exists in the parallel passage (98.24).

194.26 ὥς δέ: the ms. reading ὥστε is obviously a scribal error, τε having been mistakenly written for δέ (see note 28.4), which the parallel passage has (98.25).

194.30 μέντοι: see note 98.29–30.

196.1 μαγίστρου: the ms. reading need not be emended to μαγιστερίου.

196.7–8 προσυπογράφοντος: see note 100.7–8.

196.9 ὅτι δὲ οὕτως: sc. ἔχει.

196.10 τῷ παλαιῷ Θεοδοσιανῷ: sc. Κώδικι; cf. *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.35 (see 100.9, 170.1).

196.22 ἐξ ὅτε <δέ>: the δέ is needed, as it exists in the parallel passage (100.21), as a balance to μὲν (196.19).

196.24 τοῖς πολέμοις παρεῖναι: the ms. reading πολεμίοις is obviously a scribal error and must be emended to accord with the parallel passage (100.24); see note 74.16.

196.24 τούτου: sc. the emperor's personal attendance at campaigns.

196.27 μηδέν: the ms. reading μηδενι is one of two instances of the scribe's careless addition of a final *iota* (220.6); see also note 74.16.

198.10 <ἄμα>: clearly omitted from the text (see 102.8).

198.14 <ἀπέβαλεν>: clearly omitted from the text (see 102.12).

198.14–15 ἀντιγράφειν: the ms. reading αντιγραφειν exhibits two scribal errors: (1) the careless writing of *nu* so that it appears as *upsilon* (see note 116.22) and (2) the transposition of consonants (see note 64.1).

198.16 φόρους: the ms. reading ὀρους exhibits the scribal carelessness of omitting the initial part of a word (see note 14.21–22).

198.18 λοιπόν: the ms. reading λογιον resulted from the scribal misreading of ΠΙ as ΓΙ in majuscules.

198.19–20 ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς Δημοσθένης: Demosthenes was praetorian prefect of the East under Emperor Justin between 520–524 and for a second time under Justinian between 529–530 (Grumel *La Chronologie* 368).

198.20–21 οὐδὲ μετὰ κέλευσιν τῆς βασιλείας γραμμάτων, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ πραγματικὸς ἡργαστο νόμος: Fuss in his edition (p. 226) incorrectly takes γραμμάτων as governed by χωρὶς but corrects his error later (*Ep.* 38–39) by taking γραμμάτων as dependent upon κέλευσιν and understanding χωρὶς with εἰ μὴ; cf. πλὴν εἰ μὴ (2.17, 52.22, 90.15). The ms. reading πραγματικῶς is obviously an incorrect spelling for πραγματικός, which is to be taken with νόμος; cf. τύπον πραγματικόν (238.3). The ms. reading ἡργηστος is patently a

scribal error resulting from the inadvertent repetition of *eta* in a place of *alpha*, or the scribal misreading of A as H in majuscules (see also note 60.2).

198.25–27 ἡκολούθησε τοῖς τὰς δίκας λέγουσιν ἐκκλητοὺς εὐτελίσαι τὸ δικαστήριον παρὰ τὸ πάντῃ κεκωλυμένον: the dat. τοῖς τὰς δίκας λέγουσιν ἐκκλητοὺς is one of reference, here agency, dependent upon the inf. εὐτελίσαι, which functions as though it were the verbal noun εὐτελισμός (*cf.* note 82.4–5) and is the subject of ἡκολούθησε. The ms. reading ἐκκλητους is a scribal error rendering this adj. in the dat. because of the dat. λέγουσιν which immediately precedes (the scribe has done this in many instances). The prep. παρὰ is being used in a causal sense (see L–S 1304 s.v. III.7) and introduces by the use of τὸ the periphrastic perfect pass. inf. κεκωλυμένον (*sc.* εἶναι), the subject of which is an implied αὐτό (*sc.* τὸ δικαστήριον). If taken thus, no conjectured additions such as Wunsch proposes are needed.

200.1–2 τοῖς δικαζομένοις τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφέσεως περικόπτειν ἐλπίδα: the dat. is one of reference.

200.4 ἐπιδακρύσας: this circumstantial participle expresses manner.

200.6 οὐ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπιδείξει σαφῶς τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν: the ms. reading ἐπιδείξει is correct (see note 128.14). Vasis ('E. E. II. 118) wonders whether ἐπιδείξη should be read.

200.8–9 μετὰ γ' οὖν Θεοδοσίον καὶ Μαρκιανὸν τὸν μέτριον ἐλθὼν ὁ Λέων: Emperor Marcian ruled intelligently and with strength. For he repudiated the payment of tribute to Attila and reformed the finances of the empire and was able within a few years to amass huge sums for the public treasury. Marcian repelled attacks upon Syria and Egypt in 452, as well as quelled disturbances on the Armenian frontier.

Emperor Leo I, variously surnamed *Thrax*, *Magnus*, and *Makellus*, through his generals Anthemius and Anagnastus, repelled an invasion of the Huns into Dacia (466 & 468). He had Anthemius elected Emperor of the West in 467 (*cf.* 210.8), and in concert with Anthemius Leo equipped a vast expedition to overthrow the Vandal kingdom in Africa, but this expedition, which was under the command of Leo's brother-in-law Basiliscus, resulted in a military and financial disaster (*cf.* 200.19–23). Leo's coronation by the Archbishop of Constantinople is reputedly the earliest ceremony sanctioned by the Church.

200.9 τῆς οἰκουμένης: the Greco-Roman world is meant (see L–S 1205 s.v. οἰκουμένη II; Lampe 944 s.v. οἰκουμένη 2).

200.11–13 ἔδνει Γερμανικῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτέως ἐπὶ τὰς Ἰσπανίας διὰ τοῦ Πυρηναίου ἐνοσκήψαντι τῇ Λιβύῃ: Wunsch's conjecture μεταβάντι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν between Πυρηναίου and ἐνοσκήψαντι is unnecessary because the use of ἀπὸ can easily imply motion or movement.

200.14–15 οἶον ὁ μακρὸς <οὐπω> ἀπεθαύμασε χρόνος: the neg. οὐπω or οὐκ surely dropped out of the text; see note 172.25. Vasis ('E. E. II. 118) conjectures the loss only of ἄν.

200.16–19 ἀποτείνων αὐτὴν καὶ βιαζόμενος καὶ δαπάνην . . . ἀρκεῖν: the καὶ before δαπάνην need not be emended to εἰς, for δαπάνην is a cognate acc. after ἀρκεῖν, the subject of which is an implied αὐτὴν (*sc.* τὴν ἀρχήν).

200.16–17 τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσιν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς μάχην: the dat. μυριάσιν expresses agency with the verbal noun μάχην (see note 82.4–5).

200.17–18 γῆς ἀλιμένοις ὄρμοις ὠχυρωμένης δυσχωρίαν: the ms. reading οχυρομενην exhibits the scribal error of making the agreement with the noun immediately before it.

200.20–22 χρυσίου μὲν λιτρῶν μυριάδες ἐξ πρὸς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀργύρου δὲ χιλιάδες λιτρῶν ἐπακόσiai: the ms. reading μυριαδων obviously resulted from the fact that the scribe carelessly wrote a gen. because of the immediately preceding gen. The ms. reading χιλίας is equally a scribal error. Not only μυριάδες and χιλιάδες but also τοσοῦτον (200.22) are subjects of ἀνάλωται (200.19), which is singular because a verb, though its subject is a pl. masc. or fem., can be singular usually at the beginning of a sentence.

According to Procopius (*Vand.* 1.6.1) the total cost was 130,000 pounds of gold. Lydus' statement of 700,000 pound of silver appears to rest on the same data as that contained in the historian Candidus (cf. C. Müller *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1868), 135–137; Hartmann *R.E.* 3, 1474), who was one of the authorities on the reign of Zeno and wrote the history of the times from the accession of Leo to that of Anastasius. Procopius gives the size of the army as 100,000 but does not mention the size of the fleet. Theophanes (1.115) says Π' χιλιάδες πλοίων, which seems excessive (the *rho* might have been a scribal error for *iota*; see note 42.23).

200.23 ὅσον ἂν τις τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ἐλλείπειν καλῶς ἀφορίσῃται: the ms. reading ἐλλείπειν, whether read as ἐλλείπειν or ἐλλίπειν, more aptly fits the context (see L–S 536 s.v. ἐλλείπω 1.8) than does its emendation to ἐκλείπειν.

200.24 μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ναυάγιον τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας: the verbal noun ναυάγιον as subject of an implied ἦν is equivalent to its corresponding verb with the accompanying genitive πολιτείας as its subject (see note 48.1).

200.25–26 ἡ δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἴδιον τῇ βασιλείᾳ: although ὁ is another subject of the gen. abs. which precedes it and is coordinate with it, it is in the nominative by attraction to ὅσον.

200.26 στρατιῶν: Fuss (*Ep.* 39) emends the ms. reading στρατιῶν to στρατειῶν (sc. “civil services”) because the treasury had been exhausted.

200.28–202.1 προσδαπανᾷ τοῖς πράγμασι: the force of πρὸς in the compound here does not mean “besides” (cf. L–S 1505 s.v. προσδαπανᾶω) but rather “on.”

202.1–2 τὰ μῆπω ἐν ἐλπίδι ἢ γ' οὖν τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν ὄντα: the ms. reading ἦγον should be emended to ἢ γ' οὖν or ἦγουν, though Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) thinks it incomprehensible and Bekker deletes ἦ.

202.3 ἐπιλίποι δὲ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος: cf. Isocrates *Ad Demonicum* 11: ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος.

202.4–6 τῷ τότε οἰκῶ κακῶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πυρὶ δαπανηθέντων συνέμιξεν τῶν τότε πολέμων τὸ δυστυχὲς καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ἀτυχημάτων: the ms. reading τῶν . . . κακῶν is best emended with Wünsch as a dative dependent upon συνέμιξεν; the ms. reading συνέμιξαν is a scribal error for συνέμιξεν (see note 28.3) since its subject is τὸ δυστυχὲς.

202.8–9 φασμάτων αὐτὸν ὥσπερ Ὀρέστην ἄνανδρον ἐνοχλοῦντων: the ms. reading τὸν is a scribal error for αὐτὸν (see note 142.6–7).

202.10 αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πάγχρυσον ἀπολιπεῖν διασκέψασθαι, ἄ, πόλιν: the ms. reading ἀπολεῖ is perhaps best rendered as the exclamatory particle ἄ, though it is rare in prose (*cf.* Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 295A), to express contempt for Leo.

202.11 μετατρέψαι: the ms. reading μετατρέψαι can be considered correct if two things are noted: (1) ἄν is frequently omitted in the apodosis of a contrary-to-the-fact conditional sentence when the apodosis consists of an imperfect ind. denoting unfulfilled obligation, possibility, or propriety and (2) an implied ἦν (*sc.* ἐξῆν), on which μετατρέψαι depends, is easily understood, for the copulative is frequently omitted.

202.13 ἀπηλλάττετο: this is a conative imperfect to express an action expected.

202.15 ὑπεξελθόντος: the ms. reading makes good sense (see L–S 591 s.v. ἐξέρχομαι I.4).

202.17 τὸν ὑπαρχον: Emperor Zeno during his reign had as praetorian prefects Sebastianus, Dionysius, Aelianus, Sebastianus (2nd time), Arcadius, Basilius, Dioscorus, and Matronianus (see Grumel *La Chronologie* 368).

202.19 ἔσχε δὲ ὁμως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάισιον πέρας: Zeno's life was ended by an epileptic seizure on April 10, 491, the Wednesday before Easter (see Zacharias *Myt.* 7.1).

202.19–20 ἐπιχευθέντων: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 119) unnecessarily prefers ἐπιχυθέντων.

202.23–24 τοὺς φόρους, ὅσοι σφζεσθαι δύναιτο, ταῖς ἀληθείαις ταῖς δαπάναις προσαρμόσας: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 119) prefers (again unnecessarily) to emend τοὺς φόρους to τοῖς φόροις and ταῖς δαπάναις to τὰς δαπάνας. The dat. ταῖς ἀληθείαις means “verily,” “in truth,” “actually,” “in reality” (see *Isocr.* 15.283, *Plb.* 10.40.5, *Babr.* 75.20).

202.26–27 <οὐχ> ὥσπερ Νέρων ποτὲ καὶ εἰ τινες ἐκέινον ζηλώσαντες: the neg. necessarily must have dropped out of the text; it is needed for the sense (see note 172.25).

202.28 <μηδὲ> μέχρι μνήμης: Wunsch, following Kroll, rightly conjectured the loss of μηδὲ; μέχρι μνήμης serves as a substitute for a clause (see note 48.1).

204.3 Νεμεσήσασα δ' οἴμ' ὥς ἡ Τύχη: Fuss's emendation (*Ep.* 39) of the ms. reading νεμασσα to νεμεσήσασα seems best (*cf.* *Jos. B.J.* 1.22.1: τὰς εὐπραγίας ἡ τύχη τοῖς ἐνεμέσησε). The ms. reading οἴμως is best rendered as οἴμ' ὥς; the exclamatory οἴμοι becomes οἴμ' before ὥς in tragedy and comedy (see L–S 1206 s.v. οἴμοι).

204.5 τὸν στρατιώτην: this is a collective sg. for “the civil servants”; *cf.* τοῖς στρατιώταις (178.25).

204.6–7 Μαρκινός τις: Marinus succeeded Zoticus as praetorian prefect of the East in 512.

204.7–8 παρεισδὺς ἐντέχνως τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναπεῖθει: the adv. ἐντέχνως, being placed between the participle and the verb, is intended to be taken with both. The dat. τῷ βασιλεῖ is governed by παρεισδὺς and not by ἀναπεῖθει, as Wunsch (*ed. Praef.* XXX) believes, the object of the latter being an implied αὐτόν (see note 220.16–17).

204.10–11 φιλοκερδῆς δὲ ἡρέμα ἐτύγγανεν ἐκεῖνος, οἷα Ταυλάντιος, καὶ Ἐπιδάμνου τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος: Procopius (*Anecd.* 19.5) says of Emperor Anastasius: Ἀναστάσιος γὰρ προνοητικώτατος τε ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομώτατος πάντων αὐτοκρατόρων γενόμενος; see also C. Kempen *Procopii Gazaei in Imperatorem Anastasium Panegyricus* (Ph.D. Diss. in Universitate Fridericia Guilelmia Rhenana, Bonnae, 1918). The ms. reading καὶ need not be emended to ἐξ because the genitive alone can express origin (see note 14.26).

204.13–14 ὡς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Λουκανὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἐμφυλίων φησὶν: cf. Luc. *Phars.* 2.610.

204.15 κατὰ τὸν Συγγραφέα: Thuc. 1.24.

204.15–16 πολὺς ἦν λόγος ἀπληστίας κατηγορῶν τοῦ Ἀναστασίου: Anastasius' financial policy was so prudent and economical that it resulted in his reputation for avarice and unpopularity.

204.16 ἐλεγείας τινάς: sc. γραμμάς.

204.20 ὥδε: sc. ἔχουσιν or εἰσιν.

204.21–28 See *Anth. Pal.* 11.270–271; Preger *Inscriptiones graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), 174–175, nos. 224–225.

206.4–5 ὡς ὁ Πολέμων ἐν πέμπτῃ Ἐξηγήσεων τῆς κατὰ Λουκανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Ἐμφυλίου Συγγραφῆς ἀπεφώνητο: cf. Luc. *Phars.* 5.460; Polemo was a grammarian of the iv A.D. (see C. Wendel *R.E.* 21(2), 1357–1358 s.v. *Polemon* 12).

206.6 Παλαιστήνη: this may be an error for Παλαίστη, as Fuss conjectures from Caesar *Bell. Civ.* 3.6 and Lucan *Phars.* 5.460.

206.12–14 ὡς καὶ πλήρωμα χρόνου καὶ βαθμὸν τοῖς τῶν λόγων διδασκάλοις βουλευθέντα παρασχεῖν ταῖς αὐτῶν διχονοίαις ἐμποδισθῆναι: the καὶ is to be taken with βουλευθέντα expressing concession (see note 2.15).

206.15 τὸ λογικόν: sc. οἱ λογικοί.

206.16–19 ὡς μὴ πόλιν, μὴ φρούριον, μὴ ἐλευσίνιον ἢ λιμένα ἢ τόπον οὖν τινα τῆς πάσης Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀμοιρεῖν τῶν ἐκείνου κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δωρεῶν: Ioannes Malalas (*chron.* 66) says of Anastasius that he built in every city of the empire various structures, walls, aqueducts, public baths, and many other buildings in each city. The emendation of the ms. reading εὐσίνιον either to συσκήνιον or to ἐπίνειον, which Vasis (*E.E.II.* 119) would read, is less likely to be correct than the conjecture ἐλευσίνιον, the scribe having cut off the initial portions of words (see note 14.21–22) and Lydus having the tendency to apply pagan terms to Christian usage (cf. 8.29–30, 244.20, 252.7, 256.3).

206.20 τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ἐκούφισε δασμολογίαν: this refers to the abolition in 498 of the so-called *chrysargyron*, an occupational and head tax imposed by Constantine.

206.23 ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν <ὦν> Ἀναστάσιος ἐπραξεν: it is more likely that ὦν was carelessly omitted by haplography (see note 36.31) than ἄ, which Vasis (*E.E.II.* 119) proposes.

206.27–28 ἐκπαλαι ἂν τὰ Ῥωμαίων Πέρσαι, οἷον προσεχῇ αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, κατεσχέκασαν: this is the only instance of the use of the pluperfect indicative with ἂν in the apodosis of a past contrary to the fact conditional; see also 108.3 & 240.26 & note 36.8. The ms. reading οἷον (*sc.* οἷον) is correct and does not need to be emended to οἷα, for it, too, just as the latter, has a causal force.

208.2–3 δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἰδικῶν τάνδρως ἀρετῶν μίαν ἐναποθέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 119) prefers μνεῖαν to μίαν.

208.3–4 Παῦλος ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης ἐκ Βιβιανοῦ πατρὸς ἐπισημοτάτου γέγονεν ὑπ' αὐτῷ: Paulus, who was the son of Vibianus, praetorian prefect of the East (459) and consul (463), celebrated his consulship with extraordinary splendor in 498. A discourse was addressed to the patrician Paulus by the Patriarch of Antioch Severus (see J. Pargoire *L'Église byzantine de 527 à 847* (Paris, 1905), 125).

208.5–6 τοὺς πώποτε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ θαυμασθέντων ὑπάτων: implied with τοὺς πώποτε is γενομένους (see L–S 1561 s.v. πώποτε II.4). Preger (*apud* Wünsch) unnecessarily conjectures θαυμασθέντας ὑπάτους for θαυμασθέντων ὑπάτων.

208.6–7 οὗτος χρειῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἔνεκα λυσιτελῶν αὐτῷ ἐπωφείλῃσεν Ζηνοδότῳ: the word λυσιτελῶν is the genitive plural of the adjective λυσιτελής, and it agrees with χρειῶν, while αὐτῷ refers back to the subject of the sentence (the oblique cases of αὐτός can be used in place of the reflexive). Fuss interprets λυσιτελῶν as the pres. part. agreeing with the subject of the sentence and αὐτῷ as referring to Emperor Anastasius. Fuss's interpretation is less likely correct. The meaning of ἐπωφείλῃσεν here is not “owed still” (*cf.* L–S 677 s.v. ἐποφείλω) but simply “owed,” the ἐπὶ in compound merely giving force or intensity to the verb (see L–S 623 s.v. ἐπὶ II.4, Lampe 542); *cf.* Rom. Mel. 10.ιζ'.1: οὐ δύνασαι δοῦναι μοι ἄπερ ἐποφείλεις μοι.

208.9 ἀναφαίρετον χρυσίον εἰς χιλίας χρυσίου λίτρας συναγόμενον: Jones (*The Decline of the Ancient World* (New York, 1966), 278–279) points out that a wealthy senator at Constantinople might be worth about 1,000 pounds of gold.

208.21 τοὺς λεγομένους βίνδικας: *cf.* Evagrius *h.e.* 3.42 (*PG* 86,III,2693): περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν φόρων ἔσπραξιν ἐκ τῶν βουλευτηρίων τοὺς καλουμένους βίνδικας ἐφ' ἐκάστης προβαλλόμενος, ἐσηγήσει φασὶ Μαρίνου τοῦ Σύρου τὴν κορυφαίαν διέποντος τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὃν οἱ πάλαι ὑπαρχον τῇς αὐλῆς ἐκάλουν.

210.12–13 ὑπὸ μὲμψιν γέγονε Σεργίου τοῦ τότε τὴν ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος ἀγανακτήσαντος: the participle ἀγανακτήσαντος with its noun Σεργίου corresponds to a verbal noun with the genitive.

210.14 μητρός: the ms. reading μητρος is due to the scribal misreading of T as Π in majuscules.

210.14–15 πολὺς ἐγένετο τὸν ὑπαρχον παρακαλῶν: the attributive participle is sometimes used as a predicate adjective not only with εἶναι (244.11–13) but also with γίνεσθαι.

210.18–19 αὐτῶν οὖν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἀμοιβαδὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνόντων, παραδιδόασιν: the subject of the gen. abs. αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ . . . παραλαμβάνόντων is the same as that of the main verb παραδιδόασιν. A gen. abs., whose subject is the same as that of the

main verb, usually precedes the main verb and emphasizes the idea of the gen. abs. (cf. Hdt. 1.90, Thuc. 3.13).

210.21–22 ἀκροάσει δημοσίαις: the ms. reading δημοσίοις is better emended to δημοσίαις, though δημόσιος occurs also as feminine (cf. Hp. *Ep.* 19); see note 12.11–12.

210.29–30 πέρας ἦν λοιπὸν Αναστασίου τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν δογμάτων καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ θορύβοις ταραττόμενον: the ms. reading ταραττομένων is obviously a scribal error for ταραττόμενον, but to emend Αναστασίου to Αναστασίῳ and ταραττόμενον to ταραττομένῳ, as Vasis (*E. E. II.* 119–120) prefers, involves unnecessary changes.

210.31–212.1 ἀνὴρ δὲ ἦν ἀπράγμων καὶ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς παρὰ τὴν τῶν ὀπλων πείραν ἐπιστάμενος: Procopius (*Vand.* 3.9.5) describes Emperor Justin thus: ὁ θεὸς Ἰουστίνος ὑπέργηρως τε ὦν ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος and also (*Anecd.* 16.18) εὐθεῖα γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο.

212.2 ὅσοι Αναστασίου τῆς αὐξήσεως (ἔτυχον, ἀπηλλάττοντο): Kroll (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 (1904), 870) believes that a prep. such as παρὰ is needed before Αναστασίου. A simple genitive, however, can express source (see note 14.26).

212.5–6 ἅπας μὲν ὁ πλοῦτος Αναστασίου εἰς ἀπείρους μυριάδας χρυσίου λιτρῶν συναγόμενος διεπρῆν: Procopius (*Anecd.* 19.7) states that Anastasius, after reigning over the Romans for more than twenty-seven years, left behind to the public treasury 3,200 *centenaria* of gold.

212.16–17 ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ: Jovian accompanied Emperor Julian in his Persian campaign and upon the death of the latter was elevated by the army to the imperial office, having been commander of the imperial guard. Jovian continued the retreat begun by Julian and, though continually harassed by the Persians, succeeded in reaching the banks of the Tigris. In order to extricate his army and return to Roman territory to secure his acceptance as emperor, he concluded with the Persian king, Shapur II, a humiliating peace by which he surrendered to the Persians all the territory which Diocletian had won in the East along with the cities of Nisibis, Singara, and other cities, and gave up the Roman protectorate over Eastern Armenia. According to the treaty of A.D. 363 the Persians and the Romans agreed to build jointly the mountain fortress in the Caucasus called *Biraparrach* and equip it with a garrison to prevent the incursions of the northern peoples into Persia and Armenia. This fortress was probably in the Dariel pass between Baku and Derbent and was not situated on the Caspian shore but on the upper course of the Terek (see Tomaschek *R.E.* 3 (1), 489; L. Dillemann *Haute Mésopotamie Orientale de Pays Adjacents*, contribution à la Géographie historique de la région, du V^e s. avant l'Ère Chrétienne au VI^e s. de cette ère, *Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, Tome 72, Paris, 1962, 92–93).

212.20–21 Σαλουτίῳ τε, ὃς ἦν ὑπαρχος, ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις: the ms. reading σαλουστιῳ (sc. Σαλουτίῳ) is due to the scribal error of incorrectly inserting a *sigma* in the middle of a word (see note 40.8). Saturninus Secundus Salutius was praetorian prefect twice: March 1, 362 to July 30, 365 and November 2, 365 to the spring of 367 (see Jones *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, 464; Grumel *La Chronologie* 367).

212.21 καὶ Ἰοδιγέρδῃ ὕστερον: this Yazdegerd is not a Persian noble who was named as envoy to negotiate with the Romans under Jovian in 363 with Salutius, but, as Jones (*op. cit.* 464 s.v. *Isdegerdes*) says, Yazdegerd II, king of Persia (438–457), is meant, under

whom the treaty of A.D. 442 was negotiated, probably confirming the treaty of A.D. 422, with the additional stipulations that neither party should build a fortress within a certain distance from the frontiers and that the Romans should contribute a fixed sum for the upkeep of the defenses of the Caspian Gates, just as had been agreed by the treaty of A.D. 363 (*Bury History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 6).

212.27–28 Βιραπαράχ πατρίως αὐτὸ καλέσαντες: the name *Biraparach* is the Armenian word *Vir-a-parhak*, which means “fortification of the Iberians” (*Tomaschek R.E.* 3 (1), 489).

212.32–214.1 ὡς δῆθεν ἀδικούμενοι καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένην δαπάνην κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον Ῥωμαῖοις ἀποστερούμενοι: the particle δῆθεν is being used of an apparent or pretended truth; the enarthrous part. τὸ ἐπιβάλλον agrees with an implied μέρος; the two participles ἀδικούμενοι and ἀποστερούμενοι are being used coordinately but the second one defines the first.

214.2 Σποράκιον τὸν πρῶτον: this Sporacius was the envoy who was sent by Theodosius I to Persia in 383; he was possibly an ancestor of Sporacius, who was consul of the East in 452 (*Jones The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, 851; *Grumel La Chronologie* 351).

214.4 ἐγγὺς ἐπειθε Πέρσαις: the tense is a conative imperfect; Πέρσαις is governed not by ἐπειθε, as Wünsch (ed. *Praef.* XXX) believes, but by ἐγγύς (see L–S 468 s.v. ἐγγύς I & II; *Lampe* 398 s.v. ἐγγύς 1a).

214.5 ὑποφόρων Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχάζειν καὶ φίλους εἶναι: Wünsch’s emendation ὑποφόρων makes sense, for ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων would be out of place syntactically with the two intransitive infinitives.

214.6–7 λαλούμενά τε καὶ τυπούμενα καὶ ἀπλῶς ἡρτημένα: these are substantive part. and impersonal passives, whereby the subject is merely indicated in the verbal ending; cf. *Pl. Ph.* 261B: λέγεται τε καὶ γράφεται “speeches (λόγοι) and writings (γράμματα) are composed.”

214.7–8 Κωάδου τοῦ γέροντος: Kavadh I, king of Persia (488–531) is meant.

214.9 χειρὶ μὲν νικᾶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δυνάμενοι: Procopius (*Pers.* 1.8.1–3) says that for this war the supreme command was divided between four generals: (1) Areobindus, the son-in-law of Olyvrius, who had been emperor in the West; (2) Celer, commander of the palace troops; (3) Patricius the Phrygian; and (4) Hypatius, the nephew of the emperor.

214.13–14 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοὺς τε Πέρσας διωξάντων καὶ Ἀμιδαν ἀλοῦσαν ῥυσαμένων αὐθις: the subject of both διωξάντων and ῥυσαμένων is not expressed because it can easily be supplied from the context (see note 230.23–24). In the war with Persia (502–505) Theodosiopolis and Amida were captured, but the Persian provinces also suffered severely and the Romans recovered Amida. Both the Persians and the Romans were exhausted when peace was concluded in 506 on the basis of *status quo*. Zacharias of Mytilene (*PG* 85) discusses the capture of Amida.

214.14 ὁ Πέρσης: Kavadh is meant.

214.15–16 δς ἦν μάγιστρος τῶν <θεῖων ὀφφικίων> τῷ Ἀναστασίῳ: that θεῖων ὀφφικίων dropped out of the text is certain (cf. 118.11–12).

214.16 ὡς προέφαμεν: *supra* III.52 (212.19–24).

214.21–23 Ἀρριανὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλανικῆς Ἱστορίας, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης τῶν Παρθικῶν, ἀκριβέστερον διεξέρχεται: Arrian's *History of the Alani* and *History of Parthia* are lost works. Arrian of Nicomedia was greatly admired by Emperor Hadrian, who made Arrian governor (*legatus*) of Cappadocia (131–137). The object of διεξέρχεται can well be an implied αὐτάς (sc. Κασπίας πύλας) and not a carelessly omitted ὄν. The ms. reading παροικῶν (sc. Παρθικῶν) reflects the scribal misreading of Θ as Ο in majuscules; see also note 134.17.

214.23 αὐτὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστάς: the ms. reading αὐτοῖς is the result of scribal carelessness whereby agreement is made with the case of the words which follow.

214.24 ὑπὸ Ἀδριανῷ τῷ χρηστῷ: the ms. reading τραϊανου should be emended to Ἀδριανῷ because Arrian, though he was probably born about the beginning of Trajan's reign, certainly lived his adult life during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius.

214.25–26 οἱ τοῖς τε λόγοις τοῖς τε ἔργοις εἰς τοσαύτην εὐκλειαν τὴν τε πολιτείαν ἀνέστησαν: this relative clause expresses actual result because of the use of the indicative; τε before πολιτείαν is not to be deleted.

216.3–4 'ἔδει δὲ χρημάτων καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἄνευ αὐτῶν πραχθῆναι τῶν δεόντων': cf. Dem. *Olyn.* 1.20: δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων.

216.4–5 μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῆς πρόσθεν εὐπραγίας παροφθεῖν: the neuter μηδὲν functions substantively and τῶν agrees with an implied δεόντων. The ms. reading παρωφθεῖς resulted from the scribal misreading of Η as Ξ in majuscules.

216.5–6 σάλοι σκιρτῶντες καὶ διῶστωντες τὴν γῆν ῥιζόθεν τὴν Σελεύκου Ἀντιόχειαν κατέαξαν: during the reign of Anastasius two earthquakes caused great damage to Antioch: (1) October 4, 524 and (2) May 20, 526, which laid the city of Antioch in ruins and destroyed about 250,000 people, the details of which are given by Malalas (XVII, 419 sqq.); the latter is the earthquake being referred to here. During Justinian's reign two earthquakes occurred at Antioch: (1) November 15, 528, and (2) November 29, 539, which also was serious (Grumel *La Chronologie* 478).

216.15–16 Ἰουστίνου τέλος λαβόντος: Justin, enfeebled by an incurable wound, assumed Justinian as his colleague on April 1, 527, and finally died on August 1 of the same year.

216.16 Χοσρόης ὁ κακοδαίμων: Lydus calls Chosroes also ὁ ἄτακτος (218.9). Menander Protector (*Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* 3 (PG 113, 860B)) uses γίγας as a complimentary epithet of Chosroes I, "the Blessed." The latter was the son and successor of Kavadh I. After five years of fighting (527–532) with the Persians, Justinian concluded with Chosroes I an "eternal" peace at the price of 11,000 lbs. of gold. Justinian wanted to be free for the conquest of Africa and Sicily. Justinian's successes in the West, however, aroused the jealousy and ambitions of Chosroes in 539 when the latter declared war.

Justinian was too occupied in the West to be able to defend adequately his eastern frontier. Chosroes overran Syria and captured Antioch in 540, demolishing it, looting its treasures, and massacring whoever had not fled and carrying off the remaining population into captivity.

218.6-8 <ὥς> μὴ . . . λαμβάνοιεν: though the loss of ὥς has been conjectured, μὴ alone can be utilized for ἵνα μὴ (see L-S 1124 s.v. μὴ B.1b).

218.10-12 Βανδύλοις . . . πόλεμον ἐξαπίνης ἐπιχέων ἐν μόναϊς δύο σελήναις εἰλέ τε αὐτούς: Justinian's war against the Vandals in Africa occurred in 533. He sent an expeditionary force of 10,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horse, accompanied by a powerful fleet, under the command of Belisarius. The landing of the latter in Africa in September of 533 surprised the Vandals. Gelimer, the last Vandal king of Africa (530-534), was utterly defeated and taken prisoner in 534 and sent to Constantinople, where Gelimer was paraded in triumph (see Proc. *Vand.* 4.9.4-14). He was given an estate in Galatia.

218.13-14 οὓς ἐκάλουον Ἀστίγγους οἱ βάρβαροι: As early as ii b.c. the Vandals were divided into two groups: Asdingian Vandals and Silingian Vandals. The former occupied Gallaecia in Spain; while the latter, Baetica. The Alans occupied Lusitania. The Silingian Vandals were all but exterminated by the Visigoths, who were acting under Roman instructions. Such Alans as escaped the Visigoths joined the Astingians, whose kings henceforth were called "kings of the Vandals and Alans." The Vandals who were taken captive to Constantinople were enlisted in five squadrons of cavalry and were sent to serve against the Parthians under the title of *Justiniani Vandali*. Four hundred of them escaped to Africa and took part in a mutiny of the imperial troops. This mutiny was quelled in 536 by Belisarius, who had received the consulship as a reward for his defeat of Gelimer in 534.

218.16 Γέταις: Getans was a name sometimes applied to the Gothic peoples (see Proc. *Vand.* 1.2.2). After the Vandal kingdom had just about been overthrown, Justinian embarked upon a war for the recovery of Italy, a war that covered two phases: 535-540 and 541-554. Belisarius invaded Sicily in 535 and, after storming Naples and defending Rome for a year against almost the entire strength of the Goths in Italy, he captured Ravenna and along with it the Gothic king Vitiges (536-540).

218.19 σύν <τε> Οὐτίγγει τῷ τυράννῳ: the area of the ms. after σύν is tainted with wine and so τε could have existed there.

218.23 ὥς μηδενὸς ἄρτι πραχθέντος: the use of μηδενός clearly indicates that a condition is implied in this gen. abs.; a gen. abs. can be introduced not only by ὥς (90.22-23) but also by ὥσπερ (84.12).

218.25-26 τῆς ἐσπέρας πρὸς Γετῶν ὅλης ταραττομένης: the ms. reading ὁλων is a scribal error due to influence from the immediately preceding Γετῶν.

220.9-10 Καὶ πού μέ τ' αὐτὸ δαιμόνιον συνωθεῖ πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν ἐξάγον μυρίων κακῶν: the ms. reading μεταυτὸ δαιμόνιον is best rendered μέ τ' αὐτὸ δαιμόνιον, for it involves no emendation and makes good sense, too, whereas μετὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον or μετὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου (Vasis *E. E. II.* 120) are unsatisfactory both as regards textual rendering and context. The meaning of δαιμόνιον must be "rage," though not attested in the existing lexica (cf. Lampe 327 s.v. δαιμονᾶω 2).

220.11–12 Ἀρχέλαον τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα: Archelaus was made king of Cappadocia in 41 B.C. or 34 according to others by Antony, whom he deserted after the battle of Actium. Octavian enlarged his kingdom by the addition of Cicia and Lesser Armenia. Tiberius accused him of stirring up a revolution. Archelaus died at Rome in A.D. 17 in confinement and Cappadocia was then made a province of Rome (cf. Str. 12.540; Suet. *Tib.* 37, *Cal.* 1; D. Cass. 49.32–51; Tac. *Ann.* 2.42). The ms. reading τῶν need not be emended to τόν (see note 84.17).

220.15 τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς: “the office of *magister militum*”; cf. Athan. Schol. 4.24 § 21 (ed. G. E. Heimbach *Anecdota*, I): μηδεὶς ἀρχῶν ἢ τῶν διοικούντων δημόσια τοποτηρεῖται τοῖς ἐπάρχοις ἢ τῇ στρατηγίδι ἀρχῇ.

220.16–17 παρεισδὺς οἰκείουται τῷ βασιλεῖ: the dat. τῷ βασιλεῖ is governed by παρεισδὺς and not by οἰκείουται, which has as its object an implied αὐτόν (see note 204.7–8).

220.18 εἰς λογοθέτας προήλθεν: Procopius (*Goth.* 1.28) says regarding the office of λογοθέτης: ἦν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστὼς λογισμοῖς· λογοθέτην τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

220.24–27 Καππαδόκαι φαῦλοι μὲν αἰεῖ, etc.: see *Anth. Pal.* 11.238.

220.28–29 δυνάμεως ἐπιλαβόμενος δημοσίας, ἀπηργάσατο συμφοράς: the form δημοσίας admits of two possibilities: (1) gen. sg. agreeing with δυνάμεως or (2) acc. pl. agreeing with συμφοράς; the former is the more likely, though Fuss (ed. p. 252.16–17) accepts the latter.

222.5 ἀναρτῶν τε: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 120) believes that ἀνασπῶν τε should be read. His suggested emendation, however, is unnecessary, for ἀναρτῶν τε makes perfectly good sense.

222.10 ἐκ χειροῖν: the dual can be either χειροῖν (*Soph. El.* 206, 1394) or χεροῖν (*Soph. OT* 1466, *Eur. Ba.* 738).

222.10 ἔξαρκος: the *manus recentior* corrected the ms. reading to ἔξαρκος “with dislocated limbs,” probably because the victim is mentioned as being tied up by the hands with stout ropes. The black ink that he used completely obliterated the letter after *alpha* so that it cannot be read at all. Vasis (*E.E.II.* 120) proposes ἔξαιμος “devoid of blood,” which also makes sense.

222.14 Βριάρεως: cf. *Il.* 1.403; *Lyd. De Mens.* 4.3: οἱ δὲ μυθικοὶ Βριάρεω τὸν χειμῶνα καλοῦσι πολὺχειρά τινα, διὰ τὸ πολυσχιδῶς τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκχεῖσθαι κατ’ αὐτόν. καὶ νῦν μὲν μάχεται ὁ Βριάρεως τῷ Διὶ οἶονεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐθις αὐτῷ γίνεται διὰ τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν σύμμαχον εἶναι τῇ θερμῇ.

222.16 ἐκεῖνος Ἀλάστωρ: though ἐκεῖνος here has a contemptuous sense, it can also be used complimentarily (228.1).

222.17 ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλέως: sc. πόλεως.

222.18–19 δίκην ἐξιπωτήρος: the ms. reading ἐξειποτηρος is a clear indication that the word ἐξιπωτήρ, which corresponds to the Latin *expressor*, as L. Dindorf (Steph. Byz. *Theo. Gr. Ling.*, IV, 1307) suspects, is intended.

222.21 ὁμώνυμός τις ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς γένος ἐγγύς: the dat. αὐτῷ is governed by ὁμώνυμος and is not the dative of the possessor.

222.26 ἐξοιδημένος: the ms. reading need not be emended to ἐξωδημένος, for initial diphthongs do not necessarily always have to lengthen their first vowel (see note 22.23).

222.26–27 ἀποκρεμάσας τοῦ προσώπου τῶν θυλάκων: the ms. reading τῶν θυλάκων is correct because it is a partitive genitive.

222.27 Μαξιλλοπλουμβάκιον: Ch. Diehl (*Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VI^e siècle* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901, 105) correctly discerned that this word is composed of the Latin words *maxilla* and *plumbus* and rendered it *aux lourdes mâchoirs*, namely, “lead-jawed one.” Soph. *Lex.* 133 incorrectly gives its meaning as “feather-pillow.” Other epithets of John, the governor of Lydia, are: Κέρβερος (222.28, 226.13), Κύκλωψ (224.22 226.10), Αλάστωρ (224.27), Σαλμωνεύς (226.1), Λαιστρυγών (226.27), Πλατόγναθος (228.14).

224.1 ἀπεμασῆσατο: the lexica do not cite this compound of μασάομαι, though ἀναμασῶμαι, ἐκμασῶμαι, διαμασῶμαι, and καταμασῶμαι are attested.

224.4–5 ὡς Εὐριπίδης εἶπεν: Eur. *Ba.* 13; *Iph. Aul.* 787.

224.10–12 ταῖς μὲν ποιναῖς τῶν ἀναίτιων ὡς Φάλαρις, ταῖς δὲ ξενοκτονίαις ὡς Βούσιρις, ταῖς δὲ ραθυμίαις καὶ τρυφαῖς ὡς Σαρδανάπαλος διατελῶν: Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas (ca. 570/65–554/49 B.C.), had established his autocracy about a decade after the founding of the city. He was infamous for his cruelty and reputedly shut up his victims in a brazen bull with fire under it to be roasted alive slowly, their shrieks representing the bellowing of the bull. The alleged inventor of the bull, Perillus of Athens, was said to have been its first victim. Busiris, an Egyptian king and son of Poseidon, slaughtered and offered at the altar of Zeus all foreigners who entered Egypt. Heracles is said to have gone to Egypt from Libya, seized, bound, and killed Busiris. Sardanapalus, the last king of Assyria (ca. IX B.C.), was the most effeminate and corrupt in a line of effeminate princes.

224.20–21 κύριος ἦν λίθου τιμίας πολλῆς ἅμα καὶ διὰ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος τοῖς ιδιώταις ἀόπτως: the noun λίθου is being used collectively; cf. ἐκ λίθου τιμίας (14.11). The *manus recentior* emended κάλλος to κάλλους and then back again to κάλλος. Whether the ms. reading is ἀόπτως or ἀχρήτως, it is unquestionably certain that an adv. existed here. The *manus recentior*, believing that an error had been committed because of the use of the adv., “corrected” the ms. reading to ἀόβλεπτος, thereby committing also himself the error of non-agreement of adj. with its noun. Wunsch unnecessarily emended ἀόπτως to ἀόπτου so as to agree with λίθου. Roquefort (*apud* Fuss *Ep.* 42), too, emended Fuss’s reading ἀχρήτως to ἀχρήστου. Whether ἀόπτως or ἀχρήτως is read, the use of the adv. in the predicate after some form of εἶναι (here οὖσης is implied) is defensible because it is in accordance with classical usage (see L–S 1188 s.v. εἰμί C.I).

224.23–24 ἐνεῖρξας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαύλεως τῶν ἡμιόνων (στάβλον αὐτὸν Ἴταλοι λέγουσιν): although the second αὐτόν refers to ἐπαύλεως and αὐτήν would have been expected,

the masc. gender is used by assimilation to the gender of its predicate noun; see also note 88.9.

224.27–28 σὺν τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἅπασιν: the perfect passive participle means “consecrated,” i.e. in sacred orders (see Lampe 672 s.v. ἱερώω 1); cf. τοῖς ἱερουμένοις (252.10–11).

226.1 ὁ δὲ Σαλμωνεύς: see note 222.27. Salmoneus, son of Aeolus (king of Magnesia in Thessaly) in post-Homeric tradition was king of Elis. He pretended that he was Zeus, ordering his subjects to worship him under the name of Zeus as he drove at full speed in his chariot to imitate thunder and torches were thrown into the air to represent lightning. Zeus finally smote him with a real thunderbolt and destroyed the town. See Apollodorus 1.89, Hyginus *Fab.* 60, 61, Strabo 8.356, Manilius *Astron.* 5.91, Vergilius *Aen.* 6.585 sqq.

226.1–2 ἴσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεὸν ὁρῶν: the ms. reading εἴσα is patently a misspelling for ἴσα, which is the correction of the *manus recentior* and the reading of the *Codex Atheniensis*. Fuss, followed by both Bekker and Wünsch, incorrectly emended it to εἰς and was compelled, therefore, to emend the ms. reading τοῖς ἀνθρώποις to τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, again incorrectly so. The neuter pl. of ἴσος, sc. ἴσα, is being used adverbially accompanied by the dat. (see 128.13, 188.3–4); the καὶ is adverbial, stressing θεόν.

226.3–4 μὴδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος τῶν ὅσα ἐν πορνείοις κεκλημένοις τοῖς ἀκολάστοις λόγοις ἀσελγαίνεσθαι: the ms. reading ὑποστελλομένους is a scribal error influenced by the preceding ἐλθόντας; λόγῳ is implied with ὑποστελλόμενος (see L-S 1895 s.v. ὑποστέλλω II.4); the partitive genitive τῶν occasionally occurs with ὅσα (see L-S 1261 s.v. ὅσος I.2 & 1194 s.v. ὁ, ἡ, τό A. III), which is here followed by ἀσελγενεσθαι (sc. ἀσελγαίνεσθαι), which, if ἐστὶν is implied, does not need to be emended to ἀσελγαίνεται as proposed by Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) and accepted by Wünsch; τοῖς should not be conjectured before πορνείοις as proposed by Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) and accepted by Wünsch so as to be taken with κεκλημένοις, for the latter is to be construed with τοῖς ἀκολάστοις λόγοις as a dative absolutive expressing means (cf. 56.9).

226.5 ὁ ἱερεύς: here ἱερεύς is equivalent in meaning to ἀρχιερεύς, a usage found in patristic literature (see Lampe 670 s.v. ἱερεύς C.2 & 3).

226.7–8 τῆς οἰκείας περιουσίας πρῶτον ὁρῶν τὸν θεόν: Kroll’s conjecture (*apud* Wünsch) προτιμῶν in place of πρῶτον ὁρῶν is unnecessary because πρῶτον governs the genitive περιουσίας (cf. 32.25–26) in accordance with later Greek usage (see L-S 1537 s.v. πρότερος B.I.3d; Lampe 1201 s.v. πρῶτος A.1).

226.8 πέμψας εἰς οἶκον: the part. is being used absolutely; the destination is indicated but the acc. object, being self-evident, is omitted (see L-S 1359 s.v. πέμπω I.4).

226.9 σὺν καὶ τοῖς λίθοις ἐκείνοις: the emendation of τοῖς to ταῖς and of ἐκείνοις to ἐκείναις is unnecessary, for the masc. gender of λίθος can be used of precious stones (cf. Hdt. 2.44).

226.10 καὶ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον: there is no reason to assume with Fuss (ed. p. 258, note 8) that something was lost before τὸ nor to read τότε with Wünsch; the ms. reading το τε reflects the scribal error of misreading δέ as τε (see note 28.4).

226.21 ὥς ἤλθεν ἐκεῖ: note the use of ἐκεῖ with a verb of motion for ἐκεῖσε (see L-S 505 s.v. ἐκεῖ II).

226.28–228.1 ‘ὁ τεκνοραΐστης λυμεὼν ἐμῆς πάτρης,’ ὡς φησιν ὁ Λυκόφρων ἐκείνος: the work of Lycophron, a Greek poet and grammarian born to Chalcis in Euboea (iii B.C.), *Alexandra* 38, is being cited.

228.1 ἐφ’ ὅλον ἔτους: the ms. reading ετους (*sc.* ἔτους) need not be emended to ἔτος, for ὅλον is functioning as a neuter substantive accompanied by a genitive (see note 2.7–8).

228.5 νόμος ἄνωθεν ἐκράτησε: the content of the law is denoted here by the infinitive (228.5) as well as elsewhere (106.18,20, 108.9, 148.22, 164.5, 238.23); such an infinitive is also introduced with ὥστε (see notes 76.10 & 170.6).

228.5 πλατὺν ἅμα καὶ ὀξὺν δρόμον ἐνιδρῦσθαι: the state operated two kinds of service for land transport: (1) the express post (*cursus velox*), which was equipped with major and minor posting stations (*mansiones*) at intervals of about twelve miles at all the major roads of the empire and provided saddle horses, pack horses, light two-wheeled carriages drawn by three mules and four-wheeled carriages; and (2) the wagon post (*cursus clabularis*), which provided ox wagons with two pairs of oxen for heavy goods (see Jones *The Decline of the Ancient World*, 313–314).

228.6 ἐχρήτο: the verb is being used passively with ὀχήμασιν and ἵπποις as datives of means, as Vasis (Βυζαντίς 1 (1909), 33) correctly points out.

228.8 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν ἴσμεν ἀποδόμενοι: *cf.* Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.32.

228.8–9 τῆς γὰρ ἡπείρου σχεδὸν ἀπάσης <μὴ τελοῦσης> ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς: while it virtually certain that οὐσης or τελοῦσης was carelessly omitted by the scribe, though Fuss (*Ep.* 43) does not think so and refers to III.14 (154.5) and III.73 (250.25), μὴ also must have been omitted. This genitive absolute here functions as a protasis for what follows, both of which give the reason for the necessity for the establishment of the two roads, to which αὐτοῖς refers and not to the two Cappadocians.

228.17–18 ὁ Νιόβης αὐτῆς λιθωδέστερος: *sc.* ὦν. Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus and Dione, and her husband Amphion, king of Thebes, had six sons and six daughters (*Il.* 24.604) or seven of either sex (*Ov. Met.* 6.182–183), the number varying in different accounts. She boasted of her superiority over Leto, the mother of only two children (Apollo and Artemis). As a punishment Apollo slew her sons and Artemis, her daughters. Their bodies lay unburied for nine days because Zeus had transformed all the people to stone and on the tenth day they were buried by the gods. Pitying her grief, the gods converted Niobe herself into rock on Mt. Sipylus in Phrygia, in which form she continued to weep (*cf. Il.* 24.602–617; Apollodorus 3.5; *Ov. Met.* 6.146–312). This “Niobe” is described by Pausanias 1.21 and Quintus Smyrnaeus 1.293–306.

228.20–21 τῶν εἰδῶν ἀπράτων ἐνσηπομένων ταῖς κτήσεσιν: L–S 482 s.v. εἶδος IV incorrectly renders the meaning of εἰδῶν for this passage as “spices”; *Soph. Lex.* 422 s.v. εἶδος 2 correctly renders it as “article, commodity, provisions of all sorts.” The Latin equivalent of this Greek word *species*, used by Fuss, bears the meaning not only of “spices” and “drugs” but also of “goods,” “wares.” The meaning of ταῖς κτήσεσιν is “property,” “estate” (see L–S 1002 s.v. κτήσις II.2; Lampe 782 s.v. κτήσις 3).

228.21–22 ἐξάλιου σχεδὸν τῆς Ἀσianaῖς τυγχανούσης: though how the ms. reading ἐξ αλίου should be understood is disputable, ἐξάλιου would make sense if it is taken as

derived from ἐξ, which in compound means “utterly,” and from ἄλιος, which means “idle” (see L-S 66 s.v. ἄλιος B).

228.24 πόρρω θαλάσσης ἀπωκισμένος: the ms. reading ἀπωκεισμένον is obviously a scribal error for ἀπωκισμένος, for it refers to ὁ συντελεστής (228.22).

228.28–30 τῶν καρπῶν ἐναπομενόντων τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοὺς μὲν φόρους εἰς χρυσίον μεταβληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἀπογεῖναι κατ’ ἔτος: the καὶ should not be deleted, for it is needed to join the gen. abs. coordinately with the infinitives that follow. Although μὲν and δέ are used to coordinate two contrasted clauses, the former is logically subordinate and is inserted to heighten the force of the latter. The inf. χρῆναι, if it had not dropped out of the text because of *homoioteleuton* with the preceding μεταβληθῆναι, is required at least by the sense.

230.2–3 τὸν ὅποια δ’ ἂν κατορωρυγμένον ὁβολόν: the neuter plural ὅποια is functioning adverbially, but Vasis (*E.E.II.* 121) would read ὅποιδῃ οὖν in place of ὅποια δ’ ἂν because δὴ οὖν is found elsewhere (cf. 224.15, 238.10). The particle ἂν with κατορωρυγμένον (sc. ὄντα) represents the potential optative; see note 36.8).

230.5 τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ὑπάρχει: the force of the adjective is ironic; cf. τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα (Soph. *Ant.* 31).

230.15 ὥκειωμένους αὐτῷ: the pronoun αὐτῷ is being used for ἑαυτῷ.

230.19 μήπω <τῷ> λείψ τοῦ σώματος: the addition of τῷ before λείψ is probably necessary; the neuter of an adjective functioning as an abstract is found both with the article (234.21) and without it (2.17). Kroll (*apud* Wünsch) prefers to read δὴ τῷ in place of μήπω, while Vasis (*E.E.II.* 121) would read λειότητι σώματος.

230.20 πορνῶν ταῖς ἀκολάστοις: an attributive adjective may dispense with its substantive when the latter is expressed in the context (see also 116.8, 202.20, 234.1).

230.20–21 ἀκολασταίνων τῷ πράττειν ἅμα καὶ πάσχειν: Vasis (*E.E.II.* 121) correctly prefers the emendation τῷ to the ms. reading τό because the enarthrous infinitives express means (see note 76.15–16); Wünsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 576) accepts the acc. of respect as possible.

230.21 ‘ἐξ ἑκατέρας ὥχρῳ νόσου’: Juv. *Sat.* 2.50: morbo pallet utroque.

230.22 τὸν ἄκρατον: the noun οἶνον is easily implied (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 105).

230.23–24 πρὸς ἀντιβολὴν ὄψων ἐπιχωννύντος τὸν οἶνον: the subject of the gen. abs. is an unexpressed αὐτοῦ, which is easily supplied from the context (see note 214.13–14). Wünsch, understanding that this gen. abs. goes with what follows, conjectured δέ after πρὸς. Vasis (*E.E.II.* 121–122) understands the meaning of this passage to be ‘Ὁ Καπαδόκης μεθῶν κατέπιπτε, ὥστε ἦτο ἀνάγκη ὑπὸ τινων νὰ ἀναβαστάζηται, ἵνα ἐμβάλλωνται αὐτῷ τὰ ὄψα, ἅτινα ἦσαν οἰονεῖ χρώματα, χερσοῦντα τὴν ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι αὐτοῦ οἰνερὰν λίμνην.

230.26–27 <οὐ> χρυσοστάθμου ἰχθύων ποικιλίας καταλειφθείσης τῷ πελάγει: the negative οὐ clearly dropped out of the text (see note 172.25); the participle καταλειφθείσης agrees with the last noun in the series (ποικιλίας).

230.30–232.3 ὡς ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς κτένας, μὴ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον πτήσει καταπιστεύοντας ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀέρα, τοῖς ὀστράκοις ὡς εἰ πτέρυξι χρωμένους, δοκεῖν ἐκκλίνειν τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀδηφαγίαν: the ὡς is introducing here a consecutive infinitive clause of natural result indicating tendency, governing δοκεῖν, which has as its subject τοὺς κτένας and ἀφίστασθαι as its complementary infinitive, whereas ἐκκλίνειν is an infinitive of purpose. Though πτήσις normally is used of birds, here it is applied to fish in the sense of “swift movement.”

232.4–5 περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ γνωσθέντα μοι παραθήσομαι: Lydus got his information about the ἔλοψ partly from Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 9.27 and partly from Macrobius *Saturn.* 3.16.

232.6–7 ὡς <ὡς> εἰ πεκτὴν καὶ κρυσταλλῶδη ἀλλ' οὐ ναστὴν καὶ ἰνώδη δοκεῖν ἔχειν τὴν σάρκα: because the consecutive conjunction ὡς preceded ὡς εἰ, the second ὡς was carelessly omitted by the scribe (see note 36.31).

232.9–10 ὥς φησιν Ἀθηναῖος: *Ath.* 7.294E.

232.11 Ἀριστοτέλης: *Hist. Anim.* II.13 (505A15).

232.12 Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος: cf. A. Nauck *Aristophanis Byzantii Grammatici Alexandrini Fragmenta* (Halis Saxonum, 1848).

232.13–14 ἀκυιπήνσερα: the *acquienser* (*acipenser*) is probably the “sturgeon.”

232.14 Κορνήλιος δὲ Νέπωσ: Cornelius Nepos (ca. 99/ca. 24 B.C.), a Roman historian and friend of Catullus, Cicero, and Atticus, was the writer of the first surviving biography in Latin; he wrote *de viris illustribus* (parallel lives of distinguished Romans and foreigners), *chronica* (an epitome of universal history); *exempla* (collection of anecdotes); *Letters to Cicero*; *Lives of Cato the Elder and Cicero*; a work on Geography (cited by Mela and Pliny); cf. K. F. von Halm (*Cornelii Nepotis quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1871), 121, fr. 19; see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 728).

232.15 Λαβέριος ὁ ποιητής: D. Laberius (115–43 B.C.), a Roman knight, was a successful writer of mimes together with Publilius Syrus. Forty-three titles and 155 lines of his survive; see O. Ribbeck *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta III*, 364.

232.15–16 Ὅπτατον τινα ναύκληρον τοῦ Καρπαθίου στόλου, οἰκεῖον Κλαυδίου βασιλέως: cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 9.29: Tiberio Claudio principe Optatus e libertis eius, praefectus classis.

232.22 ‘καλύπτειν ὄμματ’ ἀρσένων ἐχρῆν’: Eur. *Hec.* 570.

232.28 Πείσανδρος: Lydus may have had in mind Peisander of Laranda, an epic poet of the early III A.D., who wrote a long Greek poem on world history titled Ἡρωϊκαὶ Θεογαμίαι. Although this poem is almost entirely lost, it was read in later antiquity and probably influenced Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. There existed another epic poet (VII/VI B.C.) who was also called Peisander from Camirus (Rhodes) and was the author of a Heracles, in which Heracles is introduced with the lion's club, taking the place of the older Homeric equipment, and whose labors are fixed at twelve. See F. G. Welcher *Kleine Schriften*, Erstes Theil: *Zur Griechischen Literaturgeschichte* (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1844), 83–88 (Die Zwölkämpfe des Herakles bey Pisander); G. Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, I* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1877), 248–253; F. S. Lehrs *ἩΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑ. Hesiodi*

Carmina . . . (Paris: A. F. Didot, 1841), 5–12; and R. Keydell “Die Dichter mit Namen Peisandros,” *Hermes* 70 (1935), 301–311.

234.1 λινῶν μὲν οἱ διειδέσθαι: the adjective λινῶν receives its gender from the implied noun with which οἱ διειδέσθαι agrees.

234.2 καταβάπτοντες: the participle with an implied ἦσαν constitutes a periphrastic imperfect (see note 80.17–21).

234.8–9 ὡς Ἀπουλήϊος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἑρωτικῷ: the *Eroticus* was one of the many works of L. Apuleius which have been lost; see G. Fr. Hildebrand *Apuleius Madaurensis. L. Apulei Opera Omnia* (Leipzig: C. Cnobloch, 1842), II, 636.

234.9–10 Περί Ἐπισήμων Πορνῶν: this lost work of Suetonius is known only from Lydus' citation in Greek. Its title in Latin can only be conjectured. Fuss renders it *de insignibus meretricibus*. There is, however, no reason to assume that it was written in Greek because of its citation in Greek. See A. Reifferscheid *C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1860), 349, fr. 202; C. L. Roth *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907), 302.

234.16 κεχυμένος: cf. Luc. *Sacr.* 5: κεχυμένος ἐς τάφροδισια.

234.16–17 ἐκ τῶν προτεινομένων ὄψων τε καὶ ποτῶν πρὸς κιναίδων ἄλλων ἐλάμβανεν: the verb λαμβάνειν is often used with the partitive genitive accompanied by ἐκ.

234.18 ὡς ἔμετον αὐτῷ κινεῖν: note that the verbal noun ἔμετον is accompanied by the dative (see note 82.4–5).

234.21 τῶν ψηφολογημάτων: “tessellated pavements” (see Lampe 1542 s.v. ψηφολογέω).

234.21–22 διετέλει σιγόμενος, συνάπτων ταῖς νυξὶ τὰς ἡμέρας: of the two participles the first is supplementary, while the second is circumstantial expressing attendant circumstances.

234.25 ἀπολέγει: the ms. reading ἀπολέγειν most probably should be viewed as a scribal error of appending a final *nu* to words ending in a vowel or diphthong (see note 12.28–14.2). There is, however, the remote possibility that ἀπολέγειν is an exclamatory infinitive, namely, “to think that he renounced.”

234.27 περιφερόμενος: Vasis (*E. E. II.* 122) thinks that περιφερόμενος does not make sense and so παραφερόμενος should be written because, as he says, a confusion of παρά and περί is observed also in περιέφρα(εν) (164.21). Vasis, however, is incorrect about this (see L–S 1392 s.v. περιφέρω I.8 & III.2; Lampe 1076 s.v. περιφέρω 5); Wunsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 576) correctly retains the ms. reading, citing Moeris 199.24B: ἰλιγγιῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στροβοῦσθαι ἢ περιφέρεσθαι Ἑλληνες.

234.27–28 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῆς τάξεως: the noun τάξις here does not mean “staff” but rather “political order” or “government” (see note 142.6–7).

234.28 δικαστὰς δὲ προβάλλεται: at the suggestion of John the Cappadocian, Justinian by a law of April 8, 539 (Just. *Nov.* 82) instituted twelve imperial judges, of whom four

were from the higher dignitaries and eight from the advocates, in order to hear cases (see Stein *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 470).

234.30 ὡς ἔφθηνεν εἰπόντες: there is no reason to emend the ms. reading ὡς (*sc.* ὡς) to οἷς, because here ὡς is being used correlatively with an implied οὕτως (*cf.* 90.10, 220.28).

236.1–2 σπουδὴ λόγῳ κοσμήσαι τὴν συνηγορίαν πείθειν ἄρχοντα δυναμένῳ μέγιστον: the emendation of the ms. reading λόγῳ to λόγῳ offered by Kroll and Skutsch (*apud* Wunsch) and accepted by Wunsch is to be preferred, since the scribe often carelessly appended a final *nu* to words ending in a vowel or diphthong, to λόγων as a gen. dependent upon σπουδὴ, whereby δυναμένῳ (*sc.* δυναμένῳ) would have to be emended to δυναμένων. Bekker's insertion of ἡ before πείθειν is unnecessary.

236.3 ἐπὶ Σηκρήτου: the definite article is often omitted when a word is sufficiently definite by itself.

236.8–9 μὴδὲ μάρτυς ἦν τις ἡ ὅλως ἐπαινεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῶν δικαστηρίων δυνάμενος: the indefinite pronoun τις is to be taken both with μάρτυς and δυνάμενος, the latter being an attributive part. and another subject of ἦν. Vasis (*'E. E. II.* 122) incorrectly thinks that ἡ is superfluous because, he says, the question is about only one person, i.e., since the magistrate was absent, there was no witness able to praise the form of the court of justice.

236.10 κατερρύπτωσε: the ms. reading κατερρυπωσεν merely reflects the scribal error of writing *iota* in place of *upsilon*, the verb intended being καταρρυπόμεν and not κατεριπόμεν, as Fuss (*Ep.* 43) thinks.

236.10–11 οἰμωγαί τε καὶ δάκρυα τῶν πρὸς τὸ πέρας τῆς στρατείας ἀφικνουμένων: *sc.* ἦσαν (see note 48.1).

236.12 γῆρας: the ms. reading πηρας reflects the scribal misreading of Γ as Π in majuscules.

236.16–17 καὶ ταύτης ἐγὼ μετέσχον τῆς ἀστοχίας: by ἀστοχία John is referring to the office of *matricularius*, thereby implying that he had held this post, too.

236.26 κατὰ τὸν μυθικόν: Hesiod is being referred to.

236.27 ὁ χρυσοῦς αἰὼν ἐξέλαμπεν: *cf.* Hes. *Opera et Dies* 109–110: χρύσειον μὲν πρῶτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.

238.1 αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι τὴν προβατωρίαν: the dat. αὐτοῖς expresses agency.

238.14–15 ὀδυνηρὸν τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον: the predicate position of ὀδυνηρὸν gives it an adverbial force.

238.17–19 καλὸν μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆσδε τῆς τραγωδίας, ἀποχωρώσης τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἐπιδειξάν τὴν ἀλήθειαν: Bekker and Vasis (*Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909), 33) correctly place the comma after τραγωδίας and not λοιπὸν, as Wunsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 576) later agreed; τραγωδίας expresses separation (see note 14.26).

238.21 Νόμος ἀρχαῖος ἦν: *cf. supra* II.12 & III.42.

238.24 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως: the verb ἦν need not necessarily have been omitted through scribal carelessness, for it can easily be implied. This causal clause can be viewed as anticipatory in that it states the reason of what is set forth in the main clause which follows.

238.24–27 τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην πραττόμενα πάντα τὴν ἀρχαιότητα διεφύλαξεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διὰ τὸ τοὺς αὐτῆς οἰκήτορας, καίπερ Ἑλλήνας ἐκ τοῦ πλείονος ὄντας, τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν φθέγγεσθαι φωνῇ: *Soph. Lex. Intr.* 26 points out that here Εὐρώπη means “Sicily and Italy”; cf. Liv. 40.42: Cumanis eo anno petentibus permissum ut publice Latine loquerentur et praeconibus Latine vendendi jus esset.

238.29 οὐχ ὥς σαφηνείας φροντίζων: the ὥς, coupled with the participle of cause, sets forth the assertion of the subject of the principal verb.

238.30 ἐμποιοῖ: the ms. reading ἐμποιεῖ exhibits the scribal error of misrendering the *omikron* of the autograph as a lunate *epsilon* (see note 24.10).

238.31 κατὰ σκοπὸν <αὐτοῦ>: obviously αὐτοῦ was carelessly omitted; σκοπὸν does not require the article; cf. κατὰ σκοπὸν (192.27).

240.10 δυσχερῶν: the ms. reading δυσχερων (*sc.* δυσχερῶν) is correct and need not be emended to δυσχερειῶν; see Eur. *Ph.* 390, Dem. 10.58, Arist. *E.N.* 1145B6, *Metaph.* 1067B35.

240.12–13 νόμος ἐκράτησεν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πάντες ὥς ἔτυχε καὶ γράφουσι καὶ πληροῦσι καὶ ἀπολύουσιν: this sentence exhibits parataxis without regard to logical connection; on the use of the infinitive with νόμος see note 228.5.

240.27–28 μόνη ἡ ὁμόζυγος γυνή: ὁμόζυγος here means “united together with him in imperial rule.”

240.28–29 κρεῖττον . . . ἀγρυπνοῦσα: the ms. reading κριττον is better emended as κρεῖττον modifying ἀγρυπνοῦσα (cf. *Soph. OT* 176; *Ep. Hebr.* 12.24), as Vasis (Βυζαντίς 7 (1909), 33) proposes, than as κρεῖττων.

242.3–4 πρὸς ἀμύνην τῶν κακῶν βραδύς: the meaning of ἀμύνην and the gender of τῶν κακῶν are ambiguous here. If ἀμύνην is taken from ἀμύνειν, it means “warding off” and τῶν κακῶν would mean “ills”; but, if taken from ἀμύνεσθαι (middle), it means “taking vengeance on” or “punishing” and τῶν κακῶν would mean “the wicked.” Both meanings of both words may have been intended.

242.5–8 οὕτως ἔτυχεν, οἷα κακῶς ταραξας . . . καὶ σκοτώσας . . . ἐμίξας: the participles ταραξας and σκοτώσας are causal, being introduced by οἷα, while ἐμίξας is supplementary to ἔτυχεν.

242.9–10 τοῦ δικαίου περὶ ἀγρ(υπ)οῦντα: Wünsch’s expansion is apt; περὶ may follow its substantive, suffering anastrophe and accented πέρι, most frequently with the genitive; cf. δικαίων τε πέρι καὶ ἀδίκων (*Pl. Grg.* 455A).

242.13 διὰ τὰς συνωνὰς καὶ ἀγγαρείας: the term συνωνή (*Lat. coemptio*) refers to the purchasing by the government at a price so low that the purchase was basically confiscation (cf. *Proc. Anec.* 22.18, *Cod. Just.* 10.27.5), while the term ἀγγαρεία means “impressionment for public service” (see L–S 7, Lampe 9, *Soph. Lex.* 64, *Paul. Dig.* 50.5.10.2).

242.14–16 γυναικῶν τε σὺν ἐπιμαζίοις βρέφεσιν ἀχθοφορουσῶν καὶ διακομιζουσῶν τὰ εἶδη ἐκ μεσογείου μακρᾶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν: the τε introduces this gen. abs. parallel to the preceding nominative οἱ ὑποτελεῖς (242.12); see note 2.20–21.

242.16 ἀνελεεῖς καὶ ἄταφοι ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας θάνατοι: the adj. ἀνελεεῖς has a pass. connotation; the noun θάνατοι is not being used to mean “deaths” but rather “corpses” (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.439) and is the subject of an implied ἦσαν.

242.16–24 τῶν τε τοὺς δασμοὺς πραττομένων πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυσημάντους ἐφόδους αἰτούντων. . . καὶ. . . ἄλλων μυρίων. . . ἀνισταμένων κακῶν τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν ὑπεράνω: the τε (242.17). . . καὶ (242.21) join together the two genitive absolutes expressing cause.

242.18 κηνουάλια: perhaps taxes collected by the *censuales*, the functionaries of the *census*.

242.18 ὀλογραφικά: perhaps taxes paid for a will written entirely in the handwriting of the testator; cf. ὀλογραφία (*Gloss.*).

242.18 βουλευτικά: perhaps taxes paid to the *decuriones* of a city.

242.18–19 ὁμόδουλα: perhaps taxes paid on lands subject to the same charges or servitudes (cf. *PMasp.* 169.26).

242.19 ὁμόκηνσα: perhaps taxes paid by a group that is jointly responsible for the taxes of a land (cf. *Just. Nov.* 128.7).

242.19 ἀφαντικά: perhaps taxes paid on derelict lands (cf. *Cod. Theod.* 13.11.3).

242.19 ἐγκαταλελειμμένα: perhaps taxes on arrears or sums not paid for one reason or another.

242.19 πολιτικά: perhaps taxes owed to a city for municipal purposes or civil needs (cf. *Proc. Anecd.* 26.6), or perhaps taxes paid by citizens.

242.20 ταμιακά: perhaps taxes due to the *fiscus* (cf. *Ath. h. Ar.* 75 (PG 25, 784C)).

242.20 δηπουτᾶτα: perhaps taxes paid to the *deputati* (collectors of the *fiscus*), who belonged to the *comitiva sacrarum largitionum*.

242.20 ρεκολλᾶτα: the application of this tax, whose name is derived from the perf. pass. part. of the Latin verb *recollare*, is unclear.

242.20 ρελεγᾶτα: the name of this tax, which is derived from the perf. pass. part. of the Latin verb *relegare*, perhaps refers to taxes on bequeathments.

242.20 ρεφούσα: the application of this tax, whose name is derived from the perf. pass. part. of the Latin verb *refundere* (cf. J. F. Niermeyer *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* 899 s.v. *refundere* “to restore, repay, refund” and *refusio* “restitution, refund”), is unclear.

242.20 κεραιτισμούς: perhaps taxes on the exchange of *solidi* for κερᾶτια (see L–S 941).

242.21 ῥοπάς: perhaps “illicit commissions” are meant (see L–S 1575 s.v. ῥοπή IV).

242.21 παραλλαγάς: perhaps taxes paid on the transmission of ownership from one person to another.

242.21 τόκους: perhaps taxes on usury (see Lampe 1395 s.v. τόκος B).

242.21 ἐνδοματικά: perhaps “court fees” or “gratuities” (see L-S 56).

242.21 μητατωρικά: perhaps taxes paid for measuring or marking out land for buildings or property (see L-S Suppl. 100 s.v. μητατορικός).

242.22 ἀνελεῖ: this, unlike ἀνελεεῖς (242.16), does not have a passive connotation.

242.24 μεριτικῶν: perhaps taxes paid by joint-owners or taxes paid when an estate is divided among heirs (*cf.* Just. Nov. 123.16 *Intr.*).

242.24 σουφραγίων: Wunsch emends the ms. reading σουσσοπιδων to σουφραγιῶν from Just. Nov. VIII *Prooem.* 1. Perhaps bribes to obtain imperial offices are meant.

242.24–244.1 κομιτατησίων: perhaps taxes levied for the *comitatenses*; *cf.* Petr. II Al. *encycl.* apud Thdt. *h.e.* 4.22.10 (PG 33, 1280C) cited by Soph. *Lex.* 677 and Lampe 767 s.v. κομητατήσιος.

244.1 μονοπτέρων: the type of tax being referred to is unclear; the word μονόπτερος yields only two meanings in the existing lexica: (1) “with a row of columns only” (L-S 1145) and (2) “with one wing” (Lampe 883).

244.1 μοναστικῶν: perhaps taxes on (solitary ?) dwellings or apartments, or taxes on lodgings (*cf.* μονή “hostel” in *PLond.* 1914.16).

244.1 ἀπημελημένων: perhaps taxes on utterly neglected or dilapidated residences or properties.

244.1–2 λευκοχρύσων: perhaps taxes on objects made of platinum.

244.15 ὡς προαφηγησάμεθα: *supra* II.27.

244.18 ὁ μὲν Καππαδόκης ἄφαντος ἐγένετο: the Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes (vi A.D.) discusses the fall of the Cappadocian.

244.18–19 ἀρχῆς δὲ λαβόμενον τὸ πῦρ: the preceding ἐγένετο is to be implied here, too.

244.23–24 ὅφ’ ᾧ ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος Μεγαρεῖς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀποικήσαντες: according to Lydus Byzantium was founded in 628 B.C., whereas according to the Eusebian account it was founded in 659 B.C. Although the Megarians hold the best claim among the various founders of Byzantium, yet groups from the Peloponnesus and central Greece also shared in the founding of this city.

244.27 ὡς ὁ Κάτωρ ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ Χρονικῶν ἀπέθετο: *cf.* Castor *fr.* 6 (ed. C. Müller in *calce Herodoti Dindorfiani* 167); see note 10.8–12.

244.27–28 τὸ γὰρ δημόσιον βαλανεῖον Σεβήρειον ἀπὸ Σεβήρου, Ῥωμαίων ἡγησαμένου: When Septimius Severus (193–211) visited Byzantium, he marveled at its location and

beautified it by erecting temples, a theater, a hippodrome, and a public bath, which was built at the forum of Zeuxippus and which he ordered be named after himself though the inhabitants of Byzantium continued to call it by its original name, that of the forum (*cf.* Socr. Schol. *h.e.* 2.16 (PG 67, 216A), Proc. *Pers.* 1.24.8–9 and Lyd. *De Mens.* 1.12).

246.1 ἀρδῖριτιδι νόσω ἐνοχλούμενος: Fuss (*Ep.* 44) supplied the obliterated letters of the ms. from Hdn. 2.15.4. Herodianus of Syria (iii A.D.) wrote an historical work titled τῆς μετὰ Μάρκον βασιλείας ἱστοριῶν βιβλία ὀκτώ, which deals with the years between the death of Marcus Aurelius and Gordian III and supplements Dio Cassius.

246.3–4 ἡρπάγησαν μὴν <αἰ> μέχρι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Αγορᾶς: the ms. reading μη is obviously a scribal error for μῆν, the final *nu* having easily dropped out of the text because of its similarity in form with *mu* with which the following word begins; such an omission has occurred in κρείττω<ν> μὲν (132.21). The particle μῆν would fit well into the context of the sentence because it is used to strengthen asseverations as a synonym of μὲν but stronger and follows the word which begins the clause. There is no need to emend it to αἰ since the latter could easily have been carelessly omitted.

246.9 παραγενόμενοι: the scribe, misled by Πουτεόλων (246.8), incorrectly wrote παραγενομένων.

246.10 τοῖς μέσοις: Preger (*apud* Wünsch) would read τῇ Μέσῃ.

246.10–11 πρὸς τὸ βορραῖον: the ms. reading προστοβορέον is better rendered thus than πρὸς τὸ βόρειον; *cf.* Rom. Mel. 58.1ς'.7: βορραίου ταύτην (*sc.* λίμνην) ὑπερφυσῶντος.

246.12–13 ἐν Λιπάρῃ ἡ Βεσβίω: Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.115 uses both Λιπάραν and Λιπάραις.

246.16–17 πρὸς αὐτῆς ὑπεστάλη τῆς νίκης, εἰς πέντε σύνεγγυς μυριάδας σιδήρῳ χύδην διαφθάρειν: the allusion is obviously to the “Nika” insurrection, which occurred in January, 532. Undoubtedly fiscal severities constituted one cause of this insurrection. Justinian’s financial administration of the empire required immense sums of money for his costly public works of all sorts, his wars, and the necessity of buying off the barbarians who threatened the frontiers. All this increased the burdens of the people. There was a desperate and badly organized effort on the part of the Circus Factions of the Blues and the Greens, which acted concertedly, to depose Justinian and to set up a less tyrannical government (*cf.* Proc. *Pers.* 1.24; *Anecd.* 12.12, 19.12). The punishment of notorious criminals of both factions in 532 led to their uniting in the so-called “Nika” Revolt, which lasted one week. The number of the insurrectionists who were put to death is variously given by the sources as 30,000, 35,000, and 40,000.

246.18 κατάπληκτος: the connotation is passive, though L–S 906 cites no instance.

246.19 παραμυθήσας: this is the last word on f 95 (86)^ν.

246.21 . . . ἐνίκησε: this is line 8 of f 98 (89)^ν, and, as Wünsch indicates, seven lines of about thirty-five letters preceded ἐνίκησε, but only a few words and parts of others are readable (see *app. crit.*).

246.25 καθάπερ τότε: it is more likely that τότε “formerly” (*cf.* 120.16) rather than τότε is the obliterated word.

248.1–2 τῆς πρώτης λησταρχίας τοῦ πονηροῦ Καππαδόκου: John the Cappadocian was praetorian prefect from April 31, 531 to May 7, 541 except for the period from January 25 to mid-October in 532, during which Phocas was praetorian prefect (*cf.* Grumel *La Chronologie* 368).

248.3 Φωκάς: Lydus indulges in a most glowing praise of Phocas not only in his personal life but also in his public service. Procopius, too, has words of praise for Phocas, for he says: Φωκᾶν μὲν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ικανῶς πεφυκότα (*Pers.* 1.24.18) and also τοῦ δικαίου ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐπιμελητοῦ γεγονότος: κέρδους γὰρ ὅτουσιν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀξιώματι καθαρὸς ἔμεινε (*Anecd.* 21.6). Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 733) is of the opinion that Lydus, remaining faithful to the memory of Phocas, seeks by his warm praises of Phocas' virtues to defend him by implication against the accusation of pagan practices which was first brought against him in 529, of which he seems to have been acquitted, and again later in 545, which resulted in his suicide.

248.6–7 τοὺς πώποτε ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι ψυχῆς <θαυμασθέντας>: because of πώποτε it is more likely that θαυμασθέντας rather than θαυμαζομένους was lost (*cf.* 208.5–6).

248.7–8 ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας τῆς βασιλείας: *cf.* Cassiodorus *Var.* 6.3: nunc *pater* appellatur *imperii*; *cf.* βασιλείας πατῆρ (Lampe 1050 s.v. πατῆρ A.10).

248.8 πλούτῳ κομῶν: “abounding in wealth,” a meaning cited in Lampe 766 s.v. κομάω 2 but not in L–S 975.

248.10–11 δίατα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τροφῆς αἰτία τοσαύτη ὅση τοῖς ἄγαν μεμετρημένοις τὸν βίον ἐν εὐτελεσίν ἡριθμεῖτο: the error in the ms. reading αὐτῇ was due to influence from δίατα and must be emended to αὐτῷ (dat. of the possessor); τοῖς ἄγαν μεμετρημένοις (see Lampe 866 s.v. μετρέω 2) expresses agency after ἡριθμεῖτο.

248.11–12 τῆς μὲν περιουσίας τύχης αὐτοῦ ἀξίως: though the existing lexica record περιούσιος as both masculine and feminine, here περιουσίας modifies τύχης.

248.14 σεμνός: the reading of the autograph was σεμνός, which in a subsequent transmission was corrupted to σεμνοί (the result of misreading □ as I), which was further corrupted to σεμνή (see note 26.6).

248.15 μόνου: this is the last word on f 98 (89)^v. The narration continues on the other side (f 98 (80)^r) but the latter's text, which consists of thirty-two lines of about thirty-five letters per line, is almost totally unreadable with only individual words and parts of others being distinguished (see *app. crit.* 248.16).

248.16 καὶ δόλον ράπτειν: these are the first three words on f 96 (87)^r; the ms. reading δολου is a scribal error for δόλον (see note 116.22).

250.1 ὥς εἴη: the ms. exhibits the loss of only one letter and not two after ὦσει so that ὥς εἴη and not ὥς εἴην should be read with an implied “he” (*sc.* Phocas) as subject. Phocas was quite well versed in Latin, as he was in Greek, and he was merely seeking an excuse to help Speciosus financially in his need without causing him to feel like a beggar (*cf.* 248.16–17) and so he was trying to fabricate the excuse that he needed instruction in Latin so as to have Speciosus give him lessons in Latin in return for a sum of money.

250.3 πρὸς διδασκαλίαν αὐτῷ τῆς Ἰταλίδος φωνῆς: the dat. αὐτῷ is to be taken with the verbal noun διδασκαλίαν (see note 82.4–5).

250.4 αὐτόν: since the ms. exhibits the loss of only one letter, αὐτόν and not αὐτοῦς must be read.

250.9 γονυπετῶν διετέλει: Fuss (*Ep.* 44) would prefer to be able to translate this as “ardently” or “earnestly.”

250.17–18 μὴ πρότερον προσεδρεύειν αὐτῷ πρὶν αὐτὸς διαστευλάμενος ἀξιώσῃ γενέσθαι παρ’ αὐτόν: the principal clause contains πρότερον as a forerunner of πρὶν (*cf.* 86.2–3), while διαστευλάμενος functions adverbially with verbs.

250.18–20 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Σπεκιῶσος, συμβάλλων τῇ τέχνῃ περιόδῳ τοῦ σκέμματος, ἀφείθη τῆς προσεδρίας: the object of συμβάλλων is an implied λόγους with an implied dative (*sc.* αὐτῷ), while τῇ τέχνῃ is the dative of means; though Fuss had emended τῇ τέχνῃ to τῇ τεχνικῇ in his edition, he later (*Ep.* 44) suspected that τῇ τέχνῃ should be retained; περιόδῳ is a verbal noun being used as a periphrasis for a clause (see note 48.1). Whether ἀφείθη or ἐπαύθη be conjectured, the passive is functioning as a middle.

250.22 καὶ τίς <οὐκ ἂν> στοχάσεται: the loss of οὐκ ἂν is certain (*cf.* 146.1).

250.23–24 πόσης ἦν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας: the ms. reading πόσος, being a scribal error, must be emended to πόσης so as to modify εὐσεβείας (genitive of quality).

252.1 Πρὸς Πεισινούντι, τῇ πόλει τῆς Γαλατίας: the ms. reading τῇ (*sc.* τῇ), occurring elsewhere (60.12, 84.10, 96.25), shows that this was intended as the dat. of the definite article agreeing with πόλει and not the termination of πεισινούν. The definite article is used with πόλις after the name of a city in three other instances (78.16, 176.25, 206.7).

252.2–4 πεσεῖν ἀπείρους ἔκει Γαλατῶν τῶν περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐπιπεσόντων τῇ χώρᾳ, Βρέννου ἡγησαμένου: a band of Gauls under a second Brennus (*cf.* 78.17–18) as their leader along with Acichorius invaded Greece in 279 B.C., overrunning Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greek lands to the south of these. Brennus was held up at Thermopylae for several months by the Athenian general Calippus and was beaten off with great loss. The mt. pass was betrayed and the Greek forces were scattered. Brennus pushed on to Delphi with about 65,000 troops. He was wounded at Delphi. The Gauls broke and fled, being pursued by the Greeks to Thermopylae. During the general retreat northwestwards the Gauls were attacked by the Thessalians. Brennus committed suicide by draughts of strong wine because he was unable to endure the pain of his wounds and the humiliation of defeat. A portion of the Gauls under the command of Acichorius, who had succeeded Brennus, crossed over to the Bosphorus in 287–277. They numbered about 20,000, of which only one half were fighting men and finally settled in Phrygia; hence the name *Galatia*. They were called *Gallograeci* because they were intermixed with Greeks. They retained their language at least as late as the time of St. Jerome, who states that their language was essentially the same as that of the *Triviri* (*cf.* Plb. 1.6.5, 9.35.4; Paus. 10.19.4 sqq.; Hieron. *PL* 22, VII, 357A).

252.5 ὡς Φενεστέλλας καὶ Σισέννας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί φασιν: *cf.* Fenestella in *Hist. Rom. Frg.* 273, no. 8 (ed. H. Peter); Sisenna in *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 296, no. 133 (ed. H. Peter).

252.6–7 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς βίβλους οὕτω τεθέσθαι: the books being referred to may not be Varro's but those of Fenestella and Sisenna.

252.7–8 ἐκεῖ τοίνυν τέμενος ἦν τῇ ἀχράντῳ στρατιᾷ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων τῷ ἀρρήτῳ θεῷ καθωσιωμένων: the ms. reading τῷ ἀρρητῷ Θεῷ (sc. τῷ ἀρρητῷ θεῷ) need not be emended to τοῦ ἀρρήτου θεοῦ, for it is governed by καθωσιωμένων (sc. καθωσιωμένων), which also does not have to be emended to καθωσιωμένον so as to agree with τέμενος, for it modifies ἀγγέλων; στρατιᾷ is dative of the possessor.

252.10 ἐπιδούς: Fuss (*Ep.* 45) correctly states that εἴη is to be understood with ἐπιδούς (see note 80.17–21).

252.10–12 τοῖς ἱερουμένοις πρόσδοτον ὀδοσέοντα χρυσῶν προσγενέσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ εἰς φιλοξενίαν ἐσπούδασεν: whereas τοῖς ἱερουμένοις means “those performing priestly functions” (see Lampe, 672 s.v. ἱερὸν 2a), τοῖς ἱερωμένοις (224.27–28) means “those in sacred orders”; τοῖς ἱερουμένοις is to be construed with φιλοξενίαν (see note 82.4–5), while τῷ ἱερῷ is governed by προσγενέσθαι.

252.13 ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως: the meaning of πόλις here is “public service” (cf. Dem. 45.66) and not “city.”

252.17 κοιτωνιτῶν: this simple genitive expresses source (see note 14.26).

252.20 ἐσθῆτα: this is a collective singular (see L–S 696 s.v. ἐσθῆς II).

252.23 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν παριόντα καὶ μαρτυροῦντα: though Wünsch, following Skutsch (*apud* Wünsch), conjectures the loss of πατέρα after παριόντα, it is more likely that τὸν is an error for αὐτὸν (see note 142.6–7).

252.25 τελευτῶν: this could be a veiled reference to Phocas' contemplated suicide by poison, which occurred in 546 during an inquisition against pagans.

252.26 διαμενοῖ: the termination of this verb is completely unreadable in the ms., but the fut. opt. and not the pres. opt. seems more appropriate.

254.7 εἶδε: “saw¹ mentally, perceived” (see L–S 483 s.v. εἶδω A.3).

254.8–12 ἅμα γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς προφανεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἀνεφέρετο <καὶ> σύμπας ὁ δῆμος ἡλικία τε πᾶσα καὶ φύσις ὁμοῦ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες ὕμνους εὐχαριστηρίους μετὰ δακρύων ἀνέφερον τῷ θεῷ: the καὶ, omitted by scribal carelessness, is needed to join coordinately the two finite verbs ἀνεφέρετο and ἀνέφερον, introduced by ἅμα and meaning “no sooner . . . than . . .” (L–S 75 s.v. ἅμα A.I.3); ἡλικία here functions as a collective noun (cf. Pl. *Lg.* 959E); since δῆμος is also a collective singular, ἀνατείναντες is plural; the ms. reading αναφερώ (sc. ἀνέφερον) exhibits an abbreviation by a macron (see note 2.14) and the scribal error of writing a second *alpha* instead of *epsilon* (see note 28.3).

254.16 ἐναφεῖς: the ms. reading αναφεῖς is a scribal error for ἐναφεῖς (see note 28.3), which rather than ἀναθεῖς better fits the context.

254.16 τεύχεσιν: the ms. reading ατ[.]χεσιν (sc. ἀτυχεῖσιν) makes no sense here, whereas its emendation to τεύχεσιν proposed by Skutsch (*apud* Wünsch) and accepted by Wünsch fits the context better.

254.18–19 αὐτὸς μὲν ἀβλαβῆς ὢν ἄνθρωπος τῆς προνοίας φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη: the function of ὢν is twofold: causal circumstantial with ἀβλαβῆς and supplementary with ἀπεδείχθη.

254.19–21 ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν ὄπλων καὶ θυρούων παρεχόμενος τὸν τε κράτιστον ἀνυμνῶν βασιλέα ἐν εὐθυμίαις ἡδυπαθῶν καὶ σκιρτήμασι διετέλει: the τε joins coordinately παρεχόμενος and διετέλει (see note 194.3), whereas καὶ connects εὐθυμίαις and σκιρτήμασι.

254.23 κατελήλυθε τὴν πόλιν: Vasis (*E. E. Π.* 122) incorrectly believes that τὴν πόλιν is a scribal insertion, for he failed to note that κατελήλυθε can be used transitively (see L–S 925 s.v. κατέρχομαι II); Wunsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 31 (1911), 576), therefore, correctly rejects Vasis' opinion.

256.2 μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὕπαρχον: the meaning of τὸν αὐτόν is “the said” or “the aforementioned” (see L–S 283 s.v. αὐτός III.2).

256.5 ἐπέχεε: the tense is aorist; see note 36.31.

356.6–7 μηδενὸς ἀδικουμένου μηδὲ τῆς τυχούσης εὐετηρίας εἰς ἀσεβῆ ποίησιν ἐπινοηθείσης: the force of ἀδικουμένου is that of the perfect (*cf.* Pl. *R.* 359A), just as also ἀδικοῖται (*cf.* Antiphon 4.4.9).

256.11–12 ἡ δὲ τάξις, καθάπερ τις σβεννυμένης ἤδη φλογὸς ἔλαιον ἀφθόνως ἐπιχέει, ἀνέλαμψεν: the meaning of τάξις is hardly “staff” but rather “political order” or “government” (see note 142.6–7). The figure *syllipsis* is observed in ἀνέλαμψε because it serves as the verb of which τις is the subject and is being used in its literal sense, functioning as a gnomic aorist and transitive with an implied αὐτήν (*sc.* φλόγα) as its object; and also as the verb of which τάξις is the subject and is being used in a metaphorical sense and is intransitive.

256.13–14 κέρδη σώφρονα καὶ φίλα τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἡκολούθει: by reason of its position νόμῳ is governed by both φίλα and τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν.

256.15 βιβλίων προαγωγαί: the verbal noun with its dependent genitive is equivalent to the noun's corresponding verb with the genitive as its subject (see note 48.1).

256.16 ὁ: this is the last word on f 97'.

I. VERBA GRAECA

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